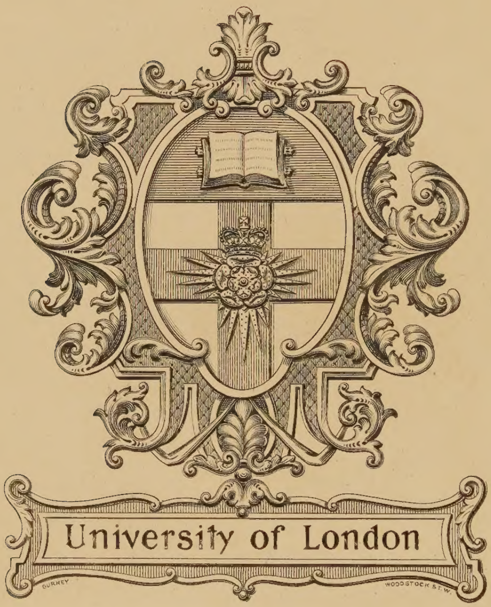
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON LIBRARY

THIS BOOK
MUST NOT BE REMOVED
FROM THE LIBRARY

REFERENCE ONLY

64 Parliamentary Papers
Ref. Only


University of London
GURNEY
WOODSTOCK ST. W.

620144

995

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME CCLXXXI.

THIRD SERIES.

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 2.

Page

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (No. 111)—

House in Committee (according to Order) 2

After short debate, House *resumed;* and to be again in Committee on *Tuesday* the 10*th instant.*

NEW GUINEA—MOTION FOR PAPERS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers relating to the proposed annexation of New Guinea,"—(*The Lord Lamington*) .. 3

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, LEASING AND PERPETUITY ACT, 1851—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into and report as to the position, under the Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, of the grantees and sub-grantees in perpetuity of lands held under grants made in pursuance of the said Act, and as to the position of the occupying tenants of such grantees and sub-grantees; and to inquire and report as to the variations effected in the rents reserved by such grants made subsequently to the date of such grants, and as to the provisions of the said Act regulating such variations; and to inquire and report as to the justice and expediency of further legislation to alter or repeal any of the provisions of the said Act,"—(*The Lord Zouche of Haryngworth*) 20

After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 9, Not-Contents 29; Majority 20:—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 27

[8.0.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 2.

QUESTIONS.

BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—RESULTS FEES, 1881-2—Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan.. .. 28

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—HOSTILITIES AT BRITISH SHERBRO — Questions, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Richard, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 29

[*July* 2.] *Page*

TRADE AND COMMERCE—BROKERAGE ON SHIPPING (FRANCE)—Question, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 32
PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—HOUSE OF COMMONS—THE POST OFFICE IN THE LOBBY—Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 33
POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—WESTMINSTER UNION WORKHOUSE—CASE OF ANN KANE—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 33
LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—"LISTING"—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 34
COLLECTION OF TAXES AND RATES (IRELAND)—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 35
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—"REGINA *v.* MADDEN"—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 35
CHILI AND PERU—RUMOURED TREATY OF PEACE—Question, Mr. Compton-Lawrance; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 36
LAW AND JUSTICE (INDIA)—JURISDICTION IN CIVIL CAUSES—Question, Major Curzon; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 36
SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE RESERVED TERRITORY—Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 37
NAVY—ASSISTANT PAYMASTERS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 38
MINES (COAL) REGULATION ACT—LOCKED LAMPS—Question, Mr. Rolls; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 38
EGYPTIAN EXILES IN CEYLON—PERSONAL MAINTENANCE—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 39
ARMY (INDIA)—THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 39
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — SUB-INSPECTOR CARTER — Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 41
COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—ERECTION OF BARRACKS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 42
INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—SCARRIFF DRAINAGE WORKS—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney 42
WEST INDIES—THE WINDWARD ISLANDS—STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES—Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 43
SOUTH AFRICA—CETEWAYO AND USIBEPU—Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 43
LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS COMMITTEE—COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain 44
BUILDING ACT—PANICS IN PUBLIC BUILDINGS—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 46
EGYPT—OMAR PASHA LUFTI—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 46
EGYPT—LAW AND JUSTICE—TRIAL OF SAID BEY KHANDEEL—Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 47
MILFORD (COUNTY CORK) DRAINAGE BILL—Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Courtney 48
RAILWAYS (INDIA)—THE NIZAM'S TERRITORIES — HYDERABAD—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross.. 48
INDIA—DARJEELING COOLIES BILL—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 49
INDIA (PALCONDA)—VIZIARAM RAZ—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 49
THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CROWN SOLICITOR FOR DERRY—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 50
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL—Question, Mr. Craig-Sellar; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 51

[*July* 2.] *Page*

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS—THE PETTICOAT SQUARE SITE—THE COMMISSIONERS OF SEWERS FOR THE CITY OF LONDON—Question, Mr. Francis Buxton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 52

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS—OVERCROWDING—A ROYAL COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 52

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone:—Short debate thereon 53

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA BY QUEENSLAND—Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 55

PARLIAMENT—POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 56

INDIA (GOVERNMENT)—SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN AND MAJOR BARING—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 56

POST OFFICE—POSTAL TELEGRAMS—Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 57

EGYPT—OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 57

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDER OF BUSINESS—Questions, Colonel Alexander, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. W. Fowler, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 58

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (WALES)—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 59

COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH ITALY—Question, Mr. H. T. Davenport; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 60

EGYPT—THE MASSACRES AT ALEXANDRIA—ALLEGED COMPLICITY OF THE KHEDIVE—Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 60

ARMY—FORAGE ALLOWANCE—THE 2ND SUFFOLK REGIMENT—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 60

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7] [TWELFTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 29*th June*] 61

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Prison Service (Ireland) Bill [Bill 248]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) .. 150

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill [Bill 154]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) 150

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Biggar*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

Municipal Disqualification (Ireland) Bill [Bill 232]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Callan*) .. 154

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*:—Second Reading *put off* for three months.

[*July* 2.] *Page*

MOTION.

Greenwich Hospital Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir Thomas Brassey, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 253] 157

[1.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 3.

PUBLIC HEALTH—OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA IN EGYPT—SANITARY PRECAUTIONS—Question, The Earl of Wemyss; Answer, Earl Granville .. 158

Lunatic Poor (Ireland) Bill (No. 85)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 160
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Pawnbrokers Bill (No. 79)—
House in Committee (according to Order) 169
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 136.)

Public Health (Dairies, &c.) Bill (No. 92)—
House in Committee (according to Order) 173
Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next.

Registry of Deeds (Ireland) Bill (No. 97)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord O'Hagan*) .. 177
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Railways (Continuous Brakes) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl De La Warr*); read 1ª (No. 135) 177

[7.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 3.

PARLIAMENT—SELECTION—
Leave given to the Committee of Selection to make a Special Report .. 177
Special Report to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS.

LUNATIC POOR (IRELAND)—Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 178

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOLS COMPULSORILY CLOSED—Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, Mr. Mundella 178

THE IRISH BUTTER TRADE—CORK BUTTER MARKET—Question, Mr. A. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 179

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—WORKHOUSE HOSPITALS—Question, Mr. A. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 179

EGYPT—OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 180

STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—TRAFFIC AT HAMILTON PLACE—Question, Mr. Rolls; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 181

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—PRECEDENCE OF GOVERNMENT ORDERS—

Moved, "That Government Orders have precedence, this Evening, of the Notices of Motions and the other Orders of the Day, and that Government Orders have precedence To-morrow,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) 181

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [BILL 7] [THIRTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 2nd July*] 192

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *this day.*

Medals Bill [Bill 188]—

Order for Committee read :—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 251

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *this day.*

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [BILL 7] [THIRTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 2nd July*] 251

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 205]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Dr. Lyons*) .. 314

Motion *agreed to :*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.* [1.30.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill [Bill 224]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Holms*) .. 315

After short debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

[*July* 4.] *Page*

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7] [FOURTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 3rd July*] 318

After long time spent therein, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Lord Richard Grosvenor*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 254] 396

[5.55]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 5.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN—Questions, Viscount Cranbrook; Answers, Lord Carrington 397

Criminal Law Amendment Bill (No. 134)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Earl of Dalhousie*) .. 398

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months,")—(*The Earl of Longford.*)

On Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?" *Resolved* in the *affirmative;* Bill read 3ª accordingly.

Moved, "That the Bill do pass,"—(*The Earl of Dalhousie:*)—After debate, Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

SCHOOL BOARDS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—MOTION FOR A PAPER—

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

"Return of the provisions, if any, made by each school board in England and Wales respecting religious teaching and religious observances by children in board schools, stating cases in which no such provision is made by the Board; and copy of the byelaws, if any, by which such provisions are enacted and regulated,"—(*The Lord Colchester*) 420

Motion *agreed to.* [7.30.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 5.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension Bill (*by Order*)—

Lords Amendments *considered* 421

After debate, Lords Amendments *agreed to.*

Ennerdale Railway Bill [*Lords*] (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 444

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Ainsworth.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 150, Noes 143; Majority 7.—(Div. List, No. 167.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

MOTION.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILLS—RESOLUTIONS—

Ordered, That the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bill, the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill, and the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, be committed to a Select Committee to consist of Seven Members, Four to be nominated by the House, and Three to be added by the Committee of Selection .. 446

Moved, "That, subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House, all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the Select Committee on the Bills, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills, against such Petitions,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House,"—(*Sir Hussey Vivian.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That Three be the quorum of the Committee.

Ordered, That the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on "The Electric Lighting Bill, 1882," be referred to the Committee.

QUESTIONS.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 461

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) — THE REPORT — Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, The Lord Advocate 463

BURIAL ACTS—CONSECRATION OF CEMETERIES — RHOS, DENBIGHSHIRE—Questions, Sir Robert Cunliffe, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 463

CHELSEA HOSPITAL—LORD MORLEY'S COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Mr. Brand 465

IRISH LAND COMMISSION COURT—MR. GALLAGHER AND MR. RYAN—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Viscount Galway; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 465

ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION—THE ASHTON CHARITY, DUNSTABLE—Question, Mr. Causton; Answer, Mr. Mundella 466

MADAGASCAR—HOSTILE OPERATIONS OF FRANCE—BOMBARDMENT OF TAMATAVE—Questions, Mr. A. M'Arthur, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 467

EGYPT (LAW AND JUSTICE)—TRIALS OF SULEIMAN SAMI AND SAID BEY KHANDEEL — PROCEDURE — Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 468

IRELAND—PAUPER EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 469

POST OFFICE—SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT—THE CONTROLLER—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 470

ARMY — CAVALRY HORSES — Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Brand 470

PUBLIC HEALTH—HORSE FLESH—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 471

EGYPT (LAW AND JUSTICE)—TRIAL OF SULEIMAN SAMI—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 471

PUBLIC BUSINESS (SCOTLAND)—THE HOME DEPARTMENT—OFFICIAL PAPERS —Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 472

THE CIVIL SERVICE—ORANGE LODGES—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Herbert Gladstone 473

[*July* 5.] *Page*

INDIA (MADRAS)—CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS—THE SALT REVENUE—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross; Question, Mr. O'Kelly; [No answer] 473
INDIA (MADRAS) — RUMOURED OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA — Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 474
POST OFFICE—MAILS FROM THE SEYCHELLES TO THE MAURITIUS—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 475
THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—FINSBURY PARK—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg 475
EAST INDIA—MYSORE GOLD MINING—RETURN OF LANDS HELD BY UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS, &c.—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 475
POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS—Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 475
FRANCE AND CHINA—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 476
NAVY — ASSISTANT PAYMASTERS IN THE NAVY—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 476
INDIA (EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT) — SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN AND MAJOR BARING—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 477
PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS—THE USHER OF THE BLACK ROD—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 477
WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA BY QUEENSLAND—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 478
AFGHANISTAN—ALLEGED CAPTURE OF CONVOY IN THE KHYBER PASS—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 479
PARLIAMENT—PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES—Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 480
PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — BALLOT ACT CONTINUANCE AND AMENDMENT BILL—Questions, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Viscount Folkestone, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 480

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [BILL 7] [FIFTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 4th July*] 481

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill [Bill 154]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [2nd July], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee on Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill):—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed:*—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee .. 551

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment, to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

Detention in Hospitals Bill [Bill 247]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading [9th July] be discharged,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 579

Question put, and *agreed to:*—Order *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn*.
Leave given to present another Bill instead thereof.

Detention in Hospitals (No. 2) Bill—*Presented*, and read the first time [Bill 259.]

[4.15.]

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 6.

Page

Law and Justice (Scotland)—The Disaster on the Clyde—Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, Earl Granville .. 579

Western Islands of the Pacific—The New Hebrides—Occupation by France—Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, Earl Granville .. 580

India—Criminal Law—Punishment of Flogging—Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley 581

Railway Servants — Hours of Duty—Question, Observations, Lord Forbes, The Earl of Aberdeen; Reply, Lord Sudeley:—Short debate thereon 585

Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod—Resolution—

Moved, "That the Select Committee on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod be directed to inquire into the department of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with the view of ascertaining whether the appointments in that department, or some of them, may not in future be conferred upon persons who have served with distinction in the army or navy or some department of the public service,"—(*The Earl of Camperdown*) .. 590

Motion *agreed to.* [6.15.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 6.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Ennerdale Railway Bill [*Lords*]—Instruction to the Committee—

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public, who annually visit the Lake District, by injuriously affecting the scenery in that neighbourhood, or otherwise; and that they have power to receive Evidence upon the subject,"—(*Mr. E. S. Howard*) 596

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 78, Noes 42; Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 178.)

Parliament—Selection—

Leave given to the Committee of Selection to make a Special Report .. 599

Ordered, That the Special Report do lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS.

The Agricultural Department—Statistics—Question, Mr. Duckham; Answer, Mr. Dodson 600

Vaccination Laws (Germany)—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell 601

Post Office (Contracts)—Mails to the Mauritius—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 601

India (Bengal)—Law and Justice—Mr. Banerjee—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 601

Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland) — Drainage of Lough Neagh—Questions, Sir Richard Wallace, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 602

South Africa—The "Republic of Stellaland"—Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 603

Parliament—Business of the House—Crown Lands Bill—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Courtney 604

State-Aided Emigration to the United States—Irish Emigrants—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Leamy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 604

[*July* 6.] *Page*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE SHANNON TRUST—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney 606

PETROLEUM ACTS—STORAGE OF PETROLEUM—Questions, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Sir William Harcourt; Questions, Mr. Callan; [No reply] 606

THE IRISH BOARD OF WORKS—LOANS—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney 608

DWELLINGS OF THE POOR—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 609

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—RUMOURED AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 609

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—OCCUPATION BY FRANCE—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 610

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 611

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—AUSTRALIAN COLONIES—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA BY QUEENSLAND—Notices, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Mr. Callan 611

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [BILL 7] [SIXTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 5th July*] 612

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

The House suspended its Sitting at ten minutes before Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN)—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting,"—(*Mr. Hugh Mason*,)—instead thereof 664

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 130, Noes 114; Majority 16.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 722

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Committee upon *Monday* next.

Settlement and Removal Law Amendment Bill [Bill 152]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Hervey Bruce*) 724

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Tomlinson*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 54, Noes 20; Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 182.)

Second Reading *deferred* till *Monday* next. [1.15.]

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 9.

Page

Church of England (Colonies)—Public Worship at Hong Kong—Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley, The Archbishop of Canterbury; Reply, The Earl of Derby 725

Railways (India)—Grain Rates—Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley.. 729

Army Organization—The Militia and Militia Reserve—Resolution—

Moved to resolve, "That having regard to the present defective military organization and to the great importance of the Militia force, it is essential that the Militia be forthwith recruited up to their established strength; and that the 'Militia Reserve' should, as intended by its originator the late General Peel, and as recommended by the Militia Committee of 1877, be borne in excess of the Militia establishment,"—(*The Earl of Wemyss*) 730

After debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 29, Not-Contents 25; Majority 4:—*Resolved* in the *affirmative.*

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 765

[8.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 9.

Parliament—Patents for Inventions Bill—

Bill *reported* from the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures;

Minutes of Proceedings to be *printed.* [No. 247.]

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* 23rd July, and to be *printed.* [Bill 261.]

QUESTIONS.

Registration of Births and Deaths (Great Britain)—Uncertified Deaths—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 766

Law and Justice (Scotland)—Suspected Cases of Infanticide in Sutherlandshire—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 767

Harbours of Refuge (Scotland)—Harbour on the North-East Coast—Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 767

Endowed Schools—Middle Class School at Tunbridge—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella 768

Navy—The Transport Ship "Orontes"—Questions, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 769

Navy—The Dockyards—Fire-Extinguishing Apparatus—Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 770

Railways—Engine Drivers—Hours of Duty—Question, Mr. Theodore Fry; Answer, Mr, Chamberlain 770

Russia and Persia—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 771

Egypt—Ahmed Bey Minshani—Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 772

Acts of Parliament—Printing and Distribution—Question, Mr. Lewis Fry; Answer, Mr. Courtney 773

High Court of Justice—Chancery Division—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Attorney General 774

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Acts — Extra Pay to Prison Surgeons—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 774

High Court of Justice—Lord Chief Justice, &c. (Patronage) — Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, The Attorney General .. 775

Italy—The New Treaty of Commerce—Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 775

Army—Dover Cliff—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 776

[*July* 9.] *Page*

Ireland—County Cess Collection—Captain Alisen—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 776

India—Cholera at Bombay—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 776

India (Madras)—The Ex-Tahsildar of Conjeveram—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 777

Ireland—Distress in Gweedore—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. O'Brien; [No reply] .. 778

Mercantile Marine—Passenger Acts—Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. George Russell .. 779

Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Ryan—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 779

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Channel Islands Militia—Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 780

South Africa—The Transvaal—Alleged Forced Labour—Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 781

South Africa—Zululand—The Native Reserve—Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 781

Spain—Expulsion of certain Cuban Refugees from Gibraltar—Colonel Maceo—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 782

South Africa—The "Republic of Stellaland"—Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers—Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 783

The Civil Service—The Playfair Scheme—Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Mr. Courtney 783

Mines—Use of Dynamite in Mining—The Order in Council—Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt.. .. 784

Literature, Science, and Art—The Ashburnham MS.S.—Questions, Mr. Errington, Mr. Raikes; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 784

The Irish Land Commission—Application for Loan—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 785

The Agricultural Returns—Question, Mr. Duckham; Answer, Mr. Dodson 786

Navy—The Mediterranean Squadron—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 786

Railways (India)—The Nizam's Territory—Hyderabad and Chanda Railway—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 787

Egypt—The Cholera—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Onslow, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 788

Africa (West Coast)—The River Congo—Negotiations between England and Portugal—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 791

Egypt—The Suez Canal—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 791

Western Islands of the Pacific—The New Hebrides—Reported Annexation by France—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 792

Contagious Diseases Acts—Statistics—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 792

Treasury Solicitor Act, 1876—The Goods of Felons—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Courtney 792

Turkey—Greek Subjects of the Porte—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 793

Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill—Clause 8—Charges on Holdings obtained under County Court Judgments—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Dodson.. 793

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (CONTINUOUS SITTINGS) BILL—Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, The Attorney General .. 794

PARLIAMENT—SPEECH OF MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE AT ACTON—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Brodrick; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 794

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 796

EGYPT—SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—Questions, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 796

POST OFFICE—THE CHOLERA IN EGYPT—MAILS FROM THE EAST—Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Mr. Fawcett .. 798

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS—Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 799

POST OFFICE—THE NEW PARCELS POST—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 800

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE DISASTER ON THE CLYDE—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate 800

ARMY—THE STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 801

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE RAILWAY PASSENGER DUTY—Question, Mr. Francis Buxton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 801

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH)—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 801

Moved, "That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House,"—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 232, Noes 65; Majority 167.—(Div. List, No. 183.)

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MINISTERIAL STATEMENT—
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill—

Mooved, "That the Order for the Second Reading of the Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill be read and discharged,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 808

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Naval Discipline and Enlistment Acts Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 241]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged" .. 830

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn.*

Police Bill [Bill 106]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged" .. 830

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *wthdrawn.*

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7] [SEVENTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 6th July*] 831

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Bankruptcy Bill [Bill 243]—

Order for Consideration, as amended, read 892
Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of six clauses relating to the abolition of offices and compensation to existing officers,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*.
Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* 23rd July.

Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill [Bill 154]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan*) .. 893
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Captain Aylmer*.)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. O'Shea*.)

The House proceeded to a Division:—Mr. Speaker stated he thought the Noes had it; and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Ayes to stand up in their places, and Thirteen Members only having stood up, Mr. Speaker declared the Noes had it.

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 79, Noes 12; Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 188.)
Main Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 80, Noes 10; Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 189):—Bill *passed*.

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill [Bill 254]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) .. 913
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 130]—

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [11th June] read:—*Moved*, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Monday 23rd July,"—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) 916
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Adjourned Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* 23rd July.

Sea Fisheries Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 257]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Holms*) .. 916
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday*.

Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 39]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. O'Kelly*) 917
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Colonel King-Harman*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee.
Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next. [3.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 10.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—STANDING COMMITTEES—Notice of Question, Observations, The Earl of Redesdale; Reply, Earl Granville:—Short debate thereon 919

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) **Bill** (No. 111)—
House again in Committee (according to Order) 920
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next.

Pawnbroker's Bill (No. 136)—
Moved, "That the Report of the Amendments to the Bill be now received," (*The Lord Chancellor*) 921
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Amendments *reported* accordingly. Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next; and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 141.)

NAVY—H.M.S. "TRIUMPH"—COURT MARTIAL ON LOUIS PRICE—MOTION FOR A PAPER—
Moved, "That there be laid before this House the finding of the court-martial in the case of Price, seaman of the 'Triumph,' in 1882; and correspondence relating thereto,"—(*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) 927
After short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

NAVY—THE REGULATIONS—WARRANT OFFICERS—Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, Lord Alcester 932

DEFENCE OF THE COLONIES—COLONIAL NAVAL FORCES—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Australasian or other Colonies with reference to the formation of colonial naval forces,"—(*The Viscount Sidmouth*) .. 932
After debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe*); read 1ª (No. 142) 950

[7.15.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 10.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) **Bill** [Bill 227]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Holms*) .. 950
Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) **Bill** [Bill 229]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Holms*) .. 954
Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

QUESTIONS.

ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE (INDIA)—LIEUTENANT CLARENCE NOBLE—Question, Mr. Montagu Scott; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 954
RIVER STEAMERS (METROPOLIS)—PIMLICO PIER—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 955
TURKEY IN ASIA—THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 956
PUBLIC HEALTH—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA—Questions, Viscount Folkestone, Mr. Stewart Macliver, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Macfarlane, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Ecroyd; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. J. K. Cross 957

EGYPT—THE RINDERPEST—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 965

THE MAGISTRACY—GUILDFORD PETTY SESSIONS—ASSAULT ON THE POLICE BY A HAWKER—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 965

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS COMMITTEE—WITHDRAWAL OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 966

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [BILL 7] [EIGHTEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 9th July*] 967

After long time spent therein, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL — PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS —Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1020

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes before Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MOTIONS.

CATTLE DISEASES ACTS—IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN ANIMALS—RELSOUTION—

Moved, "That this House desires to urge on Her Majesty's Government the importance of taking effectual measures for the suppression of foot and mouth disease throughout the United Kingdom, and it is of opinion that, while for this purpose it is necessary that adequate restrictions, under the powers vested in the Privy Council, should be imposed on the movements and transit of cattle at home, it is even more important, with a view to its permanent extinction, that the landing of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from any Countries as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased,"—(*Mr. Chaplin*) .. 1020

Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to add the words "the recent prevalence of foot and mouth disease calls for the continued and vigilant exercise on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the powers entrusted to it, not only with reference to the movement of live animals at home, but in regard to their importation from abroad, but this House does not consider it necessary, under present circumstances, to make further provision by legislation on the subject,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts 1869 and 1878, and specially as to whether it is possible to take further steps for preventing the introduction of contagious diseases from Abroad, without unduly interfering with the supply of food; and also whether the provisions for preventing the spread of disease can be made more effective,"—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay,*) —instead thereof 1083

CATTLE DISEASES ACTS—IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN ANIMALS—*continued.*

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 200, Noes 192; Majority 8.]

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1083

Main Question put and *agreed to.*

Post Office (Money Orders) Acts Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 263] 1087

[2.0.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 11.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill (*by Order*)—

Order for Consideration, as amended, read 1087

After short debate, Bill, as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Metropolitan Board of Works (*District Railway*) *Bill* (*by Order*)—

Order for Consideration, as amended, read 1088

After short debate, Bill, as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Gladstone; Statement, The Chancellor of the Exchequer:—Short debate thereon 1088

MADAGASCAR—ACTION OF THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE—THE BRITISH CONSUL ORDERED TO LEAVE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir George Campbell, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1097

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone 1099

Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have priority this day, and on each succeeding Wednesday,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [BILL 7] [NINETEENTH NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 10*th July*] 1120

After long time spent therein, it being a quarter before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.* [5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 12.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE EUPHRATES VALLEY LINE—Notice of Question, Lord Lamington 1172

MADAGASCAR—ACTION OF THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE—THE BRITISH CONSUL ORDERED TO LEAVE—Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville 1172

PARLIAMENT—DESPATCH OF PUBLIC BUSINESS — BILLS REPORTED FROM STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Explanation, The Earl of Redesdale 1173

Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers) Bill—
Amendments made by Committee considered (according to order) .. 1174
New Clause moved—(*Viscount Bury* :)—After short debate, on Question ? *resolved* in the *negative.*

LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—THE DISASTER ON THE CLYDE—Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, Earl Granville 1181

Merchandise Marks (Channel Islands and Isle of Man) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Belper*); read 1ª (No. 143) 1181

Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Sudeley*); read 1ª (No. 144) 1182

[5.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 12.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Manchester Ship Canal Bill (by Order)—
Bill, as amended, *considered* 1182
Moved, "That Standing Orders 222 and 243 be *suspended,* and that the Bill be now read the third time (Queen's *Consent,* on behalf of the Crown and Duchy of Lancaster, to be signified),"—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)
After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read the third time (Queen's *Consent* signified), and *passed.*

Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway) Bill (by Order)—
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered" .. 1184
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Thorold Rogers*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Main Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill *considered* ; to be read the third time.

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill [Bill 230]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Holms*).. 1193
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —After debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 212, Noes 91 ; Majority 121.—(Div. List, No. 196.)
Main Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill read a second time.
Moved, "That the Bill be *committed* to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills (Nos. 1, 4, and 5) are to be referred :
"That all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the said Committee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions,"—(*Lord Algernon Percy.*)
Motion *agreed to.*

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill—

Ordered, That the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill be referred to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills Nos. 1, 4, and 5, are referred:

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill, or Orders, be referred to the said Committee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions,—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

QUESTIONS.

Suez (Second) Canal — Provisional Agreement with M. De Lesseps—Notice of Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1209
Greenwich Hospital Bill—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey 1209
Contagious Diseases Acts—Statistics—Questions, Captain Price, Mr. Hopwood; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1209
Crown Lands Act, 1866—Sales of Crown Lands—The Manors of Esher and Milbourne—Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1210
Afghanistan—Subsidy to the Ameer—Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross 1211
Fisheries (Ireland)—The Shannon Fisheries — Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1211
The Magistracy (Ireland)—Roscrea Petty Sessions District—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Callan; [No reply] 1211
Law and Police—Expulsion of Irish Residents at Darwen, Lancashire—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1212
Poor Law (Ireland) — Post-Mortem Examinations — Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1212
Emigration and Passenger Ships—Scandinavian Emigrants—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1213
South Africa—The Republic of Stellaland—Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1213
Mercantile Marine Act—Irish Lighthouses—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1215
Egypt—Sanitary Condition of Alexandria—Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1215
The River Thames—Pimlico Pier—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg 1217
Post Office—The Indian Mails—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1217
Turkey in Asia—The Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company —Navigation of the Tigris—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1218
Mercantile Marine—Harbour of Refuge (Scotland)—Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1219
Post Office (Ireland)—Mails between Limerick and Kilrush—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1219
Law and Police—The Calamity at Sunderland—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1220
Parliamentary Elections (Ireland)—The Monaghan Election—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1221
Literature, Science, and Art—The Circular Theory of Storms—Question, Mr. Earp; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1221

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

[*July* 12.]

Page

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (RE-ORGANIZATION) — Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1222

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS) — THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE — Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1222

EGYPT—LAW AND JUSTICE—TRIAL OF AHMED BEY KHANDEEL—Questions, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1223

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE NATIVE TRIBES—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1224

IRELAND—PAUPER EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES—Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1225

NATURALIZATION—FEES ON CERTIFICATES—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1226

THE CIVIL LIST PENSIONS—PRINCE LUCIEN BONAPARTE—Question, Mr. Creyke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1227

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Monk, Mr. M'Coan, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone 1230

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA—Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1233

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—DR. JORISSEN—Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 1235

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS—Questions, Sir John Hay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Courtney 1236

JAMAICA—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1238

TUNIS—ARREST OF A BRITISH SUBJECT—Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1238

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH)—Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Speaker 1239

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £11,659, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1242

(2.) £42,207, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1255

(3.) £24,057, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1260

(4.) £6,970, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

(5.) £16,896, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

(6.) £36,144, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1261

(7.) £11,832, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1266

(8.) £19,784, to complete the sum for the Postmaster General's Office.

(9.) £46,985, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

(10.) £404,110, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1267

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7] [Twentieth Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 11*th July*] 1279

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

PRIVILEGE.

Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh)—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Speaker 1334

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Prison Service (Ireland) Bill [Bill 248]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1334

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations) Bill [Bill 228]—

Further Consideration, as amended 1335

Bill to be read the third time upon *Thursday* next, and to be *printed*. [Bill 264.]

Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill [Bill 31]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1336

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTION.

Promulgation of the Statutes—Resolution—

Moved, "That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider and revise the List of 1801 for the Promulgation of the Statutes, and the revised List contained in the said Report should be adopted, and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorized and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public Local and Personal Acts, according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List, and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution authorized by the said Revised List from time to time,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) 1338

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.* [2.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 13.

Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner—Question, Observations, Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Lord Lamington, Earl Fortescue; Reply, Lord Sudeley 1340

Railways (Continuous Brakes) Bill (No. 135)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a},"—(*The Earl De La Warr*) .. 1345

After short debate, Motion and Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

South Africa—The Transvaal—Dr. Jorissen—Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, The Earl of Derby 1348

[5.30.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 13.

Page

QUESTIONS.

Poor Law (England and Wales)—Vaccination in Workhouses—St. Pancras Workhouse—Questions, Mr. Hopwood; Answers, Mr. George Russell 1349

National School Teachers (Ireland)—Salaries—Legislation—Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1351

Suez (Second) Canal—Provisional Agreement with M. De Lesseps—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Bourke, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Stewart Macliver, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1351

Madagascar—Action of the French at Tamatave—The British Consul ordered to Leave—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1357

Jamaica—The Executive Government—Questions, Captain Price; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1357

Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea—Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies—Questions, Mr. B. Samuelson, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1359

Parliament—Business of the House—Ministerial Statement—Observations, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Labouchere; Reply, Mr. Gladstone:—Short debate thereon 1359

Egypt—The Cholera—Ministerial Statement, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1363

Egypt—Law and Justice—Trial of Ahmed Bey Khandeel—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1365

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7] [Twenty-first Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 12*th July*] 1365

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *this day.*

The House suspended its Sitting at ten minutes before Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7] [Twenty-first Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 12*th July*] 1408

After long time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* 23rd July, and to be *printed.* [Bill 265.]

Statute of Frauds Amendment Bill [Bill 204]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1463

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next. [1.15.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 16.

Education Department—Elementary Schools—Increase of Insanity among Pupils arising from Overwork—Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Lord Carlingford:—Short debate thereon 1465

[*July* 13.] *Page*

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF STATE-SUPPORTED TRAINING COLLEGES—RESOLUTION—

Moved to resolve—

"That it is inexpedient to extend to Ireland on an equally expensive scale the costly English system of State-supported training colleges for the teachers of elementary schools,"—(*The Earl Fortescue*) 1473

After debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

Factories and Workshops Amendment Bill (No. 113)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a,"—(*The Earl Granville*) .. 1496

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2a,"—(*The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe*) 1497

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next. [7.45.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 16.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

AFGHANISTAN—SUBSIDY TO THE AMEER—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1500

STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1501

METROPOLIS (NORTH AND SOUTH)—COMMUNICATION ACROSS THE THAMES—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg .. 1501

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—NEW STREETS EAST OF LONDON BRIDGE—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg .. 1502

POOR LAW (METROPOLIS)—CASE OF ANNE KANE—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1503

LICENSING—MAGISTRATES OF ROTHERHAM—Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1503

LAW AND POLICE—EXPULSION OF IRISH RESIDENTS AT DARWEN, LANCASHIRE—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1504

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD FOR SCOTLAND—THE STAFF, &c.—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1505

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-CONSTABLES O'NEILL AND M'KAY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1505

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE SCHOOL-HOUSE AT MUNGRET, COUNTY LIMERICK—Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1506

STATE OF IRELAND—COUNTY CAVAN—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1507

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—EXPLOSION AT DERRY—Question, Mr. Leamy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1507

ARMY (INDIA)—THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE—RE-ORGANIZATION—Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1507

TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE XXIII.—THE ISLAND OF CHIOS—Question, Mr. Ralli; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1508

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—EAST BARS, COUNTY LEITRIM—Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1509

STATE OF IRELAND—DISTRESS IN GWEEDORE—Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Callan, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1510

[*July* 16.] *Page*

PASSENGER ACTS—OVERCROWDING OF A RIVER STEAMER AT BROUGHTY FERRY, RIVER TAY, SCOTLAND—Question, Mr. Henderson; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1512

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bourke, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gibson, Mr. A. Elliot, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Attorney General, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone 1513

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND)—Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1520

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF 10TH JULY LAST—Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1520

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—Questions, Captain Price, Mr. Puleston; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1521

THE CIVIL SERVICE—PRIVATE SECRETARIES TO MINISTERS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1521

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA—Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1522

SPAIN—QUARANTINE ON ENGLISH SHIPPING—Question, Mr. Preston Bruce; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1523

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SUNDAY CLOSING (IRELAND) BILL Question, Mr. J. N. Richardson; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 1523

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—MINISTERIAL STATEMENT Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Rathbone, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1524

MADAGASCAR—THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE—DEATH OF CONSUL PAKENHAM—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1527

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) BILLS—Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1527

EAST INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1528

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £937,400, Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1528

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £182,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884" 1577

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £181,300, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £195,800, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1580

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £113,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the several Scientific Departments of the Navy, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884" 1590

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £103,919, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Gorst*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

[*July* 16.] Page

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,556,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884" 1604

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,536,400, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Gourley*:)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 40, Noes 113; Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 204.)

Original Question again proposed 1625

After debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(6.) £71,000, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(7.) £64,900, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1646

(8.) £22,300, Marine Divisions.

(9.) £1,062,500, Sec. 1, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1646

(10.) Sec. 2. Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,052,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Machinery and Ships built by Contract, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884" 1648

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Warton*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £462,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884" 1649

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Tomlinson*:)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 11, Noes 48; Majority 37.—(Div. List, No. 205.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(12.) £119,600, Miscellaneous Services.

(13.) £876,900, Military Pensions and Allowances.

(14.) £329,700, Civil Pensions and Allowances.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1651

(15.) £136,300, Extra Estimate for Services not Naval.—Freight, &c. on Account of the Army Department.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

Post Office (Protection) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 266] 1651

[3.0.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 17.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ADVANCES TO TENANTS—DUTIES OF INSPECTORS—Question, The Marquess of Waterford; Answer, Lord Carlingford 1652

MADAGASCAR—THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE—Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville 1653

Lunatic Poor (Ireland) Bill (No. 85)—

Moved, "That the Order for the House to be put into Committee be discharged,"—(*The Lord President*) 1653

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*, and Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Bill (No. 144)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Sudeley*) .. 1655

After short debate, further debate on the said Motion adjourned till *Tuesday* next.

PARLIAMENT—DESPATCH OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—BILLS REPORTED FROM STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Question, Observations, The Earl of Redesdale; Reply, Earl Granville 1659

SPAIN — THE STEAMSHIP "LEON XIII" — Question, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, Earl Granville 1660

THE SUEZ CANAL—CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS—Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Earl Granville:—Short debate thereon 1664

EGYPT—THE SLAVE TRADE IN UPPER EGYPT—Question, Observations, The Earl of Fife; Reply, Earl Granville 1675

[6.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 17.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

Channel Tunnel Railway Bill (by Order)—

Moved, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Tuesday next,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1677

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Second Reading *deferred* till *Tuesday* next.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION AND DOCK (INTEREST) BILL —RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That, in the case of the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Interest) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1677

Motion *agreed to*.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—OFFICE OF HIGH COMMISSIONER—Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1678

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND) — RESULTS EXAMINATIONS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1678

MADAGASCAR — THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE — Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1679

THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY—COPY OF THE REGISTER OF SHAREHOLDERS—Questions, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Labouchere, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1681

JAMAICA—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1683

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill [Bill 186] [FIRST NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1683

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

[1.0.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 18.

Page

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill [Bill 186] [Second Night]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 17th July*] 1798

After long time spent therein, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Ways and Means—

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884, the sum of £15,182,707 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Friday.*

Public Health Act, 1875 (Support of Sewers) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Brogden, Sir George Elliot, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Salt, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Tomlinson*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 267] 1864

[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 19.

Factories and Workshops Amendment Bill (No. 113)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Earl Granville*) 1865

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—House in Committee accordingly.

Bill *reported,* without amendment; and to be read 3^a on *Monday* next.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe*) 1875

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—House in Committee accordingly: Bill *reported,* without amendment; and to be read 3^a on *Friday* the *27th instant.*

Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill (No. 140)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 1876

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

Merchandise Marks (Channel Islands and Isle of Man) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Belper*) .. 1876

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* the *27th instant.*

Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock—Observations, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, Lord Sudeley:—Short debate thereon 1877

PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES—

Resolved, That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider and revise the List of 1801 for the Promulgation of the Statutes, and the Revised List contained in the said Report, should be adopted; and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorised and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public Local and Personal Acts according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List; and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution authorised by the said Revised List from time to time,—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

[7.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 19.

QUESTIONS.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM—EVENING ADMISSION—Question, Mr. Daniel Grant; Answer, Sir John Lubbock 1882

VACCINATION ACTS—THE BRIGHTON BOARD OF GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1882

PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE INCLOSURE IN REGENT'S PARK—Questions, Mr. Daniel Grant; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1883

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—POSTAL DELIVERY OF TELEGRAMS—Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1884

PARLIAMENT—PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WEST FRONT OF WESTMINSTER HALL—Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre .. 1885

THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS—COST OF MILITARY OCCUPATION—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1886

MINES REGULATION ACT, 1872—EXAMINATION OF MINES—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1886

JAPAN—IMPORTATION OF DRUGS AND CHEMICALS—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1886

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—ESTATES OF THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1887

AFRICA (RIVER CONGO)—NEGOTIATIONS WITH PORTUGAL—Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1888

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—PUBLIC OPINION IN THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1888

BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—ADVANCES TO IRISH TENANTS—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1889

TURKEY IN ASIA — THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS—Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1889

ACCIDENTS IN MINES—LIFE BRIGADES IN MINING DISTRICTS—Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1890

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS—Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, The Attorney General 1891

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—TRAINING OF MILITIA RECRUITS—Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1891

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—MR. RYAN, SHORTHAND WRITER — Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1891

BOARD OF TRADE—COMMITTEE ON LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS—BEST FORM OF LIGHT—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain 1892

TRAMWAY LOANS—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 1893

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE LOWER BANN—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1893

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

[*July* 19.] *Page*

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — POLICE HUT AT KILMOORS, CO. CLARE—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1893

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES) — THE WESTMINSTER WORKHOUSE INQUIRY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. George Russell .. 1894

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—FISHERY TRESPASS CASE AT GLIN, CO. LIMERICK—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1895

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS —COMMUNICATIONS FROM FOREIGN POWERS — Questions, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1896

COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL BILL—MR. JUSTICE HAWKINS—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Attorney General 1896

NAVY—THE "VICTORIA AND ALBERT" YACHT—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1897

MADAGASCAR—PROTECTION TO LIVES AND PROPERTY OF BRITISH SUBJECTS—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1898

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS —Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Gibson; Answers, The Attorney General, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1899

ROYAL HOSPITALS AT CHELSEA AND KILMAINHAM—REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE—Question, Colonel North; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1902

THE SUNDERLAND CALAMITY—THE HOME OFFICE INQUIRY—Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1902

ARMY ESTIMATES—WARLIKE STORES—Question, Mr. Earp; Answer, Mr. Brand 1902

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) BILL — Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1903

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE SHANNON—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1903

ECCLESIASTICAL GRANTS—THE CHURCH AT HONG KONG—THE GRANT IN AID—Questions, Sir John R. Mowbray, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1903

MALTA—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1904

ARMY—COURTS MARTIAL—Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1905

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE — Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1906

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS —Questions, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Mr. Ritchie, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Sir Stafford Northcote, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Chancellor of the Exchequer.. 1906

CHAMBERS OF AGRICULTURE AND FARMERS' CLUBS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND) —DEPUTATION TO THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL—Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1911

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL—Questions, Mr. Lewis, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Attorney General .. 1911

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—PROBATE, DIVORCE, AND ADMIRALTY DIVISION—Question, Mr. Inderwick; Answer, The Attorney General .. 1912

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS —Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1913

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA — Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Marquess of Hartington 1914

PRIVILEGE.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—BRADLAUGH *v.* GOSSET—Communication to the House 1915

Ordered, That the said Communication be taken into Consideration To-morrow, at Two of the Clock,—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill [Bill 186] [THIRD NIGHT]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 18*th July*] 1919

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Postponed Resolution [16th July] *further considered* .. 2023

(5.) "That a sum, not exceeding £1,556,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

After debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Greenwich Hospital Bill [Bill 253]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Thomas Brassey*) 2038

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations) Bill [Bill 264]—

Order for Third Reading read 2040

Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed,"—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Third Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

WAYS AND MEANS—
Consolidated Fund (No. 4) Bill—

Resolution [July 18] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*); *presented*, and read the first time 2042

[2.30.]

LORDS.

SAT FIRST.

THURSDAY, JULY 12.

The Lord Carew, after the death of his father.

FRIDAY, JULY 13.

The Lord Sherborne, after the death of his father.

COMMONS.

NEW WRIT ISSUED.

MONDAY, JULY 9.

For *the Borough of Wexford, v.* Timothy Michael Healy, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

MONDAY, JULY 2.

Town and Port of Hastings—Henry Bret Ince, esquire, Q.C.

MONDAY, JULY 16.

Borough of Wexford—John Francis Small, esquire.

THURSDAY, JULY 19.

County of Monaghan—Timothy Michael Healy, esquire.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

Fourth Session of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*,
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1883.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 2nd July, 1883.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills — *Committee* — Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) (111); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (104); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order * (118); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 2) * (119); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 3) * (120); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 4) * (121); Supreme Court of Judicature (Funds, &c.) * (130).

Committee—Report—Inclosure Provisional Order (Hildersham) * (115); Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) * (116); New Forest Highways * (101); Forest of Dean (Highways) * (98).

Report—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Fraserburgh Waterworks) * (63).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (73); Sea Fisheries * (127); Stolen Goods * (105), and *passed.*

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 3) BILL.—(No. 111.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to Order).

LORD SUDELEY moved, as an Amendment, to withdraw the name of the Woolwich and South-East London Tramway from the title of the Bill. He said that the Board of Trade had power, under the Tramways Act of 1870, to grant Provisional Orders, provided they had the consent of the local and road authorities. When the matter was brought before them, it was alleged by the agents that the Woolwich Local Board were the only local authority, and their consent was produced. It afterwards—when the Bill was before the House—transpired that the Metropolitan Board of Works claimed to be the local authority under the clause of the Act. Under these circumstances the Board of Trade decided to have the question argued before them, and the decision they arrived at was that the consent of the Metropolitan Board was necessary. As the matter now stood, therefore, the Order was *ultra vires*, and the Board of Trade had no other course but to ask the House to allow this Order to be withdrawn.

Amendment *moved*, in the title of the Bill, page 1, leave out ("Woolwich and South-East London Tramways.")—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

Lord BALFOUR said, he maintained that there was no reason for imputing any fraudulent intentions to the promoters of the Bill. The Woolwich and South-East London Tramways were already in operation, and the Provisional Order in question only related to about 12 chains of a new line. The Company was advised that the Board of Works was not the local authority. It was, no doubt, a legal question whether or not the claim of the Metropolitan Board of Works was well founded; and it would be a hard case on the promoters to lose the benefit of all the expense which they had incurred in relation to the Bill.

Lord SUDELEY observed, that on the 12th of February the Tramways Company received notice from the Metropolitan Board of Works stating that they considered themselves to be the local authority.

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

House *resumed;* and to be again in Committee on *Tuesday* the 10*th instant.*

NEW GUINEA.

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

Lord LAMINGTON, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he has received any official information that the Victorian Government, in

concurrence with the other Colonial administrations, is taking steps with the view of urging on the Imperial Government the importance of annexing the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, and other groups in the Pacific; and if he will state how far any colonial government is justified in annexing territory, or even in advising a policy of annexation, without the previous consent of the Imperial Government; and to move for Papers, said, the question was a very important one. It was perfectly clear that it had originated with the Victorian Government, in consequence of what occurred in Queensland with reference to the annexation of New Guinea. From what occurred, from time to time, in "another place" he understood that Her Majesty's Government had not made up their mind yet whether they approved or disapproved of the policy of the Government of Queensland. As far as his own feelings went, he must say he thought this question of annexation a very dangerous one. He really did not know what right they had to talk of annexing certain islands one day and an enormous extent of country another day. The word "annexation" was a very grand word, just like the word "suzerainty." They were governed by grand words; but annexation, to his mind, seemed almost spoliation. He did not see what right they had to act so, except upon the principle—

> "That they may take who have the power,
> And they may keep who can."

The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby), as far as he could gather from observation of what occurred, agreed with his view of annexation. The noble Earl, in answer to a deputation from the Aborigines Protection Society, that waited upon him last February, with reference to the proposed annexation of the New Hebrides, used these words—

> "All I can say is, that I am glad to observe that no suggestion has been made by any speaker, that we should ourselves annex these islands or establish a Protectorate over them. Annexation is not looked on with favour in this country."

He was glad to hear that from the noble Earl. At the interview to which he referred, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was present, and the noble Earl undertook that the Government would endeavour to come to a formal understanding with France to preserve the independence of the New Hebrides. The real object of these annexations was one connected with the Free Labour Question. What, he asked, occurred the other day in Queensland? As soon as the annexation of New Guinea was effected a ship was sent from Port M'Kay to look for labourers, whose condition, if not slavery, would certainly amount to servitude. There was abundant evidence to show that servitude would be their unhappy lot. One of the most distinguished of our Colonial Governors—Sir Arthur Gordon—in answer to a deputation which waited upon him on the eve of his departure for Fiji, said—

> "I trust that, in the exercise of the large powers with which it is, I believe, intended to intrust me, on Her Majesty's High Commission in Western Polynesia, I may be enabled materially to check, if not wholly to suppress, those acts of piratical violence which have excited such just and general reprobation throughout the civilized world."

An influential paper published at Melbourne said—

> "Another wail of sorrow and disgrace has reached us from the South Sea Islands—another series of catastrophes has to be chronicled—another page in the history of traffic in regard to Polynesian labour has to be written in blood. The news received last week, on the arrival of the *Rhoderick Dhu*, labour vessel, at this port, is perfectly appalling; but such is the deadening power of being accustomed to the recital of such scenes, that the effect appears to have been but small in the minds of the community generally, and in the Legislative Assembly more particularly. In the House we find what is in effect a defence of the hideous system by the Premier of the country."

And Commodore Wilson used these words—

> "I can hardly imagine anyone not interested in getting cheap labour for a moment countenancing the labour trade, or the employment of Natives by traders and others. Only a few years ago (1860 and 1865), and even later, much indignation was felt in England because the French Government sanctioned what was known as the 'engage trade' between their Colonies and Africa. Such was, I know, from personal observation on the spot, nothing but the Slave Trade under a new name; but I ask what is the difference between the engaged African and the Native labourer recruited from the South Sea Islands? I certainly can see none. If anything, as the African originally cost more, being the more valuable animal, his plight was probably the best. It would, undoubtedly, be best entirely to stop what is known as the Polynesian labour traffic."

The number of Natives imported into New South Wales from 1876 to 1881 was 2,345; into Victoria, from 1873 to 1880, 1,959; into Queensland, within a comparatively few years, the large number of 17,329; into New Zealand, from 1871 to 1881, 338; into Fiji, between 1864 and 1869, 1,649, and between 1874 and 1880, 7,395. *The Melbourne Argus* said—

> "We have good reason to believe that the Imperial Government is elaborating a scheme for the better government of the Western Pacific and the regulation of the labour traffic. It can hardly be doubted that under existing arrangements many atrocities are perpetrated on the Islanders by labour collectors and their agents. After making every allowance for exaggeration, sufficient evidence remains to show a state of affairs that cannot be allowed to continue without disgrace to civilization."

It was said that New Guinea had iron mines, gold mines, and so on; but was that a good argument for annexing it? The same kind of argument might be used to justify the breaking into a rich man's house. He now came to the second part of his Question, which was—what were the powers and what the limits of authority of Colonial Governments? If this kind of action was tolerated, one Colony after another might proceed to make annexations. He would ask, were Colonial Governments to be allowed to put this country into what might be called "a fix?" He should have thought that any Colonial Governor, before pursuing such a policy, would have to ask the permission of the Colonial Office. He confidently hoped that the noble Earl opposite would be able to say that the Government were not disposed to sanction this policy of annexation. He begged to move for Papers on the subject.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers relating to the proposed annexation of New Guinea."—(*The Lord Lamington.*)

Lord NORTON said, he wished to express a somewhat different opinion from that of his noble Friend. He wished to protest against the assumption that annexation by British Colonies of adjacent unoccupied territory, subject to subsequent approval by the Crown, was so unprecedented a thing as his noble Friend seemed to suppose. The policy which his noble Friend had called into question had marked every period of our Colonial history, especially the most brilliant. A very considerable number of the Colonies we once had in America, which were now, in consequence of an unfortunate episode of contrary policy, independent States, were annexed to the British Crown in that way. Those Colonies were, indeed, self-maintained and self-defended, and had contributed their Forces to aid us against our common foreign enemies. It was because we had lost that high spirit of colonization that such fears were expressed. It was because we looked upon Colonies now rather as Dependencies which we had to support than of a growth of Empire of equal freedom with ourselves that we were afraid of annexation. The first great sign of the decadence of the Romans was their restricting and drawing in the outskirts of their Empire, considering that those spreading extremities were a burden upon them, and were unable to support themselves. If, however, we adopted the same principle, we should not have the same fate, because our Colonies had too much of the spirit of growth in them to be stifled by a repressive spirit at home. The British Sovereign could not persistently refuse the offered allegiance. The only question was, whether, when annexation became necessary, the Colony itself should undertake the work, or the Imperial Government should assume the actual government of the new territory and constitute it a Crown Colony; in short, whether the annexed territory should be a new Colony, or should form part of an old one? He could not agree with the noble Lord that Colonies would be likely to misuse their power in annexing countries half occupied by barbarian tribes by maintaining the Slave Trade, or by confiscating Native property; but were we to assume that even if any attempt were made to take such a course, we should be powerless, through their local government, to prevent it? Why could not the Queenslanders take slaves from New Guinea now if they desired? His only objection to the taking of Fiji was that it was made a Crown Colony instead of being annexed to New South Wales. Possibly, the now proposed annexation would be better made by an united Australian action. He held that it was better that old Colonies anxious to annex practically unoccupied territories in their own neighbourhood, and to bring them safe from foreign interference within their own administration, should be allowed to do so, than that we should have innumerable little Crown Colonies scattered all over the world, involving the British Government in a thousand intricate questions and responsibilities, hindering commerce, and placing on the shoulders of the British taxpayers an enormous and useless expenditure, and all this in the teeth of our experience in the best Colonial policy which this country had ever known.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, that the Motion of his noble Friend (Lord Lamington) referred to two questions. First, to the possible annexation of the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands; and, next, to the instructions that were to be given to Colonial Governments and Governors. The islands in question were, no doubt, closely connected geographically with Fiji, New Zealand, and the Australian Continent; but, as it appeared to him, their annexation was not a matter of pressing importance. If the Government received any application or recommendation on the subject from the Colonial Governments, it was to be hoped they would carefully consider it, and watch the course of action of any other Power with a jealous eye; but he would not at this moment urge the case of the New Hebrides upon that point. He now passed to the terms of the Motion, which embodied some of the most extraordinary propositions he had ever heard. The Notice began by asking the Colonial Secretary how far any Colonial Government was justified in annexing territory, or even in advising a policy of annexation, without the previous consent of Her Majesty's Government. In ordinary circumstances, a Colonial Government was, of course, not justified in annexing territory *proprio motu*, and without communication with the Imperial Government; but extraordinary circumstances might not only justify, but even compel such an act. Indeed, the whole history of our Colonies showed that they had been originally acquired by the voluntary and spontaneous action of captains, Government officers, travellers, and commercial adventurers, necessarily without the knowledge of the British Government, by whom they were afterwards accepted and taken over. The Government was free to accept or decline the annexation of new territories, and they always had the final power in their hands; but to lay down an abstract principle contained in the Question of his noble Friend was too preposterous to be considered for one moment. The next part of the Notice—that, namely, which asked whether Colonial Governments were justified in advising a policy of annexation without the consent of Her Majesty's Government—was so surprising that he was at a loss to know whether his noble Friend could be serious. It would be foolish, indeed, to issue such an Order. The question of the annexation of the Southern Coast of New Guinea was vital to the Australian Colonies; and if it was to be stopped, what else was to be put into the category of prohibition? The Colonists of Australia were just as loyal as we were, and they desired the right of free speech; and his noble Friend must know extremely little of the temper and condition of the Australian Colonies when he made such a proposition. Could his noble Friend possibly think that Colonial Governments ought to be forbidden even the expression of their opinion, or that they would be rendered dumb by an Order from the Colonial Office? But, perhaps, his noble Friend alluded rather to Colonial Governors than to Colonial Governments. The position held by Colonial Governors was a peculiar one, and if they were required to act according to the strict letter of their instructions they would often fail to fulfil the great functions they had to discharge. The position and duty of a Colonial Governor varied considerably—in some cases he was a sort of Constitutional Sovereign, in others he acted as an Adviser of the Colonial Government, and also of the Home Government; and many a Governor whom he had known had stood in this trusted position between the Colonial and the Home Governments with the confidence of both. Therefore, if the noble Lord meant that the Colonial Governor was to withhold the expression of his opinion to Her Majesty's Government, that was a proposition equally preposterous to the previous one. He wished now to enlarge somewhat on the terms of the Motion, and to ask what was the opinion of the Government on the subject of the annexation of New Guinea? He was a little surprised that no announcement had yet been made on this question, especially as a long interval had now elapsed since the discussion of the subject in the House, and the Government could not be supposed not to have come to a decision. In the course of the discussion to which he had referred, he had guarded himself very carefully against expressing a definite or distinct opinion as to what should be done; but the Papers that had since been laid on the Table of the House had made it possible to form a decided conclusion. Everyone, probably, would admit the unwisdom of sanctioning the annexation of the whole or part of New Guinea to the Queensland Government, because Queensland, though a prosperous and thriving Colony, had not more than 250,000 of population, and £2,000,000 of income, and had not at present developed her resources sufficiently to enable her to bear so great a burden; but the time had, in his opinion, come when the Government might determine what steps should be taken with regard especially to the Southern seaboard of Australia. As to slavery or abuses in the labour trade, it was very easy to rake up extraordinary stories from the Colonial newspapers; but the importation of labour was placed under very strict statutory restrictions. The Governments and Governors were doing their duty in that part of the world; and there was not much fear of real abuses. His noble Friend had confounded the action of half-a-dozen Colonial Governments. To talk of labour trade in New Zealand was absurd; and as to the abuses in Fiji, the matter was admirably regulated there a few years ago, and he had never heard of anything to lead him to believe there had been any retrogression since. The simple reason why the Australian Governments desired some action on the part of Her Majesty's Government was, that they dreaded the establishment of any Foreign Power on the Southern Coast. It would be a monstrous thing if any Foreign Power were to take up a position on the South Coast of New Guinea. When the question was raised in 1876, he, as Colonial Secretary, had no fear of the action of any Foreign Power; the Government had taken the precaution to satisfy themselves; they stated so publicly, and their confidence was justified by the result; but a great change had occurred since that time. It was impossible for us to shut our eyes, and still more for the Australian Colonists, to whom this was a matter of life and death, to shut their eyes to the recent action of France, whose rulers had publicly proclaimed their desire to have a Colonial policy, and who were taking action in Tahiti, the Congo, Tonquin, Madagascar, and possibly other parts of the world. The establishment of a Penal Colony by France or any other Power on the Southern Coast of New Guinea would be simply an intolerable nuisance, and the establishment of an armed fort would be a menace to the Australian Colonies. Torrens Straits would cease to be English territory, and the result would be to throw an enormous military burden on the Australian Colonies. We could not understand this question as the Australians did; as it was to them a matter of life or death, they could hardly view the matter from our cold and impartial standpoint. Another reason why the matter could not be overlooked, and why definite action on the part of the Government seemed to be necessary, was that there was great risk of a sort of Alsatia growing up on the coast. The two shores were 60 or 70 miles apart; the quiet summer sea could be crossed in open boats; commercial intercourse was growing up; and there was every probability of disputes arising between the Natives and the White population. Sir Arthur Gordon was alive to this danger, and reluctantly came to the conclusion that it was incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to consider whether they should not take some steps in the matter. It was absolutely necessary that some discipline should be enforced on the coasts, and the question was how it was to be done. In an analogous case we had enforced discipline by means of what was called the Pacific Islanders Protection Act, which had worked admirably. It gave power to the High Commissioner of Fiji to exercise very large powers indeed, and the result had been to put a stop to most of the practices which his noble Friend seemed to think existed at present. There were three classes of persons requiring to be brought under discipline — Englishmen, Natives, and foreigners; but this Act applied to Englishmen only; and it was clear that, unless its powers were greatly enlarged, it would not be adequate to meet all possible risks; there was an analogous power on the Gold Coast, which was British territory, and it worked admirably, because English officials had full powers on the coast, the interior being left to take care of itself. The question first came distinctly into view in 1876, when he was Colonial Secretary, and when applications were made for the annexation of the whole or part of New Guinea. The Fiji Islands had just been annexed. He had thought it his duty to propose to the Australian Colonies that this fresh addition to Imperial liabilities should not be undertaken solely on the responsibility of this country. It did not appear to him to be reasonable that the British taxpayer should be required to pay for it exclusively; and he proposed that each of the Australian Colonies should make a moderate contribution to the outlay. That proposition was declined, though the general sense of the Colonists was very far, indeed, from being unfavourable to it. Soon afterwards a question was raised as to New Guinea; and he repeated the proposal he had made in the case of Fiji, pointing out that it would be unreasonable and unjust to impose the burden on this country exclusively. He explained his views fully, and intimated that he was not discouraged by the answer he had received, and that he considered the question of annexation by no means closed; and, in fact, as only in abeyance. In a few years his anticipations had been completely justified. The Australian Colonies had adopted, in the case of New Guinea, the policy he had invited them to adopt in the case of Fiji; they had expressed themselves ready to accept the entire burden of the expense, and to leave the administration to Her Majesty's Government. In all the circumstances, it seemed to him that it was the duty of the Government to consider whether they could not meet the Colonists. The question was, comparatively speaking, little understood at home, and we could scarcely appreciate the interest it had for the Australians. He hoped the noble Earl the Colonial Secretary would not only weigh his words carefully, but would show that he had hearty sympathy with these great and noble Colonies.

The Earl of LONGFORD said he did not think there was anything improper or preposterous in the Question which the noble Lord (Lord Lamington) had asked. He only asked for information. The subject was one on which there had been no official declaration for a long time, and Parliament and the public would be glad to hear what were the views of the Government as to the relative positions of this country and the Colonies. In his opinion the noble Lord had done good service by bringing the subject forward.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER said, it was a gratification to hear the declaration of the noble Earl the late Colonial Secretary in favour of annexation. He was certain, from his knowledge of those countries, that the noble Earl did not say a word too much; and he hoped that those arguments would have weight with Her Majesty's Government in whatever decision they might come to on the point. The noble Lord who brought forward this subject had observed that the labour traffic was a mere subterfuge for slavery. He could assure the noble Lord that that was not at all the case. The inhabitants of Queensland were no more inclined to practise slavery than any of their Lordships. In Victoria and New Zealand there was no coloured labour at all. In Queensland the labour was very jealously guarded. The electoral franchise was very low, and the majority of the electors, who belonged to the labouring classes, were very jealous of any coloured labour. They had imposed a tax of £10 a head on immigrants from China, and the coloured labour was restricted to the sugar estates on the coast in the tropical part of the Colony. The coloured labourers were introduced only for a period of three years; they were subject to inspection; and at the end of the term they had to be sent back by the persons who employed them. True, there were abuses of the labour traffic in some of the Islands; but the only way to stop these abuses was to take the Islands and govern them. In fact, this was an additional reason for annexing them whenever it appeared practicable.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, he thought that the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) took rather a rose-coloured view of the state of the labour traffic in these territories. He wished to take exception to the expressions of the noble Lord (Lord Norton), who found fault with the manner in which the noble Lord who introduced the discussion had blamed annexation. "Annexation" was a word entirely foreign to the English language; it was invented by the Americans to make that which was wrong appear to be right.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I do not know that it would be of any advantage that I should take part, either as a disputant or as an umpire, in the interesting conversation which has been carried on on the other side of the Table. I quite agree with my noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon), who was formerly Secretary of State for the Colonies, in one proposition which he has uttered as to the terms of the Question which has been put to me. My noble Friend opposite (Lord Lamington) gave Notice of his intention to ask me to state how far any Colonial Government is justified in annexing territory, or even in advising a policy of annexation without the previous consent of the Imperial Government. Well, my Lords, I apprehend that the right of offering advice, or, rather, as I should say, of expressing the wishes and feelings of a Colonial community, is one with which no one could desire to interfere. It is most essential that we should know, whether we agree with it or not, what Colonial feeling is upon questions of this kind; and I am very happy to find that the system which has been of late established of giving to the Agents General for the self-governed Colonies what I may call a *quasi*-diplomatic character and position has made it much more easy than it formerly was for any person holding the Office which I have the honour to hold to obtain accurate and constant information as to the opinion which prevails in the Colonies themselves on local matters. I do not think there is any use in discussing the general argument as to whether annexations are desirable or not, and if they are to take place, whether they should be effected on the responsibility of the Colony, or on the responsibility of the Home Government. You cannot lay down in such matters any hard-and-fast line. Circumstances differ so much that no two cases resemble one another, and no one case can be quoted as a precedent for others. Speaking generally, I should say—and I think it is the universal feeling of this country—that our responsibilities are already heavy enough, that our Possessions, scattered, as they are, over every part of the world, are sufficient to require the utmost care and vigilance, and that it is not desirable to increase either the one or the other. No doubt, if, as in this case it has happened, a Colonial community itself, desiring an increase of its territory, undertakes to bear the burden, and to take upon itself the administration and the expense, that is a circumstance which alters, to some extent, the position. At the same time, I think that my noble Friend on the second Bench (Lord Norton), who has taken for many years past a warm interest in Colonial subjects, carried his doctrine of Colonial independence a little too far when he contended that a Colony should be left free in its external policy, as well as in the administration of its internal affairs. There is a very wide difference between the two. Whatever a Colony does with regard to its own affairs affects principally—indeed almost exclusively—those by whom the legislation is undertaken; but when you come to the question of external policy and of annexation, or of extension, other considerations come in, since the annexation even of an island in the Pacific may raise a question of foreign policy in which the Imperial Government is very deeply concerned. I do not think, therefore, it can be denied that questions of this kind are questions on which the Imperial Government ought to have, as it actually has, a controlling power. Now, my Lords, passing from these general considerations, I think the best answer I can give to the Question of my noble Friend will be to state briefly, and with no more comment than is absolutely necessary, what has actually taken place. When I last spoke on this subject some weeks ago, I told your Lordships all that I knew; but I knew very little. I knew nothing more than that a ceremony, purporting to be an annexation of New Guinea, had been gone through at the order of the Government of Queensland, and that an explanation of that singular and unusual proceeding was about to be sent home. Well, of course, before expressing any opinion upon the matter, it was necessary to hear the explanation that would be given. I have now received it, and I am bound to say that it does not throw much fresh light upon the transaction, and that it does not in any way satisfactorily account for the action that was taken. The explanation given comes to no more than this—I shall shortly lay it on the Table—that there were strong reports throughout Australia of the intention of some Power — nobody knew what Power—to seize upon some part—nobody knew what part—of New Guinea. I endeavoured to ascertain the origin of these reports; but it does not appear that there was a shadow of evidence forthcoming to substantiate them. They were simply a creation of the anxiety felt by the Colonists in this subject; and, as a matter of fact—and, of course, I have taken all possible pains to inquire—we are tolerably well assured that, as regards the leading European Powers — that is to say, the only Powers that are at all likely to interfere in such a matter—no such intention is entertained. My noble Friend who was formerly Colonial Secretary (the Earl of Carnarvon) referred to certain designs which he ascribed to France, and he used an argument which seemed to me to cut both ways, and rather to tell against his case than in favour of it. He said—"Look at what the French are doing to build up a Colonial Empire in other parts of the world—in Tonquin and Madagascar." If the French Government, whether with or without the will of the French people, have already undertaken two considerable Colonial expeditions, and, in all probability, have involved themselves in two Colonial wars, that is about as good a security as we could have that they will be not in a hurry to have a third complication of the same kind on their hands. To return, however, to the original question, considering that telegraphic communication existed between Queensland and this country, it would not have involved a delay of more than 24 hours to have asked for the sanction of the Imperial authorities before proceeding to this act of so-called annexation. If, therefore, the Queensland authorities did not apply for leave, it can only have been in consequence of their entertaining decided and, perhaps, a reasonable apprehension that the sanction they asked for would not be granted. And now, my Lords, as to the effects of this formal proceeding, the noble Earl (the Earl of Longford) wants to know—and he has a perfect right to know—what are the rights and powers of Colonial Governors in such matters. I apprehend that the effect of the action of the Governor of Queensland is simply null. A Governor or any official holding authority under Government exercises that authority within the limits of the jurisdiction assigned to him; but beyond those limits, as I understand the matter, his commission does not go; beyond those limits he ceases to be invested with any official power, and an act, therefore, done by him beyond his jurisdiction is of no more validity, in regard to its legal effect, than the act of any private person. The action of the Governor of Queensland, therefore, in this matter, has left things where they were. Of course, it may be said that any person, even though not invested with official power, may take possession of a newly-discovered country in the name of the Czar; but it cannot be contended that New Guinea is an undiscovered country, and I do not think it will be contended that if any passing traveller, of whatever nationality, were to claim that he had taken possession of New Guinea such an act would be held to be valid according to International Law. Now, then, the question arises, what is the course which the Government will be prepared to take? My Lords, I may say, at once, we are not prepared to undertake the annexation of New Guinea. I do not suppose that that decision will be any great surprise to your Lordships or to Parliament. The enormous extent of territory, the absolutely unknown character of the interior, the certainty that the large Native population, numbering several millions, would object to foreign annexation, and the enormous expense of undertaking to administer such a territory, are all reasons which, I think, will be admitted as valid against that course being taken. Even, if upon the general question of annexation, we had come to a different conclusion, I think your Lordships will agree that it would be practically impossible that the Government of Queensland should take upon themselves the work of holding and administering that country. Queensland has already vast unsettled territories. It is a very prosperous and promising Colony; but it is a Colony whose population is exceedingly small in comparison with the extent of the country. I think if you look at the map you will see that the capital—Brisbane—is something like 1,000 miles distant from the nearest point of New Guinea. If, therefore, anything is to be done in the way of conquering and administering New Guinea, one thing is clear—that it must be done by the Imperial Government, or by the Australian Colonies acting together, or by both those agencies combined. New Guinea is too important to be made the Dependency of any Colony. I can quite understand the Australian feeling as to the Coast of New Guinea being a country which lies within the scope of British influences and interests. I purposely use vague and general language; but undoubtedly we should not view it as a friendly act if any other country attempted to make a settlement on that Coast. Further than that, we shall be prepared to strengthen the hands of those charged with preserving order in the Pacific Islands; and we shall consider, with the help of the Colonial Governments, the different means which may be tried for better securing the order of the country, so far as British adventurers are concerned. It may be said—"It is quite true you may get jurisdiction over British subjects, and perhaps over Natives; but you will have no jurisdiction over foreigners." It is a question how far we may obtain jurisdiction over foreigners; but that can only be done by means of negotiation. As to the Natives, I believe it would be seldom necessary to exercise jurisdiction over them, if their rights or their lands were not interfered with. I do not know that I have anything to add, except that I shall be prepared to lay upon the Table in a few days the Correspondence that has passed. There is not very much of it, because I have already given your Lordships and the other House of Parliament the earlier Correspondence. I ought to mention, in further answer to the Question my noble Friend has put to me, that I have received within the last few days a suggestion or proposition very much larger than that for the annexation of New Guinea only. I had an official representation made to me by the Agents of the various Australian Colonies, speaking, and authorized to speak, in the name of their Governments, to consider proposals—first, for the annexation of New Guinea; secondly, of the New Hebrides; thirdly, of the Solomon Islands and the Islands in the neighbourhood of New Guinea; and, fourthly, of those very large and almost entirely unknown islands which lie to the north and north-east of New Guinea, and which occupy, collectively, an area larger, I should think, than that of France or Germany. I could not hold out any great hope that Her Majesty's Government would see that question in the light in which it would be viewed in Australia; but I am bound to recognize the fact that the Australian people in general, although they certainly do not want any extension of territory for their own sake, are very strongly impressed with the danger which they suppose to lie before them if any Foreign Power, great or small, were to establish themselves in a settlement some hundred miles from the Australian Coast. I cannot say I share in that fear. I think they underrate their own powers and their own importance, and that they have really no such cause for fear as they suppose. But, at the same time, the existence of a general opinion of that kind among the great majority of the inhabitants of such a country as Australia is a thing that no wise Minister in this country would ignore; the question which they have raised will have to be considered in all its bearings. They did not ask for any immediate action to be taken; they simply wished to lay their views before Her Majesty's Government, and I have asked them to place those views on paper, so that they could be laid before the Cabinet for the consideration of my Colleagues. What I said to these Colonial Agents I will repeat now—

> "If the Australian people desire an extension beyond their present limits, the most practical step that they could take, the one which will most facilitate any operation of that kind, and diminish in the greatest degree the responsibilities of the Mother Country, would be the confederation of those Colonies in one united whole, which would be powerful enough to undertake and to carry through tasks for which no one Colony is at present sufficient."

I do not dwell upon that point. I only throw it out here as I did to those gentlemen who did me the honour to call upon me; but I think that is really one of the points of the greatest possible importance in dealing with this subject, and certainly in dealing with other Australian questions which are certain to arise in the future.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: There is one question I should like to put in regard to extension. I understood it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take some measures to enforce better discipline on the Southern Coast of New Guinea. I should like to know whether it is proposed to do this by any fresh Act of Parliament, or simply by an Order in Council?

THE EARL OF DERBY: It only requires an Order in Council. I do not apprehend that any further Act of Parliament will be required.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: Do you propose to proceed by the same machinery — the High Commissioner of Fiji?

THE EARL OF DERBY: At present in the same way. If that machinery is defective, it is open to us to consider in what way it may be remedied.

Motion *agreed to.*

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, LEASING AND PERPETUITY ACT, 1851.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH, in rising to move—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into and report as to the position, under the Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, of the grantees and sub-grantees in perpetuity of lands held under grants made in pursuance of the said Act, and as to the position of the occupying tenants of such grantees and sub-grantees; and to inquire and report as to the variations effected in the rents reserved by such grants made subsequently to the date of such grants, and as to the provisions of the said Act regulating such variations; and to inquire and report as to the justice and expediency of further legislation to alter or repeal any of the provisions of the said Act,"

said, he was in no way personally interested in this business—indeed, he had no property at all in Ireland. He had been asked, as an independent Member of the House, to bring forward the question by an enormous body of men who were the tenants and sub-tenants under Trinity College; and solely with the view of removing the hardships from which they suffered he submitted this Motion. The estates of Trinity College were very large, comprising some 200,000 acres. These had been for some hundreds of years let to about 40 or 50 tenants, who had afterwards sub-let them to several hundred other tenants. The original plan of the lettings to the head tenants was by 21 years' leases, renewable on the payment of an annual fine of 5*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. This fine was paid every year, so that the tenant always had a period of 21 years before him. The incomes of the Senior Fellows of the College were made to depend upon these fines, and it was alleged that they could not be altered because the Fellows would suffer thereby. Subsequently, these leases were corrected and altered by two Acts of Parliament—one was an Act passed in the Reign of Charles I., and the second in the Reign of George III. The old system continued down to the year 1848, the year of the Famine, when the tenants had difficulty in paying the rents; and the consequence was that the governing members of the College became alarmed, and made an application to the Government to change the constitution of the College, and enable these fines and rents to be paid into the College, and the Senior Fellows to be paid out of the general fund. The Government, however, refused to grant their request, as it would be unfair to the tenants, and enable the College, by abolishing the renewal fines, to run out the leases, and practically to amend them. They promised to see justice done. In 1850 a Bill was brought in by the Government, which was backed with the names of the Chief Secretary (Sir William Somerville) and the Solicitor General for Ireland. This Bill did not pass into law, but was followed the year after—1851—by a Private Bill, brought up practically by the Government, but which was not backed by the Members of Parliament then sitting who were tenants of Trinity College. It provided, amongst other things, that instead of 21 years' leases with the old annual fine, perpetuity leases should be given to the grantees on payment of an extra rent, and there was a covenant which bound the grantees to give perpetuity leases also to the occupying tenants. The immediate effect of the change was to increase the original rental of the estates by about one-fifth. The rents were subject to a decennial valuation based upon the prices of certain articles of agricultural produce; but among them potatoes and flax, two of the staple articles of Irish production, were omitted. He maintained that the valuation of the property, as authorized by the Act of Parliament, was unfair and unworkable. He did not mean it was unfair in the ordinary sense of the term, but that a very odd standard of valuation was adopted, which was one certain to increase the rent without having regard to the general prosperity of the country. The result of the valuation and the consequent increase of the rents of the immediate grantees was this—that if they should ask a proportionately high rent from the sub-grantees they would ruin the latter, and if they should refrain from asking a high rent they would be ruined themselves. Moreover, the fact of these persons being householders precluded them from receiving the benefit of the Land Acts; so that on one side of a hedge they might have a person with his rent reduced by the Act of the Land Courts, and on the other side a man whose rent was raised by the Act of 1851. The question did not affect merely a few persons, but an enormous number of people; the sub-grantees were several hundred in number, and their case was certainly one of great hardship, and ought to be inquired into. It might be suggested that inquiry was not called for, because if the grantees found themselves in a difficulty it was their own fault, as they had entered into a contract and they must abide by it. To that he replied that no proper contracts had been entered into by the parties whose cause he was advocating, and that the transactions which had occurred were such as did not leave them free to contract or not as they might wish. But though the tenants protested, they were advised to accept the conditions, and practically they had no other alternative. There were several other points which he would have liked to have entered into; but he would not trespass too long on the House. He appealed to their Lordships whether this was not a matter more or less for their consideration. The justice of the case, he thought, would best be met by the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the facts. He felt sure their Lordships would not be willing that injustice should be done to a worthy class of people, even if they were few in number, and much less so when they numbered hundreds. He therefore appealed with confidence to the House to agree to his Motion, which he should press to a Division.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into and report as to the position, under the Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, of the grantees and sub-grantees in perpetuity of lands held under grants made in pursuance of the said Act, and as to the position of the occupying tenants of such grantees and sub-grantees; and to inquire and report as to the variations effected in the rents reserved by such grants made subsequently to the date of such grants, and as to the provisions of the said Act regulating such variations; and to inquire and report as to the justice and expediency of further legislation to alter or repeal any of the provisions of the said Act."—(*The Lord Zouche of Haryngworth.*)

Earl Cairns said, he must compliment the noble Lord on the clearness, and, from his point of view, the fairness of the statement by which he had supported his Motion. He was obliged, however, to dissent from the noble Lord's conclusions. It was very doubtful what could be the object of a Motion of this kind. The noble Lord asked for a Royal Commission to inquire as to the provisions of the Trinity College Act of 1851, and the positions of certain parties under it. But there was no need of any inquiry whatever. The Act of 1851 was as plain as any Act of Parliament that was ever passed; and there could be no possible dispute about the position under the Act, either of

> "The grantees and sub-grantees in perpetuity of lands held under grants made in pursuance of the said Act," or of the occupying tenants, or about "the variations effected in the rents reserved by such grants made subsequently to the date of such grants," or "as to the provisions of the said Act regulating such variations."

There remained only one other thing—and that contained the gist of the noble Lord's Motion—namely—

> "To inquire and report as to the justice and expediency of further legislation to alter or repeal any of the provisions of the said Act."

At first sight that demand seemed a very just and reasonable one; but, to those who looked below the surface, it was plainly a suggestion to Parliament to recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the expediency of breaking certain leases made under Act of Parliament. Such a proposal was not likely to find much favour on his (Earl Cairns's) side of the House. It was the same as if it were proposed to have a Royal Commission to inquire into the expediency of revising the conditions of any of their Lordships' leases. The property was chiefly situated in the North of Ireland, and was leased out. The rent which Trinity College received was £33,000 a year, which was considerably under the Poor Law valuation; and, therefore, the rents could not be said to be excessive. The Act of 1851, which was mentioned in the Question of the noble Lord, had its origin, like many other Acts, both English and Irish, in the unthrifty and unsatisfactory dealing with property by ecclesiastical bodies. In old times, it was the habit of Ecclesiastical Corporations, when not restrained by law, to let their lands below their proper value, and to compensate themselves by the imposition of large fines. This course, however, was interfered with by legislation, which provided for the proper duration of leases, and ordered that the rent reserved should be at least half the value of the land. The result was the renewal of leases from year to year, on payment of an annual fine for renewal. In the year 1849 or 1850 considerable difficulty was experienced by Trinity College in obtaining payment of these fines; and, after an application by the Provost and Senior Fellows to the Lord Lieutenant, a scheme was arranged in accordance with which the whole question was settled by the Act of 1851. It was to be noticed that this Act contained many provisions extremely favourable to the tenants, and that it gave effect to many of the suggestions of those who acted for them in the negotiations. That Act laid down the conditions on which leases were to be granted; and, as the rents were partly based on the current prices of produce, permitted the revision of rents as the prices varied. Ten years after the passing of the Act, prices having risen very considerably, the College thought themselves entitled to a revision of rents, and a revision was made, the cost of which, amounting to £3,000, was paid by the College. The middlemen, having had their rents increased, passed on their increase, and required it to be paid by the occupying tenants; and, under the Land Act, the occupying tenants had come into Court against the middlemen, and had had their rents reduced. The middlemen, therefore, no longer received augmentation of rent from the occupying tenants. The College did not shrink from inquiry into the management of its property; but there was no necessity for it, for all the facts were upon the surface. This being the case, he could not support the present Motion.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he thought the case was one for inquiry. The inquiry need not be a long one, but would be one attended with satisfactory results. There was no suggestion of any breach of faith on the part of the College; but there were many facts too complicated to be brought out in debate, and which ought to be inquired into. The whole case seemed to point to the expediency of the purchase, by a public authority, of the estates of Corporations in Ireland. He was a Member of one which, finding its income reduced, was obliged to withdraw many of the grants it had hitherto made to schools and for educational purposes.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, it was not his business to enter into the merits of the question as between Trinity College and the grantees. The Government did not think it their duty to advise Her Majesty to issue a Commission of Inquiry; that was the view of the Lord Lieutenant when the grantees addressed him not long ago, and the Government did not see any reason to differ from him. He did not agree that inquiry would be short and simple, and would easily dispose of the matter. The facts of the case were perfectly easy to ascertain, and were on the face of the documents that were always accessible to their Lordships. The real object of inquiry was not the desire to obtain additional information, but the desire to recommend fresh legislation for the purpose of obtaining the revision by Parliament of the terms of the Act of 1851, under which the arrangements were made between the College and the tenants. The Government did not deem it their duty to take a step which would involve them in such a responsibility on the application of one of the parties. They were told that the action of the Government in 1851, in introducing a Bill, was a reason why the Government of the present day should accede to this Motion. But he did not agree in that inference. There was no doubt the Government of that time did take a considerable part in the arrangements between the College and its tenants. But that action, which was in the nature of mediation, was taken at the request of both parties, and not upon the application of one party. The Government was now asked to proceed on different lines at the request of one party. A word or two had been said as to the bearing of the Land Act on this question. In his opinion, the Land Act and its operation had practically nothing to do with the question. He admitted that rather an unpleasant light had been thrown upon the standard of valuation under which the College exercised its powers of altering the rents. The College, under the provisions of their Act of 1851, did possess very formidable powers of increasing the rents of their lessees; but those powers had been exercised moderately. And, Land Act or no Land Act, it was clear that the occupying tenants would not have been able to pay the full rents. It must, however, be remembered that the tenants were not coerced at all to accept the arrangement. If there were any coercion at all it lay in the undesirable nature of the property, which was very different from that of land held in fee simple. Although the facts would not justify the Government in interfering in the way in which they were asked to interfere, yet those facts furnished a motive to the College for great moderation in the exercise of their powers—moderation which he was bound to say the College had thus far shown. It was impossible for the Government to assent to the Motion of the noble Lord.

LORD FITZGERALD, in supporting the Motion, remarked, that the system of sub-grantees gave the College a better security for their rents. This was a matter involving the interests, not merely of 38 tenants—that might be a small matter for their Lordships' attention—but of an enormous number of sub-grantees also; for he knew that in one county alone—Armagh—the number of sub-tenants was 500. The decennial valuation based upon the price of produce was a most unwise power to have given the College. In justification for having used the word "unwise," he might quote from the inquiry by the Devon Commission the evidence of a witness who represented Trinity College, and who was one of the ablest men of his day—namely, Dr. Longfield. Being asked if he considered the prices of produce a fair test for the giving of rent, Dr. Longfield replied that he considered it perfectly impossible to form an accurate opinion of the proportion existing between produce and rents, adding, the up and plunder obtained. The peaceful inhabitants were mercilessly harried, and, when caught, were sold into slavery. Latterly, he has turned his attention in our direction. In the early part of the year, a British boat that was passing up the River with the pay of the police at outlying stations was seized and plundered. Shortly after this, British territory was invaded at a place called Mosaipah, within view of Bonthe, the head-quarters of the district. The property of British subjects was seized, and 25 men and women were carried off. This was the third raid, and other places, I believe, in British territory were threatened. The Expedition which, in consequence, was sent out, was directed to the destruction of Gbow's stronghold, and the dispersion of his band. There were no less than 1,500 armed men in occupation of the stockade; but the whole place was speedily destroyed. The newspaper account to which the hon. Member refers, of the events in the Sherbro district, is, as such accounts are apt to be, much exaggerated. The official Report, which we have received, contains no corroboration of the worst details contained in the Question; but it confirms the statement of the large number of Gbow's warriors who were killed in the bush. It appears that when the enemy evacuated the fort, and fled into the surrounding country, the Natives all round who had long been suffering from their acts flocked from all parts, and fell upon the fugitives. As to Mr. Pinkett, he is, undoubtedly, in the absence of Mr. Havelock, responsible for the direction of affairs in British Sherbro. He was appointed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to be Crown Solicitor, and Master of the Supreme Court at Sierra Leone; he was afterwards promoted to be Chief Justice. He has, therefore, been about four years in the Colony, and has already before now administered the Government. Inquiry will be made as to the allegations which have been made in the Press as to the conduct of the Native allies; but until the Government has received further information, they cannot say what steps will be necessary. Papers will very shortly be laid upon the Table of the House. With reference to the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard), I would point out to him that the instructions to which he refers were all addressed to Consuls, or Naval officers, by the Foreign Office and Admiralty respectively, and presumably point to operations in countries entirely outside British territory and jurisdiction. This affair at Sherbro was partly on British territory and partly beyond; and it may be regarded as one of self-defence to repel actual or prevent anticipated attacks. However, as soon as we heard of it, we sent a despatch to the administrator reminding him of the necessity of avoiding generally, as far as possible, such actions until the Home Government could be communicated with, and their sanction obtained.

Mr. GORST: Can the Under Secretary say whether the Government has any confirmation of the news of the destruction of the town as distinct from the destruction of the strongholds?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir. The town and the stronghold are identical. They consist of three stockades—one within another, the huts inside being occupied by the Chief's men.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—BROKERAGE ON SHIPPING (FRANCE).

Mr. CHARLES PALMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What progress has been made in the negotiations with the French Government on the question of Brokerage on Shipping?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Lord Lyons has been instructed to make a further representation to the French Government, inviting them to bring the French law respecting the rights and duties of shipbrokers officially to the knowledge of their Customs authorities, to adopt the Havre scale of fees as maximum rates, to provide for a favourable treatment of vessels in distress, and to take measures to prevent partnerships among the brokers, and such other abuses as may be shown to exist. The various Associations interested in the matter have been informed of the action about to be taken, and have been told that if they think fit to send any duly authorized persons to Paris to put forward their views, Mr. Crowe, the Commercial Attaché to Her Majesty's Embassy, will be instructed to place himself in communication with them, with the view of obtaining their advice in his dealings with the proper French authorities.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER — HOUSE OF COMMONS—THE POST OFFICE IN THE LOBBY.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he has decided upon the proposed enlargement of the Post Office in the Lobby of the House, and when it is likely to be carried out?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that, with the assistance of the Speaker, he would be able to provide a better Post Office accommodation in the Lobby of the House next year. The work would be carried out during the Recess.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—WESTMINSTER UNION WORKHOUSE—CASE OF ANN KANE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether a woman, by name Ann Kane, aged 78 years, applied recently at 9 p.m. for admission to the Westminster Union Workhouse; whether the master refused to admit her, and whether it be true that she lay on the pavement outside the gate all night, until the police interfered, when she was admitted at 7.30 a.m.; and, whether the infant of a Roman Catholic, named Duff, was allowed to die without the rites of the Church, viz. baptism, though the relatives begged that the priest should be sent for, the said infant having lived 13 days?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Local Government Board have communicated with the Guardians of the Westminster Union as to the case of Ann Kane, and they are informed that the woman was refused admission to the workhouse on the night of the 9th ultimo. It is stated by the workhouse master and porter that she was at the time wearing the clothes of another Union, and was very drunk and abusive. The night porter alleges that the woman left after she had been refused admission, and that he was not aware until 6.30 the following morning that she had returned. The woman, however, says that she was lying on the pavement all night. With regard to the infant Duff, the Board are informed that on Sunday, the 17th ultimo, the grandmother of the child having expressed a wish that it should be baptized, the porter was requested by the matron to draw the attention of the Roman Catholic priest to the case when he came to the workhouse. The priest attended in the afternoon of the following day; but the child died somewhat suddenly in the morning of that day. The Board have directed one of their Inspectors to visit the workhouse and make further inquiry, with the view of ascertaining what blame, if any, attaches to the officers in these cases.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—"LISTING."

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to that portion of Professor Baldwin's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the working of the Land Act of 1881, which represents the great loss of public time and the serious inconvenience to the tenants caused by the frequent adjournments of sittings of the Sub-Commissioners before the number of cases listed for hearing have been heard; and, if he will suggest to the Chief Commissioners the advantages likely to accrue by having all cases listed for hearing at each sitting heard before the termination of such sitting?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have brought this question under the notice of the Land Commissioners. They state that it is always a matter of difficulty to decide how many cases should be listed for hearing at a Sub-Commission. It is impossible to tell beforehand the number that will be settled by consent, withdrawn, or struck out, and which, therefore, will not take up the time of the Court. Neither can it be known how much time will be consumed at the trial of each case. The Commissioners make the best calculations they can, and list for each sitting the number of cases which experience shows is likely to be disposed of in the time allotted for the sitting.

MR. KENNY: Have the Land Commissioners under consideration the suggestion contained in the latter part of my Question?

MR. TREVELYAN: The attention of the Commissioners has been more than once directed to this point.

COLLECTION OF TAXES AND RATES (IRELAND).

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that the Barony Constable of Upper Bunrathy, Mr. C. Armstrong, collects the taxes assessed on the farm of Mr. Thomas Corbett, of Ballagh Quin, county Clare, direct from the landlady, notwithstanding that the tenant has been duly rated for the farm which has been in his possession for upwards of two years, while the deputy collector, Thomas Daffy, collects the same taxes from the tenant; if it is the fact that the agent to the property, who is secretary to the county Clare grand jury, directed the rate collector in March of last year to receive the poor rate of the same farm in the name of the landlady; and, whether the conduct of the public officials meets with the approval of the Irish Government?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the hon. Member is, no doubt, aware that the gentlemen named are local officers, and not under the control of the Government. I have, however, communicated with them, and have received replies which I will send to him. If, after reading these letters, he thinks there is a case for the interference of the Government I shall be very glad to answer a public Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—"REGINA *v.* MADDEN."

Mr. KENNY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he will state the reasons why the case of the Queen v. Madden (a gamekeeper to Mr. J. C. Delmege, J.P. of Castlepark, near Limerick city, county Clare) was not proceeded with at the last March Assizes; if it is a fact that a large number of witnesses were present to prove the charge of perjury against Madden; and, if it is a fact that a memorial was presented to the Lord Lieutenant, signed by Mr. J. C. Delmege, J.P. and a number of other magistrates, praying not to let the case be proceeded with?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, this case was not brought on, because, on looking over the depositions, he saw that it was not one to prosecute. The alleged perjury consisted in a statement that two persons charged with poaching had been on the lands of Mr. Delmege in pursuit of the game. The persons charged admitted that their dogs were on the land, and raised a pheasant which they killed, but denied that they themselves crossed the boundary. He was not aware of any witnesses having attended at the Assizes. Those who made depositions were duly informed that they would not be wanted. Mr. Delmege sent a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant; but it was not signed by any other magistrate.

CHILI AND PERU—RUMOURED TREATY OF PEACE.

Mr. COMPTON LAWRANCE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to a letter from Rear Admiral Garcia y Garcia, in the "Times" of June 27th, containing a copy of the bases of a treaty between Chili and Peru, by which it is proposed to cede to Chili all deposits of guano except those actually being worked at the present time; and, whether Her Majesty's Government is aware that all deposits of guano are mortgaged to the Peruvian bondholders, and whether it is intended to take any steps to protect the interest of British subjects?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have received no official information of the conclusion of a Treaty between Chili and Peru; and until they have received such information it will be premature to say what steps, if any, they may be called on to take.

LAW AND JUSTICE (INDIA)—JURISDICTION IN CIVIL CAUSES.

Major CURZON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Resident at Khota, in Rajpootana, did adjudicate upon a civil case, touching personal property of the value of £30,000 or thereabouts, in favour of one Chotalal Tribhonandass; whether the said case was subsequently tried by a Native Court, and the judgment of the Resident at Khota reversed; whether Mr. Kavanagh, counsel for Chotalal Tribhonandass, petitioned the Indian Government to have the case heard on appeal by an English Court; and, whether the Resident at Khota is still in possession of the property, and that the Government of India has declined to interfere in the matter?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the case in question appears to be an ordinary civil suit, and information in regard to such cases is not sent home by the Indian Government.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE RESERVED TERRITORY.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to the statement made by Mr. Shepstone, the British Commissioner in the Reserved Territory, in his letter of January 12th to Sir Henry Bulwer, that—

> "If all the Chiefs who expressed unwillingness to live under Cetywayo were to come into the Reserved Territory, and to be followed by any number of their people, room would not be found for them,"

and to the further statement in his letter of March 16th to the same effect, Whether, considering that nine out of the twelve deposed Chiefs have signified this unwillingness, there is at present in the Reserved Territory room for all those Chiefs, and the people who may wish to follow them; and, for what reason Sir Henry Bulwer's important telegram of November 30th 1882, in which he pointed out that the further reduction in extent of the Reserved Territory, as decided upon by Her Majesty's Government, would have the effect of preventing the establishment of a necessary balance of power, was omitted from Blue Book C. 3466?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Mr. Shepstone's statement was only a contingent prophecy, which certainly as yet has not turned out true, as his successor, Mr. Osborn, does not report to us any actual or anticipated overcrowding in the Zululand Reserve. I do not know where the hon. Member got his information from; but certainly the facts within the knowledge of the Government do not bear out the statements in the second paragraph of the Question; on the contrary, several of the Chiefs had expressed their desire for Cetewayo's return. The telegram of November 30 was not given in the Blue Book, because it added little or nothing to what had already been given as Sir Henry Bulwer's views; it was merely an acknowledgment of the Secretary of State's despatch. It did not require the insertion of the telegram to show that Sir Henry Bulwer is not responsible for the curtailment of the Reserved Territory.

NAVY—ASSISTANT PAYMASTERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether certain Assistant Paymasters of the Royal Navy have served as much as fourteen or fifteen years in their present rank; and, whether the greater part of such service is not allowed to count for increase of pay, half-pay, and retirement as Paymaster until after eleven years' Service in the higher rank?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; it is the case that the senior assistant paymasters have served 14 and 15 years in their rank. I am glad to say, however, that the prospects of promotion are at present somewhat more favourable than they have been. With regard to the hon. Member's second Question, he correctly states the rule of the Service on the subject.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I should like to ask whether it is the intention of the Admiralty to make any alteration in the position of the officers or in their pay?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir; there is no such intention at present.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Then I shall bring up the matter on the first occasion on the Estimates.

MINES (COAL) REGULATION ACT—LOCKED LAMPS.

MR. ROLLS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the recent death of Stephen Hutton through a fall of stone from the roof of the Rose Heyworth Pit Cwmtillery, and to the verdict of the jury at the inquest thereon, If the use of locked lamps ought to have been enforced by the Government Inspector in this colliery, against the wish of the workmen in the colliery and their employers, and the finding of the jury?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, the question of using locked lamps in mines was one of very great importance with regard to the preservation of life in mines; and the Mine Inspectors, with his full support, had endeavoured to enforce their use. In reporting this accident to the Home Department the Inspector stated that—

> "At my instigation, they adopted locked lamps at this pit, and during five years there was no explosion; but since 1881, when they took to open lamps, there had been several small explosions, burning one or two men."

The Inspector was also of opinion that unless locked lamps were resumed a terrible explosion would occur, sooner or later. He (Sir William Harcourt) could not, therefore, relax in any way the instructions on this point. As the Inspector further remarked—

> "Miners become so inured to the danger of their calling that they cannot see the necessity for measures of precaution until it is too late."

EGYPTIAN EXILES IN CEYLON—PERSONAL MAINTENANCE.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any satisfactory arrangement has been come to in regard to the maintenance of the Egyptian exiles now in Ceylon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Egyptian Government has, with great liberality, made an additional contribution of £500 to the sum already provided. It has been decided to allot this increase according to the needs of the prisoners, and to utilize £20 a month for the maintenance of Arabi, who is the poorest. The remainder will be placed at the disposal of the Governor of Ceylon for the support or accommodation of the other exiles.

MR. LABOUCHERE: That, I presume, is in addition to what Arabi Pasha has already received?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes; an addition of £20 a month.

ARMY (INDIA)—THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is not great stagnation of promotion, and consequent dissatisfaction, in the Indian Medical Service; whether this stagnation is owing to the abolition of a number of higher grade appointments, and also to the disbandment of a number of Native regiments; whether the prospects of promotion to the rank of Deputy Surgeon General of several Brigade Surgeons and Surgeons Major in the Indian Medical Service have been destroyed by recent alterations and arrangements which did not exist when the officers affected joined the service; whether the Government will consider the propriety of granting increased pensions to such Brigade Surgeons and Surgeons Major as compensation for their altered prospects, and as inducements to retire and make vacancies for the Surgeons on the establishment who are now unemployed; whether the difference between the rates of pay drawn by Brigade Surgeons and Surgeons Major, and the rates of pay that would be drawn by junior officers for the same duties, would more than compensate Government for the increased expenditure that would have to be incurred to induce senior officers to retire; and, whether the Government have any scheme ready to meet the grievances of the Indian Medical Service?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the disbandment of Native regiments, though it reduced the number of "independent charges" and thus added to the number of "unemployed officers," could not affect their promotion, which, in the executive branches, is governed solely by length of service. In my reply to the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) on the 28th of May last, I explained that a considerable reduction in the number of appointments to the Indian Medical Service during the past and present years would shortly remove the difficulty temporarily experienced through the disproportion of officers to the number of independent charges. In this expectation, it is not considered expedient to have recourse to the offer of higher rates of pension as an inducement to the senior officers to retire; and it is unnecessary, therefore, to calculate what the financial effects of such a measure would be. With respect to the alleged abolition of a number of higher grade appointments, page 283 of the Papers presented to Parliament in 1881 (C.2,921), respecting medical officers in India, gives a despatch from the Government of India showing that the total loss of administrative appointments for the whole of the Medical Service consequent on the re-organization of the medical administration was only one. The injury to the Service is therefore nominal, though, doubtless, the arrangements consequent on the re-organization have retarded the possible selection of some few officers. Such changes, however, are to be looked for in all branches of the

Public Service, and are not considered in this case to justify the grant of any special compensation. The question of the future organization of the Medical Service for India is now the subject of discussion with the War Office; but it has no reference to any grievance of the Indian or British Medical Service, and it has not yet reached a state at which any statement could be usefully made to the House.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-INSPECTOR CARTER.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether complaints have been made that Sub-Inspector Carter, of Mitchelstown, attempted, contrary to the Regulation of the force against controversial discussions, to dissuade Sub-Constable Browne, a constable under his charge, from becoming or remaining a convert to the Roman Catholic faith; and, whether, having regard to the fact that Sub-Inspector Carter has upwards of sixty Roman Catholic constables under his control, a sworn inquiry will be held as to his conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have not yet received a full answer from Dublin. I cannot, therefore, go into the question of whether a sworn inquiry was necessary. I have received a communication from Sub-Inspector Carter; but perhaps the hon. Member would like to have fuller information.

MR. O'BRIEN: Under the circumstances I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to make inquiries amongst the police themselves as to what took place?

MR. TREVELYAN subsequently said: Perhaps the hon. Member for Mallow will allow me to answer his Question now. I have just received a communication on the matter, which states that no charges have been made against Sub-Inspector Carter, and the Inspector General is not aware of any ground to hold a sworn inquiry. Sub-Inspector Carter emphatically denies that he made any attempt to interfere with the faith of Sub-Constable Browne. On the contrary, he states that he told him, in the presence of a head constable and a sub-constable, both of them Roman Catholics, that "every man's mind was his kingdom."

MR. O'BRIEN: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman again if he will make inquiries amongst the police themselves as to as to whether there is any foundation for the statement?

MR. TREVELYAN: There must be a *primâ facie* ground for it before an inquiry is made.

COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—ERECTION OF BARRACKS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the following passage on page 13 of the 51st Report of the Commissioners of Public Works (Ireland), just issued:—

> "Plans have also been made for new barracks at St. John's Street, Limerick, Suir Castle, Rosscarberry, Bohola, Ennis, and for adapting King's Court House, Clontarf, for the accommodation of Crown witnesses;"

and, whether it is the intention of the Government to make the last-mentioned establishment a permanent institution?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I can make no positive statement on this subject. The arrangement as to King's Court House will probably last as long as it may be necessary for the Crown to maintain witnesses in Ireland. The house has been selected for the purpose, in lieu of the premises formerly used at Ballybough, which were condemned as unhealthy.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—SCARRIFF DRAINAGE WORKS.

MR. KENNY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can state why the Scarriff Drainage Works, for which an Act was passed in 1880, have not been carried out; and if it was owing to the failure of the Board appointed under the Act to perform their portion of the undertaking that the matter has so far collapsed; and, if he is aware that the Act expires next year, and if the tenants of the district can now borrow on their own security the sum required to execute the said works; and, if so, whether facilities to do so will be extended to them?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the works in this drainage district have not been proceeded with by the Local Board, whose duty it was to carry them out. The period allowed by the Act expires next year; but the Board of Works can prolong it for three years more, and will, of course, do so if desired. The Drainage Board alone has power to do the work, and I hope that they will see their way to take it up and complete it. In the event of any persistent reluctance on the part of such authorities to carry through the schemes for which they are constituted, it might be necessary to consider of other combinations for the purpose of performing them.

WEST INDIES—THE WINDWARD ISLANDS—STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATES.

Mr. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of the Colonial Office has been directed to the fact that, in the Windward Islands, stipendiary magistrates, who have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases between masters and servants as well as control over certain Excise questions, are, in some cases, themselves large employers of labour and distillers, and even have Coolies indentured to them; and, whether such a practice will be maintained?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, only one instance of the kind has as yet been reported to the Colonial Office, and that is the case of a magistrate in Granada. The indentures of the Coolies on his estate were about to expire, and have now expired, so that no action was necessary as to that; but inquiry is being made as to whether he is in the trade of a distiller; and, if it be so, he will be called upon either to give up his business or his office; for the practice referred to in the Question is not approved of by the Colonial Office.

SOUTH AFRICA—CETYWAYO AND USIBEPU.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, with their present knowledge of the circumstances attending the late attack made by Cetywayo's followers upon Usibepu, Her Majesty's Government still adhere to the determination, expressed in Lord Derby's Despatch to Sir H. Bulwer of April 23rd, of refusing the request so strongly expressed by Sir H. Bulwer, Sir Th. Shepstone, and by the late British Resident in Zululand, for the appointment, at a cost of £550, of a Resident in Usibepu's territory?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the Government, though regretting very much to differ in any respect from Sir Henry Bulwer, still adhere to their view as to the appointment of a Resident with Usibepu. Apart from the consideration of the difficulty of finding a suitable person, the Government think that the risk attendant on putting a Resident in so remote a part, and the increased responsibility which it might entail, quite outweigh the advantages to be obtained from it. The question of money has not entered into the consideration of the Government.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS' COMMITTEE—COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether there was not a letter from the Board of Trade to Mr. Vernon Harcourt, to which his letter on page 29 of the Correspondence on Lighthouse Illuminants was a reply; and, if so, why this letter was omitted from the Correspondence; and, whether he will cause this letter to be laid upon the Table of the House, together with the passages omitted from Mr. Vernon Harcourt's letter in reply to it? Also, in reference to the statement of the President of the Board of Trade respecting the Lighthouse Illuminants Committee, whether he is aware that the greatest number of superposed gas lights which has been applied at any lighthouse is four, as in the case of the quadriform at Galley Head, that the greatest number of superposed oil lights is two as in the case of the biform at the new Eddystone, and that the illuminating power of the biform oil light is only equal to one-eighth that of the quadriform gas; whether Sir James Douglas was one of the majority of the Illuminants Committee who resolved to restrict the exhibition of multiform lights to the biform; and, whether the statement of the President of the Board of Trade that the Committee would increase the number of lights if necessary to four, means that the gas light shall be tried with four lights in the event only of the other illuminants being capable of trial with four lights, and that if the other two illuminants are unable to be burned with four superposed lights either through mechanical difficulty or excessive cost of installation the gas light must be kept down to the level to which the others can attain?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I have a Question on the Paper for to-morrow on this subject, and, as I understand the right hon. Gentleman cannot be present then, perhaps I may put it now. It is as follows:—

"To ask the President of the Board of Trade, with respect to the Lighthouse Illuminants Committee, Whether it is true that the Commissioners of Irish Lights, in their letter to the Board of Trade of the 25th of May, in which they withdraw from all participation in the contemplated experiments of the Lighthouse Illuminants Committee, stated as one of their reasons that the Committee rejected their proposition that 'Mr. Wigham's quadriform gas apparatus, which has proved so successful at Galley Head, should, with his recent improvements, by which the light is doubled be employed in the experiments,' adding 'that this step will deprive the whole inquiry of the practical value which might otherwise have been anticipated'; and, if he would explain why the inquiry was not made thorough and exhaustive?"

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: There is no doubt that the words which the hon. and gallant Member quotes are used in the letter of the Irish Lighthouse Board. The letter from the Board of Trade alluded to by the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) referred to certain official Papers in original for Mr. Vernon Harcourt's information. It was purely formal, and it was not thought necessary to print it. The reply of Mr. Vernon Harcourt was confidential, and as to the omitted passages, I refer the hon. Member to my answer to him on the 18th of last month. I believe that the greatest number of superposed gas lights which has been applied at any lighthouse is four, as in the case of the quadriform at Galley Head; and that the greatest number of superposed oil lights is two, as in the case of the biform at the new Eddystone; but I am not aware that any experiments hitherto made have proved that the illuminating power of the biform oil light is only equal to one-eighth that of the quadriform gas. The Resolution which the Illuminants Committee have adopted is that, in the first instance, they would commence the comparative tests with biform lights. Sir James Douglass was one of the majority who carried that Resolution. It is impossible to say at this stage what the course of the experiments will be; but my intention has been that the triform and quadriform gas shall have a fair trial. At present, in consequence of the possibility of using lenses already ordered for gas in the Mew Island Lighthouse, the trial of triform and quadriform gas is comparatively cheap, while the new lenses which it would be necessary to order for the purpose of a similar trial of oil and electricity would make the experiments very expensive, and the Committee are unwilling to incur this expense until it is proved to be necessary. Since this Question was placed on the Paper, I have received a letter from the Irish Lights Commissioners declining formally to join in the experiments; and, under these circumstances, it is a question for grave consideration whether the object I had in view of bringing the three lighthouse authorities into agreement on the subject of illuminants can be obtained, and, consequently, whether it will be worth while that the experiments should be continued.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would lay the letter of the Irish Lights Commissioners upon the Table of the House?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: There is no objection to lay the Paper upon the Table, except upon the ground of expense. We have already published a very lengthy Correspondence in this matter; and I should think that if the experiments are not continued, it would hardly be thought a question of sufficient importance to justify any further expense.

BUILDING ACT—PANICS IN PUBLIC BUILDINGS—LEGISLATION.

MR. KENNARD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is prepared to extend the scope of the Buildings Act (now applicable only to the Metropolis) to the Provinces, and add the Amendments requisite to the Act for diminishing the dangers of panic in crowded assemblies?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he should be glad to do something in the direction indicated by the hon. Member, and would introduce a Bill, the draft of which he held in his hand, if he saw the slightest chance of passing it this Session. He had not, however, the smallest hope of being able to do so.

EGYPT—OMAR PASHA LUFTI.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been drawn to a Reuter's Telegram from Alexandria, dated the 25th of June, to the effect that—

> "The functionaries of the different consulates have voted addresses to Omar Pacha Lufti in recognition of the real services rendered by him as Governor of Alexandria on June 11th 1882, the day of the massacre;"

and, whether the functionaries of the British Consulate took part in this address; and, if so, whether they acted on instructions from the Foreign Office or with the permission of the Foreign Office?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government has not yet received any information on this subject. If any action has been taken by the Consuls in their Consular character, it will be reported in due course by Her Majesty's Consuls.

EGYPT—LAW AND JUSTICE—TRIAL OF SAID BEY KHANDEEL.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any information (other than what appears in the Public Press) has been received in regard to a telegram from Arabi Pacha to Said Bey Khandeel, implicating the former in the massacres at Alexandria, and which, it is alleged by the Egyptian Public Prosecutor, has been discovered; and, whether any steps are being taken by Her Majesty's Government to see that Said Bey Khandeel, now on trial on a charge of being connected with those massacres, will be allowed to put questions to witnesses for the prosecution, and to call witnesses on his behalf, with a view of proving his own innocence by endeavouring to show that the massacres were instigated by others, and that he himself acted under superior orders?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; no information has been received at the Foreign Office in regard to the telegram mentioned by the hon. Member. The trial of Said Bey Khandeel is being watched by Major Macdonald; and, in accordance with the statement contained in Lord Dufferin's despatches presented to Parliament, he has claimed the right to put questions, and bring forward the witnesses.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked how it was that the Papers relating to this subject were only delivered to hon. Members this morning, and had, nevertheless, appeared in the morning papers?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Papers, in my opinion, ought to have been distributed on Saturday, and I have this morning caused inquiry to be instituted as to the reason why they were not sent down in time for distribution. They were here on Saturday, but too late to be sent out.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked how it was that these Papers were sent to the Press, seeing that there had been frequent promises on the part of the Government that Papers would not be published in the newspapers until they were in the hands of Members?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If they had been sent to this House in the manner in which I anticipated they would be sent, they would have been in the hands of Members before they were published in the newspapers.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Who is the official responsible for communicating such documents to the newspapers?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have said just now that I have caused an inquiry to be made. If the noble Lord desires any further information, I shall be glad to give it him when that inquiry has been instituted.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: When?

Lord EDMOND FIZMAURICE: On Monday.

MILFORD (COUNTY CORK) DRAINAGE BILL.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Why it is that the Milford (county Cork) Drainage Bill has not gone on, when all the necessary conditions have been complied with?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the reason why the Milford Drainage Bill is not now being proceeded with is because it received the Royal Assent on the 18th of last month.

RAILWAYS (INDIA)—THE NIZAM'S TERRITORIES—HYDERABAD.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that Native gentlemen in Hyderabad, who were engaged in the opposition against the terms of a Railway concession to a London Company, have been forcibly deported from Hyderabad with the sanction of the British authorities and conveyed to British territory; and, what offence was committed by the opponents of the Railway scheme, and why they were not brought to trial instead of being removed to British territory?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, in reply to this Question, I can only say that there has been considerable feeling shown in Hyderabad—under the mistaken idea that the Government of India were endeavouring to force upon the Nizam's Government a certain railway scheme. We have no official Report of what has occurred; but the Government of India will be asked to furnish one.

INDIA—DARJEELING COOLIES BILL.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to the provisions of the Darjeeling Coolies Bill in which unlicensed Coolies are forbidden to work for hire, and licensed Coolies are obliged to work at such rates of wages as may from time to time be fixed by the municipal authorities "by beat of drum;" whether these provisions render compulsory upon Coolies the acceptance of such rates of wages as may suit the employing class from time to time; and, if there is any appeal in case the rate of wages thus fixed is found insufficient by the labouring classes affected by the Law.

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, all Coolies working as porters, or "dandywallahs," are required by the Act recently passed to register themselves in the books of the Municipality, receiving thereupon a licence, for which no charge is made. Those working by the job, or for any period not exceeding 24 hours, are to be paid according to a tariff fixed by the Municipal Commissioners, and sanctioned by the Government of Bengal, which will, of course, see that the scale of remuneration fixed is fair and reasonable.

INDIA (PALCONDA)—VIZIARAM RAZ.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If, in the case of the Ex-Zemindar of Palconda, any appeal or any form of trial was open to him, during the whole of his imprisonment of thirty-seven years, by means of which he could test the justice of his confinement; whether Europeans, as well as Natives, can be imprisoned indefinitely for alleged reasons of State in India; and, whether the property of Natives can be sequestrated for reasons of State, and whether there is any appeal against the indefinite duration of such sequestration?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Viziaram Raz, Sir, who never was Zemindar of Palconda, might have appealed at any time during his confinement under the provisions of Madras Regulation II. of 1819. The law relating to the subject of the second and third parts of the hon. Member's Question is contained in Bengal Regulation III. of 1818. Substantially identical Regulations apply to Madras and Bombay. I must refer the hon. Member for Dungarvan to these Regulations, as I cannot undertake to give a legal interpretation of them.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary, Whether Europeans as well as Natives could be imprisoned indefinitely?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, it entirely depended on the interpretation of the Regulations to which he had referred; but he could not attempt to give a legal interpretation.

MR. O'DONNELL gave Notice that on that day fortnight he would ask the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he could state to the House what was the legal interpretation upon which the Indian Government acted with reference to the law in question; and whether it was the case that Europeans, as well as Natives, were liable to indefinite imprisonment?

MR. J .K. CROSS said, that this was entirely a hypothetical Question, and could not be settled without a definite question arising.

MR. O'DONNELL: Is not Her Majesty's Government aware what is the law affecting Europeans and Natives in India? ["Oh, oh!"] I give Notice that on this day fortnight I shall ask what is the law relating to Europeans and Natives on this subject, and what steps the Government will take in order to inform themselves on the subject?

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CROWN SOLICITOR FOR DERRY.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV

Ireland, If it is true that, during the hearing of a case at the Derry Petty Sessions Court, on Monday June 25th, the Sessional Crown Solicitor for Derry, acting as solicitor at the time for the Derry Harbour Board, made use of the following observations towards the Bench:—

> "Well, I must say, your worships have decided one thing, and that is, that this court does not deserve much respect;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government in this case intends to take any action in the matter so as to prevent such public condemnations of the administration of justice by Government officials in the North of Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that Mr. Reid did—as he himself explains, "in a moment of excitement"—make an observation to the effect stated. Feeling, however, that he had acted wrongly, and that the observation was altogether unwarranted, he voluntarily attended at the opening of the Court on the following morning, expressed his regret, and apologized to the Bench, who accepted his apology. I do not think that the matter calls for further notice.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Mr. CRAIG-SELLAR asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to his statement of May 29th, regarding the Universities (Scotland) Bill, If he can now fix an early date for the Second Reading of the important Bill in question, which was one of the measures promised in the Queen's Speech, and was read a first time on the 3rd of April?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, my hon. Friend is aware how desirous we are to get on with the Scottish Universities Bill, and we shall make the best arrangements in our power for that purpose; but I own it is my impression that nothing will be gained by my attempting to fix days at the present moment for any of the discussions upon Bills, or for other discussions to which we are pledged, until we have got through the Committee on the Corrupt Practices Bill, and entered into Committee on the Tenants Improvements Bill. By that time I hope that we might have the way tolerably clear for the purpose. At any rate, during the present week I can hardly undertake, with security, or any advantage to the House, to fix any particular day.

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS—THE PETTICOAT SQUARE SITE—THE COMMISSIONERS OF SEWERS FOR THE CITY OF LONDON.

Mr. FRANCIS BUXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the modifications granted by him to the Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London in their proposed scheme of construction of artizans' dwellings on the Petticoat Square site, Whether he has acceded to their request in letter dated December 15th, 1882 (No. 1 in Paper No. 202 on Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Acts), that—

> "The obligation to maintain the structures as artizans' dwellings should be for a limited period only?"

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, Sir; I have given no such sanction.

ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS—OVERCROWDING—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the Government should take Tuesday, and having regard to the impossibility of bringing the subject before the House this Session, and to its extreme urgency, he will advise Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the dwelling accommodation of the labouring classes, and the evils consequent on overcrowding in the Metropolis and other large towns, with a view to legislate on the subject?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, in answer to this Question, what I believe is—and I am informed by the most competent authorities—that the facts in this case are sufficiently known, and that there would be no advantage, therefore, in appointing a Commission, unless we had some plan ready formed which could be worked out through that Commission. What we believe is that the subject is very ripe for discussion with a view to legislation, and that that discussion and legislation—and my hon. Friend is agreed, I think, as to the legislation—can hardly take place in the present Session of Parliament. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, are not inclined to propose to issue a Commission under present circumstances.

MR. BROADHURST asked whether he was to understand that the Government held out any hope that they would take up the subject next Session?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is too soon to forecast the Business of next Session.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I wish to ask whether Her Majesty's Government have any objection to issue a small Commission, which would report to the Government as to the state of parts of the Metropolis, which really ought to be subject to the alterations required by the Artizans' Dwellings Act?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he should be happy to consider this suggestion, if he understood that these were matters into which the Committee presided over by the right hon. Gentleman had not already sufficiently inquired.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is proposed to send any more business to the Standing Committee of Law and Justice; and, whether, either by reconstituting the Committee or by adding fifteen Members for the purpose, and somewhat extending its functions, some of the Scotch business which the House is unable to undertake might not be committed to it?

MR. MONK asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government would support a Motion to refer the Bill "To consolidate and amend the Law of Partnerships," which was read a second time and amended by a Select Committee last Session, to the Standing Committee on Law and Justice?

MR. GLADSTONE: I must refer the hon. Members to the statement which was made during the Autumn Session, with respect to the Bills to be referred to the Grand Committees. On that occasion I gave the House to understand that the Government would not propose the reference to the Grand Committees of any Bills other than certain important Bills, which have turned out to be four in number, thereby recognizing the experimental character of the operation. At the same time, I left the question open whether the Bills in the hands of private Members not agreeable to the general disposition of the Houses, should that be found to exist, be referred to these Committees, as, under these circumstances, I do not think the initiative of the Government should be used for such a purpose, except in deference to a very general desire on the part of the House. I am bound to say, also, that I am doubtful whether, at the present period of the Session, it would be possible to bring the Grand Committee on Law into operation *de novo* for my hon. Friend's (Mr. Monk's) purpose. I should be sorry, however, to speak in disparaging terms with regard to the measure. Its general purpose is very much favoured by the Government; and it is even possible to be supposed that the House might wish to see it in the hands of the Grand Committee. I would encourage my hon. Friend, if he would be good enough to do so, to communicate with the President of the Board of Trade on the subject.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the importance of giving full time for the discussion by the Upper House of the Tenants' Compensation Bill and of the Bankruptcy Bill, and of the fact that these Bills meet with far less opposition than the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Government will postpone the further consideration of the latter Bill till the Tenants' Compensation and Bankruptcy Bills have passed that House?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, my answer to the hon. Member must be simply in the negative. Nothing would be gained by making the important change in the order of our proceedings which the hon. Member suggests.

MR. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can now state on what day he proposes to resume the debate on the question of the payment by India of the troops employed by that Government in the recent Egyptian Campaign?

MR. GLADSTONE: In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I must repeat, in a measure, what I said to my hon. Friend below the Gangway (Mr. Broadhurst), that I do not think the time has yet come when I could attempt with advantage to fix a day.

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA BY QUEENSLAND.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When he will be in a position to communicate to the House the decision of Her Majesty's Government on the annexation of New Guinea by the Queensland Government; and, when the Papers on the subject, which were promised last week, will be in the hands of honourable Members?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the despatch containing an exposition of the views of Her Majesty's Government on this question is very nearly ready to be sent to Queensland, and it will be laid upon the Table of the House immediately upon its being sent. I may just state the substance of it as far as it is retrospective. The despatch sets forth that, in the view of the Government, the act of the Government of Queensland is clearly null in point of law, and we cannot admit it to be warranted in point of policy, and we are not prepared to confirm it. We think, also, that, in any event, the particular Colony of Queensland in not well suited for the function which has been assigned to it by the act; and if any measure is to be taken under any circumstances, it should be undertaken on the responsibility of the Home Government. There will be reference made in this despatch to the apprehension which some have entertained with regard to the occupation of New Guinea by Foreign Powers—an apprehension which we have no reason to entertain—but the despatch will certainly proceed on the recognition of the fact that such a question as that is one not lying beyond the sphere of our interests. The despatch, however, will be the proper medium for the expression of our sentiments on this subject. It does refer to an intention to strengthen the hands of the High Commissioners with respect to the police of those seas. That is, perhaps, enough to say with respect to a Paper which, I hope, will be in the hands of the House before many days are over. I may also mention that my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies has received from Representatives of the Australian Colonies *vivâ voce* propositions for a very large and comprehensive annexation in those seas; but he has requested that they shall be submitted to him in writing. They have not yet reached him in that form.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: In view of the very important statement which the right hon. Gentleman has made, I beg to ask if, after we have seen the despatch, and it may appear necessary to call the attention of the House to it, the right hon. Gentleman will afford facilities for doing so?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think that it will be well to postpone any reply to that Question until the despatch is in the hands of hon. Members, when they will be able to judge for themselves whether that contingency arises.

PARLIAMENT—POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is his intention to take the Committee stage of the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill to-night, the second reading of which he carried under circumstances to which it would be better not to refer?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I should be very glad indeed to take the Committee stage of the Bill to-night, as, in my opinion, hon. Members the other night seemed satisfied. [Mr. Biggar: No, no!] Well, a pretty large number in the House, with one or two exceptions, seemed satisfied, and I should be very glad to make the same explanation again on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; but if hon. Members were not satisfied I will take the Committee stage at an earlier hour.

INDIA (GOVERNMENT)—SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN AND MAJOR BARING.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Prime Minister, Whether there was any truth in the report that Sir Auckland Colvin was to be appointed as Finance Minister of India, and that Major Baring was to combine the Offices of Controller General and of Her Majesty's Consul General in Egypt?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I do not know how far my noble Friend (the Earl of Kimberley) has proceeded in this matter; and I would, therefore, suggest to the hon. Member to give Notice of the Question.

POST OFFICE—POSTAL TELEGRAMS.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the House would have an opportunity of discussing various schemes with regard to cheap postal telegrams before the Post Office authorities issued any Order on the subject?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he presumed that the Question could be discussed when the Estimates for the cheapened telegraphic service were under consideration.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE gave Notice that on going into Supply he would move—

> "That it is not expedient, in order to reduce the minimum price of Telegrams to Sixpence, to increase the present tariff for Telegrams of Twenty words and upwards, as would be the case under Scheme 1 of the Treasury Minute of the 14th day of June 1883."

And to move—

> "That it is not expedient to charge in the cost of Telegrams for the number of words in the address of either Receiver or Sender; and to propose the following Scheme for the consideration of the Postmaster General:—'In every Telegram the Addresses of any length of Receiver and Sender to be charged 2*d.*; Telegrams of Eight Words, at a halfpenny per Word, and including Address, 6*d.*; Telegrams of Twelve words, at a halfpenny per Word, and including the Address, 8*d.*; Telegrams of Sixteen Words, at a halfpenny per Word, and including Address, 10*d.*; Telegrams of Twenty Words, at a halfpenny per Word, and including Address, (as at present) 1*s.*; Additional for every Four Words, 2*d.*'"

EGYPT—OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: There is a good deal of uneasiness prevalent in regard to the outbreak of cholera in Egypt, and also some impression that insufficient precautions have been taken to prevent it spreading. I do not know whether any information could be given to the House on the subject at once. If not, I will put a Question to-morrow.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I have the last telegrams in regard to the number of deaths from cholera in Egypt. They are sent by Mr. Cookson from Alexandria. They state that on June 30 the deaths at Damietta were 109; at Mansourah, 4; and at Samanond, 4. On July 1, the deaths were—at Damietta, 140; and at Mansourah, 14. The Egyptian Government has taken every precaution, by establishing a sanitary cordon round the district of Damietta and Mansourah, which was the head-quarters of the terrible disease; and, so far as it is possible to judge, the disease has hardly made itself felt at all beyond that district; and, though, perhaps, it is rash to speak on such a subject, it does look as if the measures already taken have, to a considerable extent, succeeded in confining the disease to that district, and so far isolating it, because, although several days have now elapsed since the first outbreak, it remains, on the whole, confined to the district in which it originally broke out.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDER OF BUSINESS.

COLONEL ALEXANDER, as he had obtained the first place on the 24th of July for his Notice of Motion as to the recent changes in the system of recruiting for the Army, asked the Prime Minister, Whether he would afford facilities for the discussion of that subject, or whether he would undertake to submit Vote 8 of the Army Estimates on or before July 24?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not now undertake to fix a day for that purpose; but he hoped about that date to be able to fix a day for the discussion of Vote 8, and also of another of the Army Estimates which was not without importance.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had not an important statement to make as to Public Business?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no important statement to make to-day, except to say that to-morrow, at 2 o'clock, I shall move that Government Orders have precedence at 9 o'clock, and likewise on Wednesday. There has not yet been an opportunity for me to have communication with Members on the subject, or for considering fully the position of different Bills; and I do not, therefore, propose anything further than I have stated during the present week. But on Monday next—always remembering what I have previously said as to reserving the Tuesday evening fixed for the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin)—I hope to make a proposal with regard to the Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

Mr. W. FOWLER asked whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take next Wednesday from private Members?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, his proposal would apply to next Wednesday.

Mr. W. FOWLER expressed his regret at this announcement, as a question of importance to his constituents was fixed for that day.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked whether to-morrow the right hon. Gentleman would be able to state what arrangements he would make to give the House an opportunity of discussing the Vote for Major Baring?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would endeavour to consult the convenience of the House on that matter.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD asked if he was to understand that Bills standing in the names of private Members for Wednesday were to be ruthlessly set aside?

Mr. GLADSTONE: For a long period, in one shape or another, it has been usual that there should take place about this time of the year what is commonly called a "massacre of the innocents;" and I am afraid the urgency of the case has become much greater for our taking the Wednesdays, even though some of the Bills of private Members are of interest and importance. We are convinced that Bills in a backward state in the hands of private Members, which stand for Wednesday, cannot possibly make any advance.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I understand the right hon. Gentleman, in making the proposal of which he gave Notice for to-morrow, will make a statement to the House with regard to the Bills which will have to be proceeded with, and generally state the opinion of the Government as to the course of Business. We should hardly be prepared to agree to the concession of the Tuesdays and Wednesdays without some such statement.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I find it difficult to promise to make a statement of a comprehensive character so soon as to-morrow; and, consequently, I do not propose then to make any proposal that will bind the House except for to-morrow and the following day.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (WALES) —LEGISLATION.

Mr. RICHARD asked if the Prime Minister could inform them when the Bill with respect to intermediate education in Wales would be brought on?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would ask the hon. Member to have patience until next Monday, and then, when he saw what progress they made this week, he should be able to give a better answer to the Question.

COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH ITALY.

In reply to Mr. H. T. Davenport,

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that the ratifications of this Treaty were exchanged on Saturday, and the Treaty would be presented to Parliament immediately.

EGYPT—THE MASSACRES AT ALEXANDRIA—ALLEGED COMPLICITY OF THE KHEDIVE.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Prime Minister, Whether, as the public Press announced that documents relating to the charges first made in that House against the Khedive of Egypt by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had now been submitted to Her Majesty's Government, a copy of those Papers would be laid on the Table by the Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: My answer to this Question should be in the negative. The noble Lord has forwarded to me Papers of very considerable extent, which I have been able to peruse; but I have not yet been able to take any further step in reference to them.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I be allowed to state that the hon. Member opposite has put this Question without the slightest consultation with me?

Mr. M'COAN: That, I think, goes without saying. I am not in the habit of consulting the noble Lord.

ARMY—FORAGE ALLOWANCE—THE 2ND SUFFOLK REGIMENT.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that Colonel O'Shaughnessy, commanding the 2nd Suffolk Regiment, at present stationed in Galway, has been drawing forage and allowance for two horses ever since he has been in command of the regiment, although it is alleged that he only keeps one?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have no reason to think that there is any foundation for the imputation contained in this Question on the officer commanding the 2nd Suffolk Regiment. The General Commanding in Ireland has forwarded a Report from the officer concerned to the effect that he had two horses from the time he assumed command of the regiment until the 31st of May, since which date he has only drawn forage allowance for one horse.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 29th June.*]

[TWELFTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Illegal Practices.

Clause 7 (Expense in excess of maximum to be illegal).

MR. LEWIS said, he wished to point out that, in addition to the general maximum under the Bill, there was one special maximum, and that was a maximum for miscellaneous matters. He did not understand exactly what was meant by it; but possibly it was intended that the miscellaneous matters, although included in the general maximum, were not to exceed £100, the general maximum running to £350. He did not understand that there was any real necessity for such a limitation; and he should propose to substitute the word "the" for the word "any," so as to make it read "the maximum." He did not understand what was the object of the Attorney General in keeping in these precise words.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 9, leave out "any," and insert "the."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the matter was a mere question of drafting, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not press his Amendment.

MR. LEWIS said, he had no wish to waste time; but it still appeared to him to be somewhat inconsistent to have a maximum for miscellaneous matters, as well as the inclusive maximum for all matters. He wished to know whether the Attorney General insisted upon it that the miscellaneous matters, which comprehended all and sundry things, should be limited to £100; because that would carry to an extreme the fetters which were placed upon an election? And was the £100 to be included in the general maximum of £350?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that this question could be raised later on in the Bill; and if the Committee took the same view as the hon. Member for Londonderry, he should not object. But he hoped they would not discuss the point until they were fairly arrived at it.

MR. LEWIS said, he would not press it for the present; but he protested against the wording as it stood, and regarded the matter as one of no little importance.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS moved to insert, in page 4, line 10, after the word "Act," these words—

> "And no further sum shall be paid, and no further expense shall be incurred on account of, or in respect of, the conduct and management of such election by any person other than the candidate, or his election agent (except by a voter for the purpose of recording his own vote, or as otherwise provided by this Act)."

He was very much afraid that the candidate might be placed in a very bad position. As the Bill was drawn, a candidate would find himself very much hampered, and would not venture to make any expenditure; and the result would be that a large sum of money would be expended without his knowledge or consent by outside people who came from a distance. It had been represented to him (Sir R. Assheton Cross) very strongly that in the case of large towns and populous places beyond the boundaries, the payment of travelling expenses to voters might probably be made by some local Conservative or Liberal Association, or by private individuals, or it might be done on their part, and it would never be charged to the election agent, and he would never know anything about it. It often happened that some zealous friend was anxious either to placard some view which the candidate had expressed, or to put forward some views of his own, and would send down persons to the borough to cover all the walls with placards. What position would the candidate be left in in such a case? Or there was another case to be considered. Some argumentative story might be put out which the candidate would like very much to deny. Those were two samples of the cases which might arise. Of course, it was necessary to prevent money being spent by other people outside the borough who had nothing to do with it, and of whom the election agent would be supposed to know nothing at all, to the great injury of the *bonâ fide* candidate.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 10, after the word "Act," insert "and no further sum shall be paid and no further expense shall be incurred on account of or in respect of the conduct and management of such election by any person other than the candidate or his election agent (except by a voter for the purpose of recording his own vote, or as otherwise provided by this Act)."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he quite agreed that it was necessary to get rid of an outside expenditure; but he was afraid that the words proposed by the right hon. Gentleman would carry them further than they ought to go. Another objection which he had to the Amendment was that Clause 7 dealt entirely with the agents of the candidate; and, besides that, the right hon. Gentleman would perceive that in Clause 22 the Bill did endeavour to deal with the point he had raised. Clause 22, which dealt with the outside expenditure, and not with the expenditure of the candidate or the election agent, would be a more convenient place than this in which to make the Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was perfectly content with the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman that he agreed with the view that this outside expenditure ought to be stopped. They ought to put some limit to it, because this was a matter of really vital importance. Under these circumstances, he would willingly withdraw the Amendment—he had no affection at all for its wording—and he would substitute something, with the assistance of the Attorney General, in Clause 22. There was a clause which came before that — Clause 14 — on which he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had an Amendment, which would provide that any person employed by or in receipt of a salary from any political or other Association outside the constituency in which the election occurred should be considered as engaged or employed for payment if he acted under such employment for the purpose of promoting, or procuring, or opposing the election of a candidate at any such election. He thought they ought to agree in stopping this expenditure in some form or other. He was quite willing to withdraw his Amendment now, on the understanding that in the course of the Bill the Attorney General would give his attention to the point, for he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) did not think that the words of Clause 22 were strong enough as they stood.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had a very strong feeling as to the maximum of expenditure, which was a most important point; but he was afraid that, unless they could devise great checks and safeguards, there would almost inevitably be a considerable amount of expenditure outside, which could not be controlled by the candidate or his agent. He could quite understand, with regard to out-voters, that there was a system under which the names of out-voters were recorded in the books of corresponding committees of political Associations in different parts of the country, so that a list of the voters of a particular constituency who had ceased to reside in the district could be obtained by a political Association elsewhere. It ought to be carefully considered how they were to prevent arrangements being made under which these out-voters might be sent, at the expense of the political Association, to vote in the constituency in which they formerly resided; and he did hope that the Attorney General would very carefully consider this point. His (Mr. Rylands's) desire was to support the hon. and learned Gentleman, in every way he could, in keeping the expenditure down; but, at the same time, he thought that in doing that they should, if possible, prevent themselves from being led into a trap, under which they would find themselves confronted by things which a not over-scrupulous candidate would do.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had an Amendment which was directed to the same object, and perhaps he might save time by referring to it now. Both his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and himself had the same object in view — they deprecated the interference, under the guise of Associations, or even by individuals, with the particular constituency in which the candidate and the constituents were placed face to face with each other. There could be no possible doubt that unless this sort of interference was prohibited under this Bill, that external interference would be powerful, and largely successful. There would be a Society for the prohibition of some object with which the candidate, on one side or the other, was more or less identified; and it would be the duty of that Society to send down lecturers to the constituency. There could be no doubt about that, for the thing had been done already, and it would be sure to be done again. The candidate was not to incur any expense beyond a certain figure, and at the last moment that Association would placard the whole constituency. What was to be done? Some other Society pledged to oppose the first one would go down to the same place and cover the placards of the opposing Society with their placards, denouncing the candidate on the other side and the whole system. It was quite clear that if they fixed the maximum to be spent by the candidate alone, that would be evaded, he would not say in the most disguised, but in the most open manner through the agency of these different Associations which would be created for the purpose. It was, therefore, absolutely imperative that external interference should be prohibited under penalties, and there should be no doubt about it that the candidate or his agent would be subject to these penalties if the expense was not included in the accounts. His own Amendment provided a penalty which did not exist in the Bill at the present moment. No doubt, the Attorney General might hold that Clauses 14 and 22 would have the desired effect; but he (Mr. W. H. Smith) thought they were not sufficiently punitive—they did not attach sufficient penalties to the offences which it was sought to prevent, and which the House of Commons desired to prevent.

MR. GORST said, he thought the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken were most excellent, but they were founded on a misapprehension of the existing law. As the law stood at present, a person, even when he was not a candidate or agent, was just as guilty of bribery, treating, or undue influence, when he committed those offences, as if he were a candidate or agent. The punishment for such offences was not confined to candidates or agents, but applied to all persons who transgressed the law; and the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman was merely a declaration of the law as it existed in its present state, and as it would still remain after the passing of this Bill. It was, practically, no Amendment at all; and he (Mr. Gorst) apprehended that the object of this Bill would be to repress all illegalities, not only on the part of a candidate or his agent, but on the part of any outside Society which interfered in an election. He did not at all share the fears which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and the right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench, that there would be any difficulty whatever in securing compliance with the law on the part of any outside Society, because the gentlemen who formed a political Society, in London or elsewhere, to influence an election would be well known, and they would take great care that they did not render themselves liable to punishment or penalties by doing any acts which would be an infringement of the law as it existed and as it would remain under the Bill. These Amendments, then, were not wanted; and he thought it would be better not to go on with this discussion, but to wait until the clause dealing with outside payments was reached.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he must congratulate himself on the discovery which had been made by the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) that the Bill was not sufficiently punitive. This was the first time he had heard such an observation made in the course of these discussions. He felt, however, that these outside influences must be dealt with; but he thought it would be found that that was really done in Clause

22. When they came to that clause he should bear in mind what had been said by his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and he would do his very best to see the extent to which they could safely go.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS thought the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was in error in regard to one point. One thing which was most strongly objected to was that an outside Society should come in and do things which it would be perfectly legal for them as a Society to do, and by which they would not incur any penalty, but which would do an infinite amount of damage to the candidate, because he could not answer them or refute their libels, if that term might be fairly used. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) accepted the Attorney General's assurance that on Clause 22 he would produce words which would attain the object that they all had in view.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. HICKS, in moving, as an Amendment, in page 4, line 10, after the word "Act," the insertion of these words—

"Provided, That an election for the purposes of this Clause shall be held to commence with the issue of the candidate's address, whether printed or addressed to a meeting of his supporters with a view to the coming election, the appointment of his election agent, or the issue of the writ, whichever may first happen,"

said, that when this clause was discussed on Friday, a question was raised as to the difficulties in which a candidate and his agent, who were really desirous of complying with the provisions of the Bill, might find themselves placed from not knowing at what period the election was to be held to commence. If he understood the Attorney General correctly on that occasion, the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to admit the force of that objection, but said that there were great difficulties in framing any section which would properly define the time at which the election commenced. He (Mr. Hicks) had endeavoured to supply that definition. Whether he had succeeded to the satisfaction of the hon. and learned Gentleman, or to the satisfaction of the Committee generally he did not know, but he had made an honest attempt to arrive at a definition for the purpose of enabling the candidate to know when the time during which his maximum amount was to be spent really commenced. He (Mr. Hicks) certainly approved of having a maximum sum named, but what that maximum sum should be was quite another question. However, when they had a maximum sum, they ought also to know when the time for its expenditure was to be concluded or commenced, or otherwise the candidate, with the best intentions in the world, and after having given his agents strict orders to keep within that sum, might be placed in this position, that expenses of a perfectly harmless character, which had been incurred weeks and months before the time when the election proper began, might by some means or other be construed to be part of the election expenses, with the result that the maximum sum might be found to be exceeded, and the seat lost, notwithstanding the fact that such expenses did not touch, in the least degree, upon corrupt practices. He did not desire to diminish in any way the force of the clause, and he proposed this Amendment in the hope that it would be acceptable to the Attorney General, and that it might really furnish a test by which the time of the commencement of the election might be accurately known.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 10, after "Act," add "Provided, That an election for the purposes of this Clause shall be held to commence with the issue of the candidate's address, whether printed or addressed to a meeting of his supporters with a view to the coming election, the appointment of his election agent, or the issue of the writ, whichever may first happen."—(*Mr. Hicks.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. ONSLOW said, this proposal was somewhat on the lines of an Amendment which he had been about to propose himself. He wished to put a question on the subject to the Attorney General. Supposing a candidate was elected, and there was no other election likely to take place for six years. The elected candidate might go down to his borough every year and address his constituents. He might even address them in particular wards, and for each meeting in each ward he might have to pay a certain sum of money for hire of rooms. He (Mr. Onslow) would like to ask whether these payments would have to be included as for election purposes? Undoubtedly, the candidate would go down to address his constituents with a view to the next election, and it was desirable to know whether he would have to include in his election expenses the sums he had paid for the hire of rooms for his annual addresses? This was a matter of the very greatest importance, because if these sums were to be included it would make an enormous difference, as even for the comparatively small place (Guildford) which he (Mr. Onslow) had the honour to represent, £50 or £60 of his maximum might easily go in the hire of rooms before the next election took place, and in other and larger constituencies the candidate might have to pay a great deal more. The words which he (Mr. Onslow) had intended to propose would provide that no payment made after the election or before the receipt of the Writ for the next election should be included. Were they or were they not to include the sums they legitimately and legally spent in delivering addresses to their constituents? Because, if so, they would have for the future to go out to some open space and ask the electors to listen to them there. He would ask the Attorney General to consider the desirability of inserting some Proviso of this sort in order to protect the candidate in the matter of perfectly legitimate expenses which might exceed the maximum amount. A room for delivering an address was not to be got for nothing; they had to pay £10 or £20 for one, and if that was to be included in the maximum the amount would be swallowed up in no time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that [this question was quite an old friend, and he thought they had arrived at a satisfactory settlement of it before. He wished to point out that the words of the clause were "conduct or management" of an election, so as to make the clause strike at the election itself. The case put by the hon. Member for Guilford (Mr. Onslow) clearly did not come within the clause, and a Member who went to his constituents to give an account of his actions would not be affected. It was impossible to define a special time for the commencement of an election. The Amendment now before the Committee defined the commencement of the election as dating from the issue of the candidate's address. But the candidate might not issue an address, or he might issue it close upon the election itself, and have incurred a heavy expenditure before it, thereby evading the law; or he might not appoint an election agent until the very eve of the election, and a most extensive system of "nursing" might go on before that; or the Writ might issue four days before the election, after weeks and weeks of canvassing. Practically, there would be no difficulty in the matter; and if any error should be made, there was a new clause already upon the Paper to provide that anything done in good faith, through inadvertence, or unintentionally, should not void the election.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, it was quite true that this point had been discussed at considerable length at the last sitting of the Committee; but he was bound to say that it had not been exhaustively discussed. There might be a prolonged Election Campaign, such as that which occurred in 1868, and the Attorney General met that case by saying that it was an undesirable state of things, and that it must not happen again. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) hoped it would not. But how could they control the mind of the Prime Minister? The same thing might happen again as happened in 1868, if the present Prime Minister was at the head of the Government. The last General Election, although a short one, took them all by surprise, and at the next Dissolution they might have precisely the same state of things as that which existed in 1868, presuming that the Prime Minister did not choose to announce when he intended to dissolve. The Attorney General had addressed himself to the case of the sitting Member, but he had not said a word about the candidate. A candidate might go into a constituency, and might be compelled to hire rooms and so forth, with a view of contesting the seat, long before the election actually took place; and he did not see that a word had been said by the hon. and learned Gentleman which at all applied to that case, however directly it might apply to the case of the sitting Member. All the discussion pointed in the direction of the suggestion that there should be some limit fixed and a definite time stated as the time at which the election commenced. Although he did not agree with the particular period indicated by the hon.

Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks), he thought he could suggest a mode by which this object could be accomplished. He did not see why the Bill should not provide for a stated time, such as that fixed by an Order in Council, or by the Proclamation announcing the Dissolution of Parliament and the time for the assembling of the new Parliament. That date would depend entirely upon the Proclamation and its publication in *The Gazette;* and he did not see why something of the same sort might not be done in regard to the election expenses. If the Act did not contain a clause to this effect, he was satisfied it would be the cause of great hardship by-and-bye. It was no answer to say that the matter was one that could be left to the Judges. Judges were, like all other human beings, fallible mortals. Their Judgments conflicted every day; and if it were intended that the Bill should provide against the commission of corrupt and illegal practices, it should also provide against the occurrence of cases of hardship. He trusted that when the subject came up again it would be competent for the Attorney General, or for somebody else, to move a clause fixing a limit as to the period at which the election commenced.

Mr. W. H. JAMES wished to ask a question of the Attorney General. The clause contained the expression "before or after the election," and he wished to know whether the expenses incurred by a candidate in respect of registration before the election would come within the clause?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) replied in the negative. The expenses connected with the registration generally would certainly not come within the words "conduct or management" of an election.

Mr. NEWDEGATE wished to make a suggestion to the hon. and learned Gentleman which he thought would facilitate the disposal of the question—namely, that they ought to exclude from the cognizance of any Court which would have to adjudicate upon questions arising out of an election all matters relating to registration on either side. Unless there were specific words to exclude the legitimate action of the candidate in connection with the registration of voters, he was afraid that some difficulty might arise.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the clause related to the expenditure of candidates, and he should like to have some general idea as to where they were. In the last discussion upon the subject, nothing was said upon the question of the continuity of the election; but it was said that it ought to be left to the Judge who tried the Election Petition. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had called attention to Clause 60 of the Bill. Now, Clause 60 was as clear as possible. It said—

> "In the Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts, as amended by this Act, the expression 'candidate at an election' means, unless the context otherwise requires, any person elected to serve in Parliament at such election, and any person who has been nominated as a candidate at such election, or has been declared by himself or by others to be a candidate, on or after the day of the issue of the writ for such election, or after the dissolution or vacancy in consequence of which such writ has been issued, and the expression 'candidate' shall be construed accordingly."

It seemed to him that that clause was as clear as any words could be, and that it limited the effect of Clause 7 in reference to a candidate at any election, by providing that he should be a person who had been nominated as a candidate, who had been declared by himself or others to be a candidate on or after the day of the issue of the Writ, or after the Dissolution or the vacancy in consequence of which the Writ had been issued. The Attorney General said he would see about that when they came to Clause 60; but what he (Sir George Campbell) wanted to know was, whether the Attorney General intended that the maximum expenditure should be limited to a few days after the vacancy had occurred, or whether he intended to strike out that part of the clause altogether, and leave it to the discretion of the Judge?

Mr. BIGGAR said, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks) as to the propriety of defining in the Bill the time at which the election commenced. At present, it was not at all certain, especially when they remembered the remarks of the Attorney General, that the Bill would fix a limit in any way. To show how the matter would work if a definite limit were not fixed, he would call attention to the case of an hon.

Gentleman who was in the last Parliament, but who was not a Member of the present one. It was a common report that that Gentleman, who for some time represented a large borough constituency, was in the habit of making all sorts of excuses for giving presents to his constituents. He gave them presents at Christmas; and whenever any member of his family was married, he gave a wedding present to every elector in the borough, and in that way he was able to "nurse" the borough in that most open manner. Now, he (Mr. Biggar) did not think that acts of that kind would be brought within the purview of the present Bill, because it would not be held that the hon. Gentleman was a candidate in any sense of the word, and there was no continuity between the presentation of wedding gifts and something that was to take place hereafter in connection with the representation of the borough. Therefore, he did not think the Bill would be of any practical use in such a case, because it could be evaded with the greatest ease. In 1868, he (Mr. Biggar) had something to do with the Election for Belfast, at which the hon. Baronet, now Member for Londonderry (Sir Thomas M'Clure) was one of the successful candidates. A practice which the present Bill declared to be illegal was at that time frequently resorted to. But the committee of the then candidate (Sir Thomas M'Clure) would not engage cars to take the voters to the poll, and the candidate himself declined to do it. But what occurred? A number of car-drivers, on the chance of getting paid in the end, supplied cars on the day of election, and he (Mr. Biggar) and others went round among the members of the Liberal Party to collect subscriptions to pay the car-drivers for the services they had rendered. The candidate spent money most lavishly in any way that he held to be legal; but he declined to spend money illegally. Nevertheless, the men were paid, and the law was evaded. He (Mr. Biggar) really did not see that anything would be practically gained by fixing a limit of time at which the election should be said to commence, because such a provision would be quite as easily evaded as any election payment which took place before the time named. Perhaps the Committee would allow him to give another illustration. It was the case of another candidate for Parliamentary honours who would not bribe the electors. His opponent, however, bribed, and succeeded in being returned. The noble Lord who was the unsuccessful candidate (Lord Cochrane), and who only obtained a small number of votes, then called together the men who had given him their support, and made a large and liberal present to each of them. What was the result? When the next vacancy occurred the noble Lord was again a candidate, and he got in with flying colours. But on that occasion he was by no means so liberal or friendly towards those who had placed him in a position of honour. He had succeeded in carrying his point, and was Member for the borough of Stafford for one Parliament; but the noble Lord declined, under any circumstances, to make a present to those who had voted for him on the second occasion, on the ground that it would be held to be bribery. He (Mr. Biggar) was of opinion that there was not a single provision in the Bill which could not be evaded with the greatest ease, and he believed that all the time which was being wasted in the discussion of the Bill might be much more profitably spent.

MR. HICKS said, he would place himself entirely in the hands of the Committee. He should be very sorry to waste the time of the Committee unnecessarily, and therefore, if it was so desired, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON moved, in page 4, line 12, to leave out "an illegal," and insert "a corrupt." The object of this section of the clause was to define the punishment for the offence of paying expenses in excess of the maximum amount specified in the 1st Schedule of the Act. He did not think that it was likely that any candidate would be found who would knowingly exceed the maximum expenses allowed under the Bill, but in future elections the candidate would be more or less in the hands of his agents. It would be the agent who would have to make the payments; and if any election agent knowingly exceeded the maximum scale, it appeared to him that the punishment named in the Bill was hardly sufficient for the offence. If an agent knowingly committed this offence, it was provided that he should be held guilty of an illegal practice, and the punishment for illegal practices was a fine of £100, together with incapacity during a period of five years from the time of the election for being registered as an elector, or voting at any election in the United Kingdom, whether Parliamentary election or any other election, for a public office. If the Amendment were adopted, persons who knowingly exceeded the maximum scale of expenses would be found guilty of a corrupt practice, in regard to which the punishment was much more severe, the offender being liable to be imprisoned for one year and fined £200. If an agent who committed this offence was only to be liable to a fine of £100 and five years' disfranchisement, it appeared to him (Mr. Buxton) that the penalty would amount to absolutely nothing. So far as the fine was concerned, it would simply be made an addition to the other election expenses of the candidate; and as to the disfranchisement for five years, he did not see how the election agent of a candidate was likely to have the power of using his vote at any election for that period of time. Consequently, the punishment amounted to almost nothing. If the Attorney General could see his way to the adoption of this Amendment, he (Mr. Buxton) did not think the candidate would ever render himself liable to the penalty, and the only result would be to make it a harder and sharper punishment upon any agent who might be guilty of a corrupt act. It might, of course, be used against a candidate who was guilty of the same offence, but he could not imagine that any candidate would knowingly commit an act of this kind. He begged to propose the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 12, to leave out "an illegal," and insert "a corrupt."—(*Mr. Francis Buxton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. LEWIS said, he thought they ought all to be obliged to the hon. Member for his very moderate proposal. The only wonder was that the hon. Member stopped where he did. For his own part, he (Mr. Lewis) would not have felt surprised if the hon. Member had proposed to inflict capital punishment on Members guilty of offences against the Bill. There would have been just as much sense in the one proposal as in the other. Some hon. Members never seemed to be satisfied unless they were proposing the infliction of penal servitude upon their fellow-Members. Now, what was the proposal? A stupid agent or a foolish candidate exceeded the maximum scale of election expenses, and an hon. Member sitting for a miserably small borough, where there need be no election expenses at all, got up and said that if a man did that, he should be sent to prison for one year with hard labour. He should like to know in what school the hon. Gentleman had been trained, and what lawyer or philosopher he had sat at the feet of? He (Mr. Lewis) presumed that hon. Members were sent to that House to make laws that would carry with them the respect of the people, and not to introduce ruthless and reckless propositions which could only earn the contempt of the people. The hon. and learned Attorney General seemed to regard the proposal with as much horror as he (Mr. Lewis) did; but he thought it ought to be noticed generally by the public what punishment, in the opinion of an hon. Member, ought to be inflicted upon a candidate who exceeded the maximum expenditure allowed by law. He thought the Amendment was utterly unworthy of consideration.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped his hon. Friend would withdraw the Amendment. The offence which he proposed to visit with a year's imprisonment was, after all, not so much a *malum in se* as a *malum prohibitum*. The offence would cause a candidate to lose his seat. If either he or the election agent knowingly exceeded the maximum of expenditure, that result would follow. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) that it was unreasonable to subject such an offence to the punishment described in the Bill for corrupt practices.

MR FRANCIS BUXTON said, that after the remarks which had been made by the hon. and learned Gentleman he would not press the Amendment. Of course he knew that the candidate, under the clause as it stood, would lose his seat; but the agent would get off scot-free, and that was what he objected to. It might be said that an action could be brought against the agent after the election was over; but he was afraid that if a candidate took that extreme course he would never find another agent who would be willing to act for him. He begged to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had placed upon the Paper the following new sub-section after Sub-section 2:—

> "Any person who does any act which, if it were committed by a candidate or his agent, would be a corrupt practice, illegal practice, illegal payment, employment or hiring, shall be guilty of the same offences, and be liable to the same penalties, as if he were himself such candidate or agent; and any person not being an election agent who pays any money or incurs any expense (not included within the expenses returned by the candidate or his agent) in promoting the election of any candidate shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

He did not propose to move that section now; but he thought he would best consult the convenience of the Committee if he were to postpone it until they reached Clause 22, which related to the payment of expenses through an election agent.

MR. BIGGAR moved the omission of Sub-section 3, which was as follows:—

> "Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the right of a creditor who when the expense was incurred was ignorant of the expense being incurred in contravention of this section."

He believed that, as a general rule, corrupt expenditure was not intentionally incurred, and the cases in which gross and systematic bribery and corruption were practised were very few. He believed that in the great majority of cases the candidate intended to act in perfect good faith, and not to bribe the constituency at all. The position the candidate was in was this. First of all, he came into contact with all sorts of people who did electioneering work, and these men, when the election was over, having played some small part in accompanying the candidate in his canvass, furnished an account for their services at a most exorbitant rate. The candidate knew very well that the claim was of a fraudulent and an extortionate nature; but, at the same time, the person who made it knew very well that in most cases the candidate would not have the courage to defend any action that might be brought against him. In the next place, the persons by whom such claims were made were men of straw from whom no costs could be recovered if they failed to make their claim good. Therefore, in most cases, the candidate was compelled to compromise the action on unfair terms, or to fight it out in Court, where he might, perhaps, get an award from a jury for some small sum slightly above the sum paid into Court, which would compel him to pay very heavy costs. He believed that his hon. Colleague (Mr. Fay), after the last Election, received an account from the keeper of an hotel for the full value of everything supplied, and at the foot of the bill a sum of £100 was added for the use of the house. His hon. Colleague was charged in other respects quite a sufficient sum to pay the hotel-keeper all reasonable and proper charges, and he, therefore, refused to pay this item, and the hotel-keeper put the case in the hands of an attorney, who brought an action in one of the Superior Courts. Thereupon, there were applications for particulars and all sorts of things, which very rapidly swelled the bill of costs, and his hon. Colleague in the end had to pay a large sum in addition to the extravagant amount he had paid in the first instance. If he had gone before a jury his position would have been this. If he failed to obtain a verdict, he would have had to pay a large additional sum in costs; and if he got a verdict, he would have been entirely unable to recover costs from the plaintiff, who was a man of no means whatever, and had neither reputation nor capital. The inevitable result was that he was bound to incur a loss; and, therefore, he came to a compromise rather than be put to further trouble and expense. He would give another illustration. In the Derry Election in 1881 a newspaper account for £109 was sent in for printing and advertizing. Some of the items were charged 10 times more than the ordinary price. The account was, therefore, refused to be paid, and the newspaper proprietor threatened legal proceedings against him (Mr. Biggar), who was responsible for the account. He declined, however, to give way, and required each item to be examined by some competent person, and taxed. As he had said, proceedings were threatened against him; but he refused to be victimized, and in the end a sum of £30 was taken in settlement of a claim of £109. That certainly proved that the claim was fraudulent and unjust. At the last Election for Cavan, a personation agent made a claim of £10 against him when he was only entitled to a sum of 18*s.* 10*d.* He offered the sum to which the man was fairly entitled, whereupon he was threatened with legal proceedings; but, seeing that he stood firm, the man ultimately took the 18*s.* 10*d.* instead of the £10 he at first claimed. But the man who made a perfectly dishonest claim got off scot-free, and suffered neither fine nor imprisonment; whereas, if he (Mr. Biggar) had entered into a compromise with him, and had given him more than he was entitled to, he might have been unseated under this clause for making an illegal payment, whereas the party who forced him into making the illegal payment would have got off scot-free on the plea that he did not know that it was an illegal claim. But newspaper men and car-drivers, and all persons of that kind, knew perfectly well that the claims they were constantly in the habit of making were fraudulent, dishonest, and illegal, and it was altogether improper that they should be specially exempted from liability, seeing that they were the very persons who forced the candidate to make these illegal payments. A vast majority of candidates were most anxious to keep down the expenses of an election, but excessive expenditure was forced upon them by persons who resorted to a system of extortion and fraud. Under these circumstances, he hoped the Committee would consent to strike out these three lines, and render persons who made an illegal claim just as responsible as the candidate who paid it.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, leave out sub-section (3).—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. LEWIS said, he thought that the sub-section as it stood would give rise to considerable difficulty. A claim might be made upon the candidate, and the agent would say—"I gave no such order; you have quite misunderstood me, and I do not owe you a penny." Then this section would come in, and the creditor would say that the agent had disregarded his claim altogether, and he would bring an action, and, as they all knew, there were plenty of people who were able to persuade juries that right was wrong, or something that seemed wrong. Witnesses sometimes overstepped the words of truth. He would assume that the candidate was beaten in the action, and that it was held that according to law his agent had ordered the articles. Was the candidate in that case to lose his seat, and the agent by the result of that action to be liable to penalties? The right of the creditor was preserved, and if it was established ultimately, important consequences would follow. How could the Attorney General save the candidate or the agent?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he quite understood the objection that was raised to the sub-section, and in the interests of the honest creditor he was not prepared to say that it was legally necessary at all. Nevertheless, as the matter was somewhat doubtful, he had considered it objectionable to leave the law in an uncertain state. He thought they ought to say what they meant, and if they were of opinion that a creditor should be entitled to recover a just claim, then he thought they ought to say so. They sanctioned by the Bill the employment of committee rooms. Suppose that a candidate was entitled to have five committee rooms, and an application was made to a person to supply a sixth. The person who lent the room might not know that it was a sixth committee room. Why, then, should he not, being a honest creditor, have the right to say—"I did not know that it was in excess of the number provided by law." In such a case, this sub-section entitled the creditor to be paid; and if they said that he should not be paid, they would afford an opportunity for a person to say—"We will spend as much as we like;" and then turn round and say—"We knowingly exceeded the maximum of expenditure, and therefore you cannot recover." He was of opinion that everything ought to be perfectly clear one way or the other, whether such a defence ought to exist or not. He thought they ought to get at the person who did wrong if they could;

but the honest creditor would have done no wrong. What he did he would have done unintentionally, not knowing anything to the contrary; and they ought to protect him and enable him to recover his debt. He did not see, because the creditor recovered and showed that the sum was due, that the candidate was placed in any worse position. The effect upon him would always depend upon the fact that the amount was found to be due by the jury. The sub-section had been introduced into the Bill with the view of protecting the honest creditor, and of indicating to County Court Judges that Parliament did not intend that the honest creditor should not be paid by those who had chosen to disobey the law.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he did not think that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had quite understood the objection which had been taken by his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). The question which his hon. Friend put was this. Supposing the return of election expenses came up to the maximum scale, and then an honest creditor put in a claim for something additional, what would be the position of the candidate if he paid that claim? If he refused it, it would be submitted to the verdict of a jury, which would probably go against him. If he paid it, he would incur the penalty of having exceeded the maximum scale of expenditure allowed by law. He spoke feelingly on this point, because, after his election expenses were returned in 1868, a person at Deal brought an action against him to recover the cost of certain hired carriages. Now, certainly, he had never hired the carriages, nor had his agent hired them; but, notwithstanding, an intelligent jury decided that he ought to pay for them. The same case might occur again. At the time of which he spoke the candidate was not subjected to these terrible penal clauses. Under this clause, if he resisted the claim he was subjected to an action at law, and if he paid it he was liable to go to prison and lose his seat. He thought that was an unfortunate dilemma in which to place a candidate.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had endeavoured to explain the position of the matter. Either the candidate would owe the money or he would not, and the finding of a jury would not put him in a worse position than by law he would be in before the action was brought. The candidate would have a perfect right to say that he did not enter into a contract or incur the expenditure, and that he should not lose his seat; and if the Judge was of the same opinion, then, under Clause 17 of the Bill, it would be found that every protection was given which could be given to meet the very case that was referred to. If the candidate went before the Judge and said, "I know nothing at all about it," then the words of Clause 17 covered the case. If any further words were necessary to give full protection to the candidate, he would be glad to insert them.

MR. GRANTHAM said, he thought the Attorney General was quite right in the position he took. It would be a monstrous thing to say that because a candidate had exceeded the maximum expenditure allowed by law a creditor should be prevented from recovering an honest debt. He would, however, call the attention of the Attorney General to language used in the earlier part of the section which, in his opinion, made it necessary that this sub-section should be inserted. The clause said, in the second line—

> "No sum shall be paid and no expense shall be incurred by a candidate at an election or his election agent, whether before, during, or after an election, on account of or in respect of or incidental to such election, in excess of any maximum amount in that behalf specified in the first schedule to this Act."

Those words were very strong indeed, and he had no doubt, if this sub-section were struck out, that not only the County Court Judge, but every other Judge, would be inclined to say that any expenditure beyond the maximum could not be paid. At the same time, he was bound to agreee with the Attorney General that if an order had been given and the expenses incurred the creditor ought to be paid.

MR. WARTON said, there was one point to which he desired to call the attention of the Attorney General. The hon. and learned Gentleman must, as a lawyer, know perfectly well that there was no obligation on the part of the candidate to spend more than a certain amount of money; but the fact that more was expended could in no way affect the rights of the creditor. Therefore this section was clearly unnecessary, and he thought it was a very bad practice to load Bills with words which were not necessary, and which only led to discussion. Besides, the words, if unnecessary, were actually mischievous when they looked at the rest of the Bill. In Clause 6 they had provided that—

> "No payment or contract for payment shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at any election, be made (*c*) on account of any committee room in excess of the number allowed by the first schedule to this Act."

This sub-section provided—

> "That nothing shall affect the right of a creditor who when the expense was incurred was ignorant of the expense being incurred in contravention of the section."

It might be urged that as Section 6 made no reservation of the rights of a creditor at all in reference to committee rooms, he would not be able to recover an honest debt notwithstanding the existence of this sub-section. Suppose the candidate was allowed to hire five committee rooms, and an agent from some negligence, or, perhaps, through design, hired six simultaneously, would he be in a position to say to each of the six persons from whom a room was hired that there had been an excessive expenditure, so far as the Act was concerned, and he was not allowed to pay for more than five—would he, therefore, escape payment in the case of all six? If the creditor said, "That does not affect me," the answer would be that it did, because by Clause 6 his rights were not guarded, although they might be by Clause 7. What was the construction that was to be put upon the Act if the rights of the creditor were preserved in one section and not in another, so far as committee rooms were concerned? Were they to interfere with the contract between the candidate and his agent, and the contract between the agent and the creditor? No lawyer would for one moment pretend to say that this sub-section was necessary. The hon. and learned Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grantham) seemed to think there was something in the words of the second line of the clause, "that no sum be paid and no expenses incurred in excess of the maximum amount." It was obvious, however, that that related to the maximum expenses of a candidate at an election, and did not affect the present question, which applied to a single item. His own impression was that the sub-section was unnecessary, and that it would lead to various dangers—among others, to the danger that the extortioners, who abounded at election times, would be induced to make all sorts of extravagant claims. He had no objection to give to a creditor his just rights, but nothing more, and he looked upon the sub-section as dangerous, unnecessary, and inconsistent.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE asked the Attorney General how Section 7 would operate in such a case as this. Suppose the candidate had already expended the maximum amount allowed by the Act, and after the election was over a dishonest claim was made against him, would any expenditure he incurred in defending himself against such a claim be regarded as excessive expenditure over the maximum?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Certainly not.

MR. BIGGAR said, that the fact that the clause was directed against a candidate making an illegal payment might suggest that the creditor was making a fraudulent claim, and was threatening proceedings against the candidate unless the claim was satisfied. They all knew that in election times, in every constituency, a certain number of persons turned up with the sole intention of preying upon the unfortunate candidate. In some places they were more plentiful than in others, but everywhere they existed to some extent, and he was afraid that the Attorney General was making express provisions in the interest of such individuals. If the case were one of a candidate or an agent inadvertently engaging a committee room, it would hardly be worth discussing; but what really would occur would be this—that some person would furnish an account for a committee room, which had probably never been hired at all, and then the candidate, by the threat of an action, would be induced to compromise what he believed to be a dishonest claim. He (Mr. Biggar) thought the section would produce a mischievous effect, and that it ought to be struck out.

MR. LEWIS said, that, in addition to the difficulty which had occurred to his mind a short time ago, the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), that the retention of this sub-section was likely to increase fraudulent claims, struck him as having considerable force. He was also bound to say that the criticisms of his hon. and learned Friend in regard to the difference apparent between Clause 6 and Clause 7 was perfectly well-founded. It was obvious that a distinction was drawn in preserving the rights of creditors in Clause 7, and ignoring them in Clause 6; and as it was evident that the Attorney General was not very much in love with the section, he trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman would consent to meet it.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he thought his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General would acquit him of any desire to prevent the Committee from coming to a decision upon the clause; but he could not help pointing out that this sub-section was in contradiction to the main principle and idea of the Bill. He understood that the object of the Bill was to prevent any expenses beyond reasonable expense being incurred, and thus of obviating any possibility of bribery. The point at which the Bill started was, that it was a great object for every member of a constituency to see what he could get out of the unfortunate candidate. There might be a good many dishonest creditors, and only one who was honest so far as bribery was concerned, and yet they provided nothing in the Bill to protect the right of the creditor who, when the expenditure was incurred, was ignorant that it was being incurred in violation of the Act. He thought that militated against the spirit which animated the whole of the Bill; and it would further the object of the Attorney General if he would strike out this section altogether, and place every member of every constituency in the same category of being unable to bribe anyhow.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that, what the Attorney General did was this. In a subsequent part of the Bill he provided that the candidate should supply a return of his election expenses; but he would not naturally supply a return of unsettled claims. These unsettled claims would not be settled for months, or perhaps for years, and until they were it would be impossible to test the question whether the payments by the candidate had been excessive or not. He presumed it was one of the principles of the law that every person was supposed to know what the law was, and he therefore did not see why they should insert a provision giving a special favour to a person who made a dishonest and illegal claim.

Mr. HICKS said, he should like to know from the Attorney General what was to be the position of a candidate in regard to a creditor who sent in a bill to him for, say, the hire of carriages. The candidate and his agent would say that they had given no such order at all. Was the person who sent in the claim entitled to recover from the candidate, he being the sitting Member at the time; and might the result of the success of the creditor's application be to deprive the sitting Member of his seat?

Mr. CALLAN (who rose amid loud calls for a Division) said, that he did not intend to be put down because hon. Members were impatient. He intended to be heard, and it was such conduct as this, on the Government side of the House, that had brought about the Monaghan defeat. [*Cries of* "Question!"] He wanted to know from the Attorney General whether the clause would apply to expenses that were incurred in consequence of the provisions of the Act?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the clause dealt only with expenditure that went beyond the maximum election expenses. Suppose a candidate had spent, say, a sum of £500 which he was entitled to spend, and he and the election agent knew that the maximum expenditure had been incurred, then, if he afterwards went and expended more, that would be illegal expenditure; and the question was whether the creditor would be entitled to recover it. Would it be honest to say that, because the candidate had already expended the £500 he was authorized to expend, the creditor should not recover what was a perfectly legal debt? He thought there was much force in what had been said by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), and he would, therefore, consider whether a similar promise ought not to be added to Section 6 as that which was now proposed to be added to Section 7. It was quite evident that Clause 6 prohibited expenditure which would not be prohibited under the present clause, and therefore he would consider the matter, which was well worthy of attention.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought that what the Attorney General said would make matters worse rather than better. He understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to intimate that he would introduce a provision into a subsequent part of the Bill to make illegal and corrupt certain acts on the part of an elector which were previously not only unpunishable but regarded as perfectly proper.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 144; Noes 73: Majority 71.—(Div. List, No. 157.)

Mr. HICKS said, he had placed upon the Paper an Amendment, in line 14, to leave out the words "was ignorant of the expense being," in order to insert the words "had no means of knowing that the expense was being." He was in hopes that it would not be necessary to take up the time of the Committee by formally moving this Amendment, because he thought the Attorney General might feel disposed, if he did not altogether accept the Amendment, to introduce words of his own in order to strengthen the clause, and protect a *bonâ fide* honest candidate. In order to afford him an opportunity of doing so he would move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 14, leave out "was ignorant of the expense being," and insert "had no means of knowing that the expense was being."—(*Mr. Hicks.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, the hon. Member seemed to be of opinion that under the clause it might be open to a creditor to say he did not know anything about what the law was, although he might know that he was doing an illegal act. He did not think that that was the construction that would be put upon the section; but he saw no objection to making it perfectly clear, and therefore he would insert the words "in fact."

Mr. HICKS: "In law or in fact?"

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, it would be only necessary to insert the words "in fact."

Amendment *negatived*.

Question proposed, in page 4, line 15, after the word "being," insert the words "in fact."—(*The Solicitor General.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. LEWIS said, that before the Committee parted with the clause, he was anxious to draw attention to an observation which fell from the Attorney General in the early part of the discussion which he was afraid might be misunderstood. The Attorney General said he understood there was a general agreement that certain matters should be left for settlement until they reached the Schedules of the Bill; but, although the Attorney General said that a general agreement had been come to, he (Mr. Lewis) did not wish it to be supposed that he was an assenting party. On a former occasion, they had come to a decision that they could not define by legal words when an election might be said to commence, and that was the only agreement they came to on that point. When they came to deal with the Schedules, it would be necessary to provide for two or three separate things so far as the maximum of expenditure was concerned—namely, for the distinction between single and double seats, the difference between election contests which took place in double constituencies at a General Election and on the occasion of casual vacancies, and other distinctions. Then there would be a difference in the case of elections which occurred suddenly, and others which might last for four or five months. Until these various matters were settled it would be impossible to fix a maximum, and he therefore reserved everything he might have to say on that question until they came to the Schedules later on.

Captain AYLMER said, that nearly every mode of expenditure that was possible was mentioned in this clause, and the cost of the next General Election would be a very heavy one, because the Bill would be very little understood, and there would be numerous actions brought against outsiders immediately after the election. It would be absolutely necessary that on such occasions the candidate should be represented at the trial in order to see that he was not inculpated by the charges that were brought against other persons. That would entail a heavy expense, and it was most likely that actions would be brought in order to see whether anything might turn up which could possibly void the election. It would be just as well to know before the Bill passed, whether expenses incurred in that way would be included in the maximum authorized expenditure?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had already stated that such expenditure would not be included.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had answered the question in regard to another case altogether.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 8 (Procurement of voting by unqualified voters to be illegal practice).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the clause stated that if any person induced or procured any person to vote at an election whom at the time he knew to be prohibited from voting, he should be guilty of an illegal practice. He wanted to know what the Attorney General meant by the use of the word "prohibited," because the register, of course, would have been made up, and that would give the names of the voters who were legally entitled to vote? In the Bill, as it was originally drawn, other words were used—namely, "whom at the time he knew to be disqualified;" and he noticed that in the marginal note attached to the clause the word was "unqualified," and not "prohibited." In order to prevent any confusion he wished to ask the Attorney General what was meant by the word "prohibited?" Was it intended that the register should not be conclusive? What was the meaning of the word "prohibited," and in what sense did it differ from the old word "disqualified," which appeared in the former Bill? In order to raise the question in a regular manner, he would move, as a matter of form, to insert, after the word "prohibited," the words "though on the register."

Amendment proposed, in line 17, after the word "prohibited," insert the words "though on the register."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there were persons whose names appeared on the register who were not entitled to vote, such as policemen and others, who were prohibited from voting by Statute. The clause applied to any person who was not entitled to vote. The names of such persons were not struck off the register, but the persons themselves were prohibited by Statute from voting.

MR. LEWIS said, he was not quite sure whether he was right or not; but, speaking from recollection, he believed that a person who removed from a borough and lost his occupation franchise could vote, although prohibited.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that was a matter which applied only to the qualification. He would take care that the point which had been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) should be duly considered.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought it was rather a strong thing to say that a man who became a policeman, and whose name was on the register, was guilty of an illegal practice if he voted. He might have become a policeman since his name appeared on the register, and it was rather a strong thing indeed to put him under penalties for committing an illegal practice.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had already promised to look carefully into the matter. His only desire was to see the law carried out as simply as possible.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he presumed that the hon. and learned Gentleman did not mean to take the case of a man who had had a qualification, and had parted with it. Such a man would have a right to vote, although his name might be struck out on a scrutiny. He would not press the Amendment further.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GORST moved, in page 4, line 18, after the word "election" to insert "or being a candidate engages in a house-to-house canvass." He proposed this Amendment in order to test the sincerity of the Committee, and particularly the sincerity of hon. Members sitting opposite. Nothing had been more strongly denounced than the practice of canvassing from house to house. The Bill did put a stop to one kind of canvassing—namely, paid canvassing; but that was not enough for some people, who were of opinion that they ought to put a stop to canvassing of every description. This Amendment was intended to put a stop to a plan of canvassing which he thought was very degrading, and which he believed it would be very easy to put a stop to—namely, the personal house-to-house canvass, which the candidate and others, to their extreme disgust, had to go through. He objected to this house-to-house canvass, first of all, because it had a bad moral effect. It made the electors believe that the persons who asked them for their suffrages were going to do them a service instead of undertaking a duty; and it led the electors to consider that they were conferring a favour by voting for the candidate at the election, instead of discharging, as they ought to discharge, an important public function. He believed that the vast majority of the constituents did not like it. He was not qualified to speak about the feelings of the working classes, and he was sorry that the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) was not in his place, in order that he might tell the Committee what the feeling of the working men was upon the matter. As far as his own experience went, he believed the working man in the constituencies did not like the intrusion of a number of persons into their houses at a time, perhaps, when they were having their meals, or at a time when they were not prepared to receive visitors. He only knew that he had been told constantly by the working men he had canvassed that they were very sorry such a practice existed, and that they did not like it, and that it ought to be put a stop to. [*Cries of* "No!"] There might be a difference of opinion about it among hon. Members; but his own opinion was, that the constituencies did not like the practice. Then, again, he thought it was somewhat degrading to the candidate himself. It did no good. A man could not discuss political questions in the houses at which he called. He had no time for doing so. [Mr. ONSLOW dissented.] The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) represented a small borough; but if he represented a constituency that was reasonably large the hon. Member would not find time to discuss political questions in a house-to-house canvass. All that he could really do was to shake hands with the voter and ask how he was going to vote, which was really an infringement of the Ballot Act; and in many instances, when they asked a man how he was going to vote, his answer was that, as there was the ballot, he should please himself, and would not give any answer at all. The worst evil in this house-to-house canvassing was that it imposed upon the candidate agents he knew nothing about. It was all very well for the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) and the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), who were in no extreme danger, to say that it limited the expenditure. If those hon. and right hon. Gentlemen embarked in a house-to-house canvass in a large borough, they would soon find themselves associated with agents of whom they knew nothing, and whom they would be very glad to get rid of, if they could only know their character. What happened was this. Persons of this description joined the canvassing party, and followed the candidates about through the streets, introducing them to the electors, knocking at the doors for them, and taking part in that way in the house-to-house canvass. Then, if a Petition were presented, the candidate found it extremely difficult to induce an Election Judge afterwards to believe that a person so intimately associated with the candidate in his election canvass was not an agent. Then he did not see why, if this house-to-house canvassing was so disadvantageous to the candidates in the constituencies, it should not be prohibited by law, and why they should not trust to the natural operation of the law to put an end to it. It was one of those things which could not be abstained from unless everybody abstained; but he believed that it was one of those things which every candidate would be glad to dispense with. [*Cries of* "No!"] He was satisfied that the generality of candidates at elections would be very glad to dispense with house-to-house canvassing, but they could not do it unless everybody did it. Although there might be two or three hon. Members who liked house-to-house canvassing, generally speaking it would be acceptable both to the constituents and the candidates if the law forbade the continuance of the practice. Then, some people said—"How do you define house-to-house canvassing? Are you to forbid a candidate from calling upon his constituents?" His answer to that was "No;" but he thought there would be no difficulty in expressing in words what house-to-house canvassing meant, and there would be certainly no difficulty when they came before an Election Judge in showing whether a candidate had been engaged in a house-to-house canvass or not. It would be perfectly easy to show where the candidate had crossed the line, and began the practice of house-to-house canvassing. It was entirely a matter for the candidate himself, in which he would be the sole judge, and it would be entirely within his own control. No one would have the slightest difficulty in refraining from following the practice, and if he did not abstain from it he would know that he was committing an offence against the law. He proposed in the clause to define what the illegal practice was, and to add that the candidate should be guilty of an illegal practice if he engaged in a house-to-house canvass. He hoped that all hon. Members of the Committee who disapproved of canvassing in general, and of house-to-house canvassing in particular, would support the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 18, after "election," insert "or being a candidate engaged in a house-to-house canvass."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, his hon. and learned Friend had announced that anybody who opposed the Amendment must be insincere. Therefore, as he (Lord Randolph Churchill) opposed the Amendment, he must unfortunately be insincere. At any rate, he was sincere in his insincerity, because, in his opinion, the Amendment would produce a disastrous effect. Certainly he could not be returned for Woodstock if his hon. and learned Friend's Amendment were carried. In small boroughs—and until steps were taken to abolish them small boroughs must continue—it was absolutely necessary for the candidate to enter upon a house-to-house canvass. The electors knew that it was in the power of the candidate to call upon them, and they expected him to do so. His hon. and learned Friend said there was no time for entering into political arguments with a man in his own house. That might apply to a very large constituency; but he had often engaged in long political arguments with the electors of Woodstock, generally with the happiest results. On several occasions he had known an elector to say—and, no doubt, it had occurred to others—on asking him towards the end of the canvass whether he intended to vote for him—"I will vote for you now; but I would not have voted for you if you had not taken the trouble to come and ask me." He imagined that the same thing was very common in the country elections among the farmers. When he talked of house-to-house canvassing, his hon. and learned Friend must recollect that he was applying the clause to counties as well as to boroughs. In a large borough the candidate might have to go up one side of the street and down the other, and a house-to-house canvass would involve an enormous number of visits. But in a county election the only way in which a candidate could meet the farmers was to call upon them at their own houses. He might meet some of them sometimes at an "ordinary;" but, as a rule, the farmers did not attend public meetings, and if the county Member did not call upon them he would frequently find that he would lose their votes. Therefore, although the Amendment was good enough in theory, until the President of the Board of Trade's ideas had attained full development, and they had nothing but enormous constituencies with paid Members, and equal electoral districts, it would be ridiculous to accept an Amendment of this kind. It was impossible to define what house-to-house canvassing was; and if the principle were carried out in all its rigour, it would undoubtedly lead to a great many Members who, like himself, had the honour of sitting for a small borough, being placed in a false position.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the Committee would come to a decision on this point at once. He sympathized with the views of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), but was unable to see how they could be carried into practical effect. The question of house-to-house canvassing had been discussed over and over again, and it had been proved to be a most pernicious practice. It did not exist to any great extent in large constituences, because there the candidates had not time for it; but, unfortunately, it existed largely in small constituencies, and had been shown to be very humiliating to the candidates, who would in many cases be very glad to avoid the process if they could. If it was allowed to continue, however, it would, of course, be used; and if it were prohibited, the prohibition could, as it seemed to him, be evaded in a variety of ways. For instance, it was only necessary to canvass the doubtful voters, of whom there might only be 10 out of 40, in a street; and what was to prevent those 10 being gathered together in one house where they could be met by the candidate?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL remarked, that such a proceeding would constitute a public meeting.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) was of opinion that those voters might be got together in such a way as not to constitute their assembling into a public meeting; and, even if it were not so, what was to prevent the brother of a candidate from carrying on a house-to-house canvass on his behalf, or from asking doubtful voters to see him at his house or hotel with a view to their conversion? He could not see anything more dangerous than the Amendment which had been moved, and therefore he could not accept it, although he would gladly see the practice of canvassing done away with.

MR. MONK said, he regretted that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General was not able to accept the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), because he was sure that the system of canvassing now carried on in small boroughs was not only humiliating to the candidates, but objectionable to the the constituents. His view was that the only way in which a borough or county ought to be canvassed was by public meetings, where candidates could be questioned on all political subjects in which their constituents were interested.

MR. ONSLOW said, that though the Attorney General had said, and the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had confirmed his view, that house-to-house canvassing was humiliating, he could not hold that opinion. He had had a great deal of it in the course of his political life, and he hoped to have a great deal more of it. His constituents felt proud that he had done them and himself the honour of canvassing them. He was sorry that any Gentleman sitting on that side of the House and calling himself a Conservative should have brought forward an Amendment of this kind. He should not have been surprised if the Amendment had been proposed by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere); but he was certainly surprised that it should have come from the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst).

MR. BROADHURST said, his experience was entirely opposed to that of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow). His opinion was that an overwhelming majority of voters in the various constituencies objected to being personally bored by either candidates or other persons who might wish to know how they were going to vote. His opinion was that there should be a complete and absolute prohibition of canvassing for votes, and therefore it was he thought the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham did not go far enough. What was wanted was that persons other than candidates should be prohibited from canvassing. In the larger constituencies it had became impossible for a man who sought a seat in Parliament to canvass the whole of the voters, and if he was a poor man he stood at a great disadvantage as compared with the rich man, who could afford to employ an army of paid canvassers to do the work for him.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he entirely agreed with the hon. Memeber for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), who had just sat down, in his objection to the employment of paid canvassers; but he could not see any reason why candidates should not be allowed to canvass personally. He had an experience of the kind in the borough of Preston, in the year 1857; and his opinion, based upon that experience was that a large number of the electors were delighted to see him, and to have from him *vivâ voce* an explanation of his political opinions with special reference to particular questions. The paid canvasser being a person of the past, the difficulty was to define what canvassing really was; and this difficulty was one which he thought was insuperable, without subjecting candidates to traps and pitfalls into which, without the least guilty intention, they must inevitably fall. He thought the hon. and learned Attorney General had shown clearly that it would not be possible to carry out the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham, and he hoped no Division would be taken upon it.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) that the condition of things, when the electors of Preston were delighted to be personally canvassed by him in 1857, was very different from that which existed at the present time. He did not think the condition of things at the present time would be met by the Amendment which had been proposed. It would not be possible, for instance, for any candidate to canvass a constituency as large as that which he had the honour to represent. But, at the same time, this canvassing business was at the root of electoral corruption; and as the Amendment which had been proposed would deal with it to some extent he should support it by his vote.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he believed the working classes in the constituencies were in favour of canvassing. He had the honour of sitting for a constituency largely composed of the wage-earning class, and he did not think his constituents regarded canvassing as being either pernicious or humiliating, as had been suggested by the Attorney General. He had sat for the borough of Taunton, now represented by the Attorney General, and he ventured to say that no one could sit for that constituency without canvassing. As far as the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) was concerned, he denied that that Gentleman represented the working classes. That Gentleman represented a number of organizations which lived upon the working classes, and which, in the case of the hon. Member, as also in the case of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), took the place of canvassers, and were to be maintained; while canvassing, which they believed would tend to the success of Conservative candidates, was to be abolished.

MR. LEWIS said, he was of opinion that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had moved the Amendment could not have had any view other than a wish to test the sincerity of hon. Members sitting opposite, for it was not possible to imagine anything more inconsequential. House-to-house canvassing was precisely the same in one street as in another. Suppose there were 300 working men at a meeting. Was the candidate to go down and shake hands, without saying a word to them about the election about to take place? There were persons who, for 25 years, had been endeavouring to bring about that state of things; they wanted the candidate to do no more than stand on the platform, which was very disagreeable to some persons. He confessed that the canvassing he had had to do in the three contests in which he had been engaged was the best means by which he could obtain a personal knowledge of his constituents. So far from having found that at all humiliating, his experience was quite to the contrary. When he knew that a person was not in favour of his candidature he did not take the trouble to call on him; he went to persons who were favourably disposed towards him; and he thought it quite right to visit his constituents in that way, because it had often been said to him—"That which is not worth asking for is not worth having, and if you don't take the trouble to come to my door I shall not take the trouble to go to the poll." It seemed to him that the idea in the minds of some hon. Members was that election day should be kept as a day of mourning. He did not suppose anyone wished to go back to the old Carnival days; but he certainly hoped the Bill would not be allowed to pass without some little liberty being allowed to the electors and the candidate. For his own part, he thought that to prevent the candidate seeing the voters, and the voters seeing the candidate, was simply absurd; and although a house-to-house canvass might be impossible in some constituencies, still, so long as it was possible in others, he regarded it as a proper practice, and one that ought to be continued.

Mr. CALLAN said, if he could support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) he should feel it his duty to move to add, after the word "canvass," the words "or if a candidate visits his constituents during an election." But he hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General would set his face altogether against these little Amendments, and endeavour to pass the Bill with as little delay as possible. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham said that canvassing led the electors to think they were conferring a favour on the candidate. He looked upon it as conferring a very high favour indeed; his recollection of one election was that it was a picnic from beginning to end. He could see nothing humiliating or degrading in canvassing, although he was not surprised that the hon. and learned Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James) and the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) looked at it in that light.

Mr. BIGGAR said, that he did not think the Amendment was required, because in large constituencies it was certainly impossible for a candidate, without the assistance of volunteers, to canvass from house-to-house. Again, it would be impossible to canvass a county in this way; but in a small borough, as the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had pointed out, canvassing was one of the most certain ways of winning an election. There were, in every constituency, numbers of persons who would not take any trouble about the election; and his own custom was to call, not on the friendly electors alone, as the hon. Member for Londonderry did, but upon every elector, whether favourable or unfavourable; and it very often happened that he was able to convince an unfavourable elector and win him over to his own side. Looking at the maximum expense allowed in the Bill, it was absolutely impossible to have a personal canvass in large constituencies, and with regard to them the practice must entirely disappear.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 18; Noes 75: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 158.)

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he proposed to move an Amendment, making it an illegal practice for an agent or any other person, with the approval of the the candidate or his committee, or an Association taking part in the election to visit houses or send circulars with the view of asking persons how they intended to vote. He understood the Attorney General had, on the last Amendment, made a speech practically in favour of this proposal. He did not know whether he was going to accept it; but, if so, he would not say another word in support of it. [The Attorney General (Sir Henry James) signified dissent.] Then he must appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who was apparently leading the Conservative Party, to use his influence with the Attorney General. Members on those Benches had no influence with the hon. and learned Gentleman—he wished they had—but Gentlemen opposite had very great influence with him, and he wished they would, as arbiters of the destinies of the Members of that House, take this excellent Amendment into consideration, and ask the Attorney General to agree to it. The object of his Amendment was not to prevent A. and B. asking C. and D. how they were going to vote, but to put an end to the system of canvassing which now existed. The Committee had done away with paid canvassers; but there would be a whole herd of amateurs on both sides who would do the work. These people, under the present system, unless the practice was put an end to, would take each of them a certain number of streets, visit every house, and write down in their books how the electors were going to vote. He thought that a bad system, and he believed it was also a bad system in the opinion of the Attorney General.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 19, at end, add "any candidate, or any agent of a candidate, or any other person with the approval of, or under the instructions of, or under the supervision of the candidate, or of his election agent, or of his committee, or of any association taking part in the election, visiting houses, or a place or places of business, or sending a letter or a circular, for the purpose of asking any voters how they intended to vote, or whether they intend to vote for or against any particular candidate or candidates, shall be guilty of an illegal practice."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he certainly agreed that the practice of canvassing was disliked; but then there were many evils in this world which were disliked, and which, as they could not be got rid of, must be endured. The result of the first part of the hon. Member's Amendment, if it were adopted, would be to make it an illegal practice for anyone to go to a neighbour's house and say—"I hope you will vote for Mr. So-and-so;" while the latter part of it seemed to him unfair, inasmuch as it put the penalty on the wrong man. It was true that the object of the Bill was to keep corruption away from the constituencies; but they must proceed on the assumption that the candidate was a pure-minded man. He hoped he might appeal to hon. Members not to discuss any further this Amendment, which the Government were unable to accept.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he should not have risen but for the direct appeal made to him by the hon. Member for Northampton. If he could approve the principle of the Amendment, he should still think that it was expressed in an unfair and impracticable way; and, therefore, he hoped the hon. Member would not consider it necessary to press it.

Colonel NOLAN said, he also considered the proposal impracticable as against the candidate himself, and hoped the hon. Member would not divide the Committee upon it.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he would like to know why it was more wrong to canvass at a Parliamentary Election than at any other election? A man who wanted a place, or advancement of any kind, had to canvass, and those who did so stood a better chance of getting what they wanted than those who did not. He was quite at a loss to see what reason there was for making a distinction as against Parliamentary canvassing. In the event of the Amendment being carried, which, however, he very much doubted, he intended to propose an Amendment to it, because he considered that the Bill did not go to the true source of corruption—namely, the corruption of the candidate himself, for the purpose of catching votes. It very often happened that Sunday closers and such like people would come to a candidate in large numbers, and exercise such influence upon him, that he would completely give up his own opinion. He should propose, if the Amendment were carried, to insert after the words, "shall be guilty of an illegal practice," the following words:—

> "Any elector canvassing a Parliamentary candidate, or writing a letter or circular to any Parliamentary candidate for the purpose of asking such Parliamentary candidate how he intends to vote in Parliament, shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, the object of the Amendment was really to carry out the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck)—namely, to prevent candidates being pestered by people from the Contagious Diseases Acts Association and others, canvassing the candidates in the interest of their particular Associations. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had, therefore, a clear right to ask the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven. He (Mr. J. Cowen) should vote against the Amendment; but, in the event of the Amendment being carried, he should then propose the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 8; Noes 69: Majority 61.—(Div. List, No. 159.)

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that in the absence of his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) he should propose an Amendment which stood in his name. It was to add at the end of line 19—

> "And any person, who before, during, or after an election, by poster, placard, cartoon, caricature, or other publication, knowingly publishes any false charge of or against a candidate, or any false statement of the withdrawal of the candidate, in order to influence such election, shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

The CHAIRMAN: I have considered this proposition of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, and I am of opinion it is not in Order here. It has no relevancy to this clause, which provides that the procurement of voting by unqualified voters is an illegal practice. The Amendment might be introduced at some later time; but it is clearly out of Order here.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, it seemed to him that, if he might venture to say so, it was as much in Order as the last Amendment. The last Amendment did not refer in the smallest degree to the clause.

The CHAIRMAN: The last Amendment, in my opinion, referred to the clause distinctly. It referred to the question of canvassing, to which the clause referred. The clause referred to the candidature, and the Amendment also referred to the candidature. But this Amendment related to cartoons and caricatures, with which the clause does not deal in any degree.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) admitted that the subject dealt with by the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin was one of great importance, and suggested that if the right hon. and learned Gentleman thought fit it would be better to bring it up as a new clause.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Punishment on conviction of illegal practice).

Mr. J. HOLLOND moved, in page 4, line 22, to leave out "five," and insert "seven." His object was to extend the disqualification over the next Election. If a Parliament lived for six years the electors who had been disqualified for illegal practices at the one Election would be able to vote at the next Election, if the clause remained unaltered. His object was to stop that. It would be for the interest of each political Party to take care that those illegal practices were not committed, because they would then lose the votes of the persons committing the illegal practices. He was aware there was great objection to any proposition which would increase the penalties of the Bill; and he would, personally, rather trust to the disqualification of the electors, and the disadvantages it would mean to the political Party to which they belonged, than to any punishment or fine.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 22, leave out "five," and insert "seven."—(*Mr. J. Hollond.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' stand part of the Clause."

Colonel NOLAN said, the Bill was extremely severe as it now stood, and he had steadily voted against all the punishments in the Bill; and he certainly should strongly oppose any increase of the penalties.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Amendment. He had otherwise endeavoured to meet the wishes of the Committee, and it seemed that those views ran rather in the direction of leniency than of severity.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) then moved to leave out in line 24, "in the United Kingdom," and in line 26, after "Act," insert—

"Hold for and within the county or borough within which the illegal practices have been committed."

According to the original words of the clause, the disability, in regard to voting, would have extended to any election in the United Kingdom. The object of that Amendment was that if the man went to any new place he should go with a new character.

Amendment proposed, in page 4, line 24, leave out "in the United Kingdom."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question, "That the words 'in the United Kingdom' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, line 26, after "Act," insert "hold for or within the county or borough within which the illegal practice has been committed."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Report of election court respecting illegal practice, and punishment of candidate found guilty by such report).

Mr. BIGGAR said, it seemed to him that the penalties in respect of the illegal practices were too severe. He did not consider that the person guilty simply of illegal practices should be excluded from a particular constituency for his life, or kept out of Parliament for a large number of years. The punishment was altogether too severe, and he, therefore, moved to leave out from the commencement of line 41 to the end of the clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think that the Amendment can be put, because the hon. Gentleman proposes to leave out the enacting part of the clause. The proper thing would be to reject the clause altogether.

MR. LEWIS said, he thought it would be better to dispose of some of the later clauses first. Until the mind of the Committee had been ascertained upon Clauses 12, 13, 14, and 15, it seemed they were not in a condition to say what would be the proper mode of dealing with the Penalty Clause. It would be far better, in his opinion, for them to deal with the *corpus* of the offence, before they began to deal with the punishment.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, if they were to postpone the clause they would have to take it up at the end of the Bill. He might mention that he should subsequently ask to mitigate the penalty in the clause by striking out the word "ever," and he trusted by doing that he should meet the objections of hon. Gentlemen.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, they now came to a very important question. It certainly did seem to many of them very hard indeed that a candidate should be liable to the penalties under the clause, if he had been guilty by his agents of an illegal practice; and, therefore, his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) proposed that in the Preamble, and also in the enacting part of the 2nd sub-section, they should provide some mitigation of the penalty. As his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in whose name the Amendment stood, had now entered the House, he would content himself with simply moving the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 9, leave out "agents," and insert "election agent."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'agents' stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) appealed to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) not to press that Amendment. In respect to corrupt practices it always had been the rule that the candidate should be liable for the acts of his agents. Illegal practices were, no doubt, offences of a meaner description; but it was none the less desirable to put a stop to them. It was clear that under the Amendment a man might spend thousands of pounds, and yet the candidate might not lose his seat. Such a thing could not be desired by the hon. Gentleman.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had very properly pointed out that this, if left alone, would open the door to a great amount of expenditure by other agents. That was not his wish. The object that he had in putting down this Amendment was not to increase expenditure by agents other than the election agents, but really to mitigate the severe penalty which appeared in page 5. Now, he understood that the hon. and learned Gentleman was quite willing to alter this severe penalty by the omission of the word "ever." That, of course, removed his (Sir R. Assheton Cross's) objection to this point; and the whole object of his Amendment was secured. He should be quite willing to withdraw the Amendment.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the Attorney General if he would kindly state what were the Amendments he intended to propose?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he should, at the proper time, propose to strike out the word "ever," in line 16, page 5, and after the word "borough," in line 18, to insert "except for seven years."

COLONEL NOLAN said, that before the Amendment was withdrawn, if the clause was to remain as severe as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General proposed to leave it, it was right to limit the action of the clause in other ways. The general effect of the clause was to raise up, in point of punishment, illegal practice to what formerly was the punishment for corrupt practices. If illegal practices were to be as heavily punished as corrupt practices hitherto had been, the law would be very severe indeed. Formerly there was a penalty of £5 or £10 for an illegal practice; but now the offence was to be punished much more severely. He thought it would be very wise to limit the action of the clause simply to electioneering agents. The clause ought to be closely watched, and every effort made to reduce the punishment very much below what the Attorney General desired. An illegal practice ought to be considered an election offence of a much meaner character. That was certainly the state of the law at the present moment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had an Amendment which was not on the Paper, and which proposed, after "illegal practice," in line 10, page 5, to insert the words "specified in this Act." His reason for making this proposal was that there were several illegal practices not specified in the Act—such as the wearing of colours. Many illegal practices were specified in the Act, such as the hiring of carriages and conveyances; and it might be right to consider whether these illegal practices were deserving of heavier punishment. But there were also practices, although they could not be called justifiable, to which the severe punishment of the Bill should not be applied; and in respect of which, unless his Amendment were accepted, such punishment might be meted out. It might be a wrong thing to wear Party colours. In Ireland they did not offend very much in this respect, for the reason that they principally wore the green, and that it had been laid down by the Judges that that was not a Party colour. But where Party colours were worn, and it was considered wrong, it surely would be too much to visit such offence with the full penalties of this Bill. If illegal practices were extended to such minor offences as these it would be well to qualify the punishment; but he should prefer amending the clause in the manner he proposed, so as to confine these offences to acts specified in the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 10, after the word "practice," to insert the words "specified in this Act."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he should like to ask a question of the Attorney General upon this subject. The full effect of Clause 10 could not be understood without reading clauses from 12 to 16, because, owing to the manner in which the measure was drawn, though apparently there was a gradation of offence, yet, when they came to punishment, they found there was no such gradation in that part of the Bill. Take, for instance, the case the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Nolan) had just quoted, that of wearing colours. Flags, banners, cockades, or ribbons, or other marks of distinction, were not allowed; and no doubt it was true, as had been stated by the Attorney General, that no offence would be committed unless the acts were done by the candidate or his election agent; but there were minor acts of the same character which might be committed very innocently, and it would appear that the same punishment should not be visited in all cases. He should like to know how they stood with regard to Clause 16, because it would be quite possible for some indiscreet enthusiastic supporter, or supporters, to obtain ribbons and wear them as marks of distinction. Under Clause 16, what might happen? Why, this might happen—a candidate might be going about the county or the borough, and might meet these gentlemen decorated in the way suggested, or they might be in the room in which he was speaking, or at dinner, and such candidate might be brought within the powers of Clause 16, Sub-section 2 of which said—

> "A candidate or an election agent of a candidate who is guilty of the offence of illegal payment, employment, or hiring, or who aids or abets, or confirms by the payment of money, or in any other manner any such offence shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

It was clear to his mind that the words "aids or abets" or "in any other manner" would render the candidate liable if he came into a company of gentlemen decorated with Party colours. What he was anxious to do was to induce the Committee to take every care not to catch the candidate by some such words as these, and bring down upon him penalties for an offence of which he might be altogether innocent. So long as human nature was human nature, whatever Act of Parliament they passed they would never get a great many people to put aside such a thing as the wearing of a candidate's colours during an election. He wished the Committee to take care not to find a candidate "aiding or abetting," because he might happen to be on a platform with a number of people decorated with his colours, or because he might be dining in the same room with them. Unless this Amendment were adopted, or something were done in the line he was indicating, it would be the easiest thing in the world to bring in a candidate guilty of corrupt practices, and punish him by depriving him of the power of representing the borough in which he mixed with people wearing colours for seven years. He was aware that the Attorney General did not intend to inflict this heavy punishment upon a candidate for such a slight inadvertence; but the clause should be made as clear as possible, so as to prevent the possibility of difficulties arising in the future.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the clause would not go the extent the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) seemed to fear; and all he (the Attorney General) wished to do was to provide that the candidate should not "aid or abet" in the spending of money upon these things mentioned in the clause. He was anxious to meet the right hon. Gentleman as far as he possibly could, and he would promise to look into the matter to see how the right hon. Gentleman's view might be best carried out. He should be ready to consent to an Amendment in the spirit of that of the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Nolan); and he would, therefore, propose that the words "within the meaning of this Act" should be inserted. That would have the effect of shutting out all illegal practices which were not specified or defined.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would be happy to withdraw the Amendment in favour of the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General), if he would move the words he had suggested in the form of an Amendment. He should like to see these words in the Bill before the Report stage, so that he might find out whether the alteration exactly carried out his wishes or not. He would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), Amendment made, in page 5, line 10, after the word "practice," by inserting "within the meaning of this Act."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would now propose an Amendment in Sub-section (*a*) which he thought would meet the objections of hon. Members. Instead of providing that a candidate should be incapable of "ever" being elected for the said county or borough, or of being elected to or sitting in the House of Commons for which the election was held, the Amendment would make him ineligible to sit for the county or borough in respect of which the election was held for the seven years next after the date of the Report.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 16, to leave out "ever."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'ever' stand part of the Clause."

MR. RAIKES said, he was glad to find that the Attorney General had substantially accepted his Amendment, and there was now nothing between them except that he would have proposed that a candidate when reported should be excluded from that Parliament; whereas the Attorney General proposed that he should be excluded for seven years. That, however, was not a point upon which he should think it necessary to go to a Division. He was glad that the Attorney General had been so willing to meet the Committee with respect to this matter; and having regard to what the hon. and learned Gentleman had said as to a subsequent Amendment he should not now move his Amendment. He thought the Committee might congratulate themselves on a more conciliatory spirit being shown by the hon. and learned Gentleman than had previously been the case.

MR. LEWIS said, he was also glad to see this better spirit, and would say nothing further about the matter, though he still thought the punishment was too severe.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made in page 5, line 18, after the word "borough," by inserting "during the seven years next after the date of the Report"; also in page 5, line 18, after the word "report," by leaving out all the words to the word "held," inclusive, in line 20.

MR. LEWIS said, he thought, after what had been done in line 18, some Amendment was required in Sub-section (*b*); otherwise the two sections might be considered in conflict, and there was no knowing what the Judge might do.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 24, leave out Sub-section (*b*.)—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (*b*) stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if the hon. Member would point out what Amendment he thought necessary, he would consider it; but the sub-section made a candidate liable for any illegal act or practice by his agent. They were bound to prevent lawless expenditure, and, although he had given the most elastic clause he could, he must adhere to the clause as it stood.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had an Amendment on the Paper to strike out Sub-section (*b*); but his objections had been met by the alterations now made in the Bill. He should, therefore, not move his Amendment.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he thought the punishments too severe, and calculated to defeat their object; but the manner in which the Attorney General had dealt with the point had met the objections, and if they were to put down illegal practices he did not see how they could omit this sub-section. Bearing in mind the way in which the Equity Clause was drawn, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 11 (Extension of 15 & 16 Vict. c. 57, respecting election commissioners and illegal practices).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he wished to amend this clause. As the clause was drawn, it enabled a Commission to be sent down; and his impression was, that after that had been done the Commissioners should inquire into corrupt and illegal practices as defined by this Act and the Election Commissioners Act. He had an Amendment to that effect.

MR. RAIKES asked what the Amendment was?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that was a matter of drafting.

Mr. Lewis

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 4, at end, to insert, "when the election commissioners have been appointed in pursuance of the Act."—(*The Attorney General.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to*.

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 5, line 5, by omitting from "same" down to "and be" in line 8; also in page 5, by inserting—

> "They may make inquiry and hand in their report as if 'corrupt practices' in the said Act included 'illegal practices.'"

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Illegal Payment, Employment, or Hiring.

Clause 12 (Providing of money for illegal practice or payment to be illegal payment) *agreed to*.

Clause 13 (Certain expenditure to be illegal payment).

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 20, after "procuring," insert "or opposing."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there was no necessity for these words, as "opposing" an election was already covered by the provision respecting "procuring" an election.

MR. RAIKES said, he hoped that before Report the Attorney General would consider whether it was possible to insert these words, because there were many persons who went down to boroughs at election times rather to make themselves disagreeable to particular candidates than to secure the election of particular candidates; and it would be rather difficult to fix them with any responsibility for securing an election. They might go down with their cartoons and placards; and he hoped the Attorney General would insert the words "or opposing," in order to deal with those people.

MR. GORST said, he thought that if any person exhibited cartoons he would be held in law to be procuring the election of a candidate's rival.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that was exactly his view, and the matter was not worth a moment's consideration.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he proposed to insert the word "or," in line 21, after "flags," in order to prepare the way for striking out the subsequent words "cockades and ribbons." If the words stood as they were, it was clear that if candidates took down their wives during elections they would buy ribbons of some sort, and yet be made liable for an offence. He did not think anything could be more innocent than buying ribbon to support candidates, or carrying small flags.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 21, after the word "flags," to insert "or."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'or' be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the object was to prevent frivolous expense. At Sandwich about £2,000 were spent on banners and flags. That was an objectionable practice, and ought not to be allowed. By the Act of 1854 candidates were prohibited from providing any of these distinctive marks. Their object was to promote or procure an election, and there must be systematic expense in that respect. The aim of the clause was to prevent large expenditure in covering places with ribbons and colours, and he did not think this provision would cause any harm. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not press his Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS hoped the Attorney General would give up "ribbons."

MR. GORST said, that at present candidates and agents were prohibited from paying money for these things, and the only effect of the clause would be to put other people on the same footing. If the Amendment were accepted, while candidates would be tied down, other people might come in and do what candidates and agents might not do. Those dreadful people from the Birmingham Caucus might come in and provide cockades and marks of distinction which the candidate might not provide. This expenditure was perfectly useless, and it was better to prohibit it by anybody.

MR. RAIKES said, he was very much inclined to agree with the Attorney General, and he thought his hon. Friend had gone too far in proposing to take flags and banners out of the clause, because they frequently led to riots, in consequence of rival factions rallying round flags. He was glad the Attorney General intended to stand by flags and banners; but hoped he would not take the same course with regard to ribbons and cockades. There could be no objection to cockades and ribbons, though a candidate must not supply them. The agents of the Birmingham Caucus looked very much to business, and he did not think they spent their money on cockades and ribbons. They were not likely to corrupt constituencies by any such things as those; but many innocent people, taking an interest in elections, adopted the wearing of ribbons and cockades to show who their candidate was. He hoped that while sticking to flags and banners the Attorney General would give up cockades and ribbons.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that after what had fallen from hon. Members he was prepared to withdraw his Amendment; but hon. Members seemed to forget that the prohibition referred to was more honoured in the breach than in the observance of it.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked who was to pay for cockades, if candidates and agents were prohibited from wearing them? Was a man's wife or daughter to be considered an agent if she wore one?

MR. GRANTHAM said, there must be some payment allowed for things which were marks of distinction, because even coloured canvass and polling cards were marks of distinction. Some explanation should be given of the term, or great confusion would arise.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it no doubt seemed a very small matter as to whether cockades and ribbons were put a stop to or not; but what it was sought to prevent was not the wearing of colours, but the corrupt payment for them, as at Sandwich, on an extensive scale.

MR. LEWIS said, when he considered that the members of one's family might lay out some money in cockades and ribbons, or other distinguishing marks, it seemed to him there was something in the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman which proposed to place an act of the kind outside the penalties of the Bill.

Mr. ONSLOW said, the Attorney General had stated that these words had nothing much in them. But he reminded the Committee that there was now a Blue Ribbon Army and a Red Ribbon Army. If some enthusiastic individual were to supply a large amount of blue ribbon, and another were to supply red ribbon, for the purpose of decorating children, it would, no doubt, have an effect upon the election. Hon. Members knew that these colours were very prominent marks of distinction; and he thought the words "or other marks of distinction" ought to be in the clause, because they would include blue and red ribbon decorations. He was convinced that this question would be of very considerable importance at the next General Election.

Question put, "That the word 'or' be there inserted."

The CHAIRMAN: I think the Ayes have it. ["No, no!"]

Question again put.

The CHAIRMAN: The Ayes have it.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had distinctly challeged a Division.

The CHAIRMAN thereupon directed a Division to be taken.

Mr. SYDNEY HERBERT (seated with head covered) said, he wished to speak to a point of Order. He wished to ask the Chairman whether he had not distinctly declared that the Ayes had it; and, if so, whether the Committee were not bound by that ruling?

The CHAIRMAN: I gave my decision through a mistake, not having heard any challenge.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 35; Noes 92: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 160.)

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he rose to move that Progress be reported. He did so on this ground. The Chairman's decision that the "Ayes" had it having been challenged, the House was cleared for a Division; but, on the Question being put a second time, there was no challenge, and then the Chairman gave his final ruling, and declared that the "Ayes" had it. It was not until after that decision was given that the Government again persisted in raising the question, and a Division was taken. That was a proceeding wholly inconsistent with the usual practice of the House in Committee, according to which, when the Chairman gave his ruling, the matter was at an end. Of course, it was quite open to the Government to raise the question again on Report; but, in order to decide upon the Order of the present proceeding, he begged to move that the Chairman report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. R. N. Fowler.*)

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE begged to assure the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) that he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was sitting by his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General at the time, and he had heard his hon. and learned Friend distinctly challenge the decision of the Chairman several times.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House did not dispute the statement of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles W. Dilke); but the fact, nevertheless, remained that the Chairman decided that the "Ayes" had it. Never in his experience before had he known the Committee to go back after the Chairman had ruled. He could understand the difficulty which the Chairman sometimes felt in gathering whether it was the intention to press for a Division, especially when the voices were as faint as those just given by hon. Members opposite; but still the Chairman was in his right in saying that the "Ayes" had it, and it was quite unusual to go back upon his decision.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, it had occurred frequently in previous debates that the Chairman declared that the "Ayes" or the "Noes" had it, not having heard any challenge from hon. Members to the contrary.

Mr. ONSLOW rose to Order. He asked whether the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General was in Order in referring to what had taken place in previous debates that Session?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he was not referring to any previous debate.

THE CHAIRMAN said, it appeared to him that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General was elucidating his point by a reference to what had taken place on a former occasion. In that case he would not be out of Order.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, it did not admit of dispute that when the Chairman said the "Ayes" had it the decision was challenged. He had himself distinctly challenged it, and he hardly supposed that anyone could object to the rectification of a decision which the Chairman had given by mistake.

MR. RAIKES said, he thought the discussion they were engaged in was not likely to be attended with any substantial advantage. He could quite understand that some little feeling should have arisen in the minds of hon. Gentlemen on those Benches, on the ground that, after the Chairman had declared that the "Ayes" had it, he should have simply recalled that decision. But he asked his hon. Friend (Mr. R. N. Fowler) what useful object there could be in pushing the question beyond the point it had arrived at? It was a fact that the occupants of the Treasury Bench were sometimes extremely slack in giving expression to their opinion. It had frequently been his experience in previous Parliaments not to know what the intention of the Government was with reference to Questions put from the Chair. He did not think the Chairman was so much to blame in this case as the Members of the Government; and, that being so, he hoped his hon. Friend would not persevere with his Motion.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was listening to the discussion with great attention at the time the Question was put; and he was bound to say he had been much astonished at what he thought to be the assent given by the Government to the Amendment of his hon. Friend. He certainly did not expect anything of the kind. It now turned out that he was mistaken, because it was stated that both hon. and learned Gentlemen (the Attorney General and the Solicitor General) had challenged the decision of the Chairman that the "Ayes" had it. However, as no sound of dissent reached his (Sir R. Assheton Cross's) ears, he was not at all surprised that the Chairman should have given his decision for the "Ayes." That decision having been given very distinctly, after the Question was put, therefore, he said that his hon. Friends were justified in questioning the Order of the proceedings in the only way open to them—namely, by addressing the Chair from their places, seated, and wearing their hats. He thought, also, his hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) was justified in moving to report Progress, because that appeared to be the only regular way of rectifying the mistake which had occurred. The matter, however, having been cleared up, he trusted his hon. Friend would consent to withdraw his Motion to report Progress.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he extremely regretted that the challenge of the Government had not been loud enough to reach the ears of the Chairman. They promised, however, that there should be no cause for complaint on that ground in future.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he thought it due to the Committee to state that he had not heard any challenge, and that he had given his decision accordingly. As, on a previous occasion, when he was informed that his decision had been challenged, he thought it right to correct the mistake by putting the Question again.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, after the debate that had taken place, he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that the Motion be withdrawn?

MR. SHEIL said, the question that presented itself to some hon. Members on those Benches was as to whether it was competent to the Chairman to alter his mind after he had declared that the "Ayes" had it. The Chairman had stated that he had heard no challenge; and, certainly, none had reached the ears of hon. Gentlemen in that part of the House.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. Member (Mr. Sheil) that he was not confining himself to the Question before the Committee.

MR. SHEIL said, he was speaking on the same subject as had been discussed by hon. Members opposite and on the Benches below him. It was not a question of withdrawal, nor was it a question of the mistake of the Chairman. The question was as to whether, having given his decision, it was within the right of the Chairman to alter it.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON said, that nothing more frivolous could be conceived than this prohibition of cockades and ribbons. The use of these insignia was, in the case of many people, the only means they had of expressing their political ideas. They all knew that at the Hastings Election the Government candidate had been sporting colours in profusion—there never was such a display of them. It was going beyond the hypocrisy even of this Bill to make such a paltry provision against the use of cockades and ribbons. The measure was, in some respects, tyrannical; but, in this instance, it was childish; and he would therefore move that the words "cockades, banners," be omitted from the clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 22, to leave out the words "cockades, banners."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he would venture to ask his hon. and learned Friend not to trouble the Committee to go to a Division on his Amendment. He entirely agreed with all his hon. and learned Friend had said on the subject; but they had just had a Division on a part of the question; and if he could see any chance of the Committee reversing its decision, no one would be more desirous than he to vote against the retention of the words.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill?"

MR. LEWIS, in opposing the Motion, said, that the clause referred to the use of bands, torches, flags, banners, cockades, and ribbons. Now, he was reminded of a great celebration which took place the other day at Birmingham, where the Liberal Party had an immense stock of flags and banners, cockades and ribbons, which they could import into other constituencies in time of need, or whenever Liberal festivities were expected. Birmingham, in fact, could deluge any other constituency with flags and banners. He had ventured to say, on a former occasion, and he would repeat now, that it was beneath the dignity of the House, and of the Bill, that it should inflict on any person who might spend a small some of money on such things as flags, banners, cockades, and ribbons the very severe penalties that even yet remained in the Bill. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] He should not waste any time, however much he might oppose the Bill. He should not pursue any factious course; but he merely desired to make a few observations preliminary to dividing. He considered it utterly absurd, considering the limit of expenditure which they were going to lay down, to suppose that anyone would be able to spare any money on such frivolities as bands, torches, flags, banners, cockades, and ribbons. He should like to know, in a borough of 2,000 electors, how much of the £50 allowed to be spent by the Schedule of the Bill a man would have to spare for the purpose of decorating himself or the constituency with flags, banners, ribbons, and cockades? He thought the clause absurd and useless.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he should support his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) in his opposition to the clause, not only on the ground that he had stated—that it was entirely unworthy of the dignity of Parliament to descend to foolishness—but also because, while they attempted to punish a person who indulged in those very small things, they left altogether unpunished those who were guilty of far greater offences—namely, those who, for the purpose of catching votes, gave up their opinions. It was a very common thing now-a-day for a candidate to surrender his private judgment, simply for the sake of obtaining the votes of members of Associations, who were really the curse of the country, and who were the greatest obstacles to good government. He was glad to see the Prime Minister present; because he understood that, subsequently, an hon. Gentleman below the opposite Gangway (Mr. Labouchere), one of the right hon. Gentleman's own supporters, would raise the question as to the distribution of titles for political services. Men who, for political services, accepted titles were, in his (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) opinion, far worthier of punishment than those who indulged in the purchase of flags, ribbons, banners, and cockades. The Bill really left unpunished those persons who were guilty of the greatest crimes against good government — namely, those who gave up their own opinions, and adopted the opinions of others, for the sole purpose of catching votes. If his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry went to a Division, he should certainly follow him into the same Lobby.

Mr. GRANTHAM again asked, what was meant by "other marks of distinction?" How could it be said that a payment was made for other marks of distinction? He presumed the clause would prevent a candidate even sending out coloured polling cards. A definition of the meaning of the words was certainly needed; at present, there seemed to be no prohibition whatever to wearing ribbons and cockades. The wearing of such things was legal, but the paying for them was illegal. Under the circumstances, he certainly considered it would be wise to strike out the clause altogether.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON hoped the Government would not insist upon embodying this ridiculous clause in the Bill. What conceivable object could the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James), or the Government, have in putting such a clause in an Act of Parliament? It was only intended to give a man just enough to enable him to manage his election. ["No, no!"] Some hon. Gentlemen seemed to consider there was not enough allowed. He would then say that that was supposed to be enough in the mind of the Government to enable a man properly to conduct his election. If any man was foolish enough to waste a certain sum in payment of flags, banners, cockades, and ribbons, why should he not be allowed to do so? If he did so, he would have all the less to spend in other ways. As the clause now stood, if any member of his family bought 20 yards of ribbon for the purpose of making it into cockades, or other marks of distinction, he was to be held guilty of an illegal practice. [The Attorney General (Sir Henry James) dissented.] The hon. and learned Attorney General shook his head. Then, what was the use of putting a clause into the Bill upon which no Judge would act? Under the circumstances, he hoped the Government would not insist upon inserting such a ridiculous clause in an Act of Parliament.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would ask the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) to give a little more consideration to the clause. It had nothing at all to do with the maximum expenditure; it had to do with any person other than the candidate, whether the maximum expenditure had been incurred or not. They had now been discussing the clause for upwards of an hour, and he trusted they would be allowed to go to a Division at once.

Mr. GORST said, he was quite sure the noble Lord who had just come into the House (Lord George Hamilton) was not aware that this clause was corrected to carry out the views of his own Colleagues. According to the existing law, the ridiculous things the noble Lord found so much fault with were already offences. According to the existing law, a candidate or his agents were punished if they spent money in the direction in question. The effect of this clause enacted what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) desired—namely, to make that which was an offence in the candidate or an election agent, an offence when committed by anyone else. It seemed curious that, at the beginning of the Sitting, a Colleague of the noble Lord should urge on the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) that this should be the principle of the Bill, and now the noble Lord quarrelled with it.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, the Government ought to be glad of the assistance which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had just given them in that matter. The hon. and learned Gentleman imagined that he (Mr. W. H. Smith) showed, at an earlier period of the evening, that payments might be made of a much more dangerous character than those for cockades and ribbons, or such like things that women delighted in, which might prove much more injurious to the purity of the constituency. He, therefore, considered it was most undesirable that such payments should be allowed. Did the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham mean to say that nothing that was prohibited by this clause was to be prohibited? That was the point which his noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) insisted upon so much. That clause only prohibited bands, torches, flags, banners, ribbons, cockades, and other marks of distinction—that was to say, it prohibited payments of this character which should not be returned by either of the two candidates or their agents.

Mr. CALLAN said, he should support the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) in the opposition he had shown to the adoption of the clause. He (Mr. Callan) was rather struck with the observations of the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James), who had, in recommending the clause, pointed out that the 16th clause provided that—

> "A candidate or an election agent of a candidate who is guilty of an offence of illegal payment, employment, or hiring, or who aids or abets, or confirms by the payment of money, or in any other manner, any such offence shall be guilty of an illegal practice,"

and should, therefore, be incapable of sitting for the particular constituency for seven years. He considered that that was a very severe penalty indeed. Now, what were the marks of distinction? On Sunday last, in County Monaghan, there was a funeral procession, the hearse was supposed to contain the corpse of the great Ulster Liberal Party. Did that come under the terms of "other marks of distinction?" Perhaps not, because it was a mark of extinction; which, by the way, had to-day proved a more emphatic mark of extinction. If an over-zealous friend, or an elector, supplied a band, or a flag, or a banner, which waved over the house in which a candidate was to speak, it was very possible that a Judge might hold the candidate to aid, or abet, or in some other manner be guilty of an illegal practice, and thereby disqualify a candidate for sitting for seven years. He merely rose in consequence of the misleading statement of the hon. and learned Attorney General, that the penalty was a very small one. He was sure very few Members of the Committee would agree with the opinion that seven years' exclusion from the House was a small penalty.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was bound to vote against the clause, because he considered it a monstrous thing to raise the penalty from 40*s.* to making the election void.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he would remind his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) that payments for those things would only void an election when they were paid by a candidate or his agent. Let him ask the Committee to consider the question really at issue. Formerly there was a certain old way of conducting elections—a way which entailed great expenditure, generally accompanied by a great deal of public demoralization; and the House of Commons generally, the Tory Party included, professed to be anxious to put an end to the old state of things. What did the retention of these noisy and flaring accompaniments of an election—bands, torches, flags, ribbons, banners, and cockades—mean? They would be for the advantage of the public-houses, for they meant nothing more or less than drink, and unlimited drink. The old system meant public-house at the beginning and public-house at the end. The old state of things amounted to nothing but a lavish expenditure on these kinds of things, which, instead of leading people to consider gravely political questions of importance, led them to consider side issues of a personal character. The old state of things diverted the public mind from the calm consideration of political questions, [and excited it by fictitious, and corrupt, and, he thought, very improper means. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had said that torches, bands, flags, banners, and such things only excited the women. Good Heavens! He was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster giving the Committee to understand that there was very little harm done in exciting women, by cockades, ribbons, &c. He hoped that, although the right hon. Gentleman's election for Westminster was marked by an overwhelming majority, he would trust to other things than cockades, ribbons, bands, &c., exciting the women of the constituency.

Mr. GREGORY said, he would point out that the payment for these things was to be made by a third person, and not by candidates. If they did not retain that clause, no penalty would be imposed upon parties who made these payments. The clause might go too far with regard to cockades and ribbons; but it appeared to him that, if the clause was struck out, any third party might come in, and hire any number of bands, ribbons, torches, flags, and the like, and might, in fact, buy up half the constituency without incurring any penalty. That would be a distinct corrupt practice, and might result in the demoralization of half the constituency. Some such clause as that was absolutely necessary if they meant to provide for a pure election.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, in the earlier part of the evening, when he moved an Amendment in order to provide against the action of the third party, the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) distinctly undertook, on Clause 22, to bring up words which would deal with the outside influences brought into a borough at the time of an election. For that reason he had withdrawn his Amendment.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he voted with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) when he moved an Amendment which was intended to mitigate the severity of the clause. The Amendment of the hon. Member was moved with the intention, if it were carried, of again moving the omission of the words "cockades and ribbons." He (Mr. O'Connor Power) was not prepared to vote against the clause in its entirety, because he considered that something of the kind was required. He considered that the use of torches at elections was extremely dangerous. They assumed very varied forms in different elections. He had known firebrands made and thrown in the midst of a large number of people. He recollected participating in an election contest at Bristol during the last Parliament, and he remembered extremely well the reception which he and some other gentlemen received. [An hon. MEMBER: A Liberal candidate got in!"] Yes; he believed one of the present Members for Bristol was returned. Certainly, a great deal of violence was provoked by the casting about of these firebrands, and by the holding of torches to the immediate danger of a large number of people. Under the circumstances, he should vote for the retention of the clause, although he was in favour of omitting some of the articles specified.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had made answers to one or two of his (Lord George Hamilton's) arguments which required a little attention. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said that the object of the clause was to stop external expenditure. That was an admission that the limit imposed upon a candidate might be exceeded by persons themselves in externals. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): If we do not stop it.] This clause, therefore, was intended to apply to external expenditure, which, as the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had said, meant a third party. There was, however, not one word in the clause about a third party. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would bring up a clause which would stop all external expenditure—not merely expenditure in connection with bands, flags, ribbons, and cockades—he (Lord George Hamilton) would gladly support him. What was now proposed was, that any person who bought ribbons at an election would be guilty of an illegal practice. That would be absurd. He hoped, therefore, his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry would press his opposition to a Division, because it was perfectly clear the clause would not attain the object the hon. and learned Attorney General had in view.

MR. BIGGAR said, he was very much opposed to the clause in all its parts. If the number of clerks and messengers were restricted too largely, and if the use of bands, flags, banners, ribbons, and cockades was prohibited, a candidate, especially in a county, would be unable to make himself personally known to the electors in a desirable way. If bands, flags, banners, ribbons, torches, and cockades were carried through a county, the result was that the electors, whose sympathies were aroused by the emblems they saw before them, were very likely to follow those emblems; and therefore they proved an efficient way of collecting together electors on polling day. They knew what a strong power Orangeism had obtained by the system of carrying banners; and they also knew that the law against Party processions in Ireland was abolished, with practical benefit to the Roman Catholics in the other parts of Ireland.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 151; Noes 58: Majority 93.—(Div. List, No. 161.)

Clause 14 (Certain employment to be illegal employment).

MR. WILLIAMSON said, he had an Amendment to move upon the clause, which he hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General would accept.

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 38, after "payment," insert "under."—(*Mr. Williamson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'under' be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, clearly some Amendment was necessary; but he thought it would be better to insert the words "promise of" after the word "or," in the same line.

Amendment (*Mr. Williamson*), by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 33, after the word "or," leave out the words "contract for," and insert "payment of."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had the following Amendment on the Paper:—Clause 14, page 6, line 34, after "act," insert the following sub-section:—

> "Any person employed by or in the receipt of a salary from a political or other Association outside the constituency in which the election occurs, shall be considered as engaged or employed for payment if he acts, under such employment, for the purpose of promoting, or procuring, or opposing the election of a candidate at any election."

He would not move the Amendment at the present moment, but would wait to see what the hon. and learned Attorney General proposed on Clause 22; and then, if necessary, he would bring up his proposal, either in the present or in an amended form.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he wished to propose the following sub-section:—

> "If any person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of any other person for a constituency, of which he shall be the representative, obtain a baronetcy, knighthood, or any other title, within five years of his ceasing to be the representative of the said constituency, or if he shall obtain a baronetcy, knighthood, or any other title, within five years of his election for a constituency, which he would not, in the opinion of a judical tribunal, have obtained had he not been a candidate at the said election, he shall be deemed guilty of an illegal practice."

He had limited the second part of his Amendment to the result of an election, and it seemed to him that it was perfectly in Order. The object of the proposal was that the public should not regard Members of Parliament as a set of humbugs. It was perfectly preposterous to punish poor men for taking two shillings, or three shillings, or a pot of beer, by way of a bribe, whilst they themselves in that House were allowed to accept bribes by way of titles. On that subject, it would be invidious to make allusion to any particular Gentleman; and he would, therefore, refrain from doing so. No doubt, hon. Gentlemen in that House had received titles, and had fully deserved them; but there were many admitted political partizans who had received titles in the way of bribes. Unless his Amendment were passed, bribery could take place in the House wholesale. If these Gentlemen had not been elected by their constituencies, they would not have had the remotest chance of being made Knights, Baronets, or Peers. Could they only bring in a Bill to put down corruption at elections? Could they fairly say that men were not to sell their votes, and that if they sold them they were to be severely punished, and yet practically say that, in this House, Members should have a right of selling the results of the votes of their constituents to their own profit wholesale? He did not wish to say a great deal in support of the Amendment; but he certainly proposed to take a Division upon it. As he did not wish to be personal, if there was any hon. Member in the House who was anxious for a title, he should be very glad to introduce words making an exception in the case of that hon. Gentleman. For instance, he should be very glad to agree to an Amendment in these words "except in the case of Mr. So-and-so." He trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would not put the Committee to the trouble of a Division, but would at once agree to the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 34, after the word "Act," to insert the words,—"(2). If any person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of any other person for a constituency, of which he shall be the representative, obtain a baronetcy, knighthood, or any other title, within five years of his ceasing to be the representative of the said constituency, or if he shall obtain a baronetcy, knighthood, or any other title, within five years of his election for a constituency, which he would not, in the opinion of a judical tribunal, have obtained had he not been a candidate at the said election, he shall be deemed guilty of an illegal practice."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the proposal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Labouchere) would be certainly one of the most peculiar pieces of legislation anyone could conceive. What the first part of the proposal meant he could not imagine—namely,

> "If any person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of any other person for a constituency, of which he shall be the representative, obtain a baronetcy, knighthood, or any other title, within five years of his ceasing to be the representative of the said constituency,"

he should be deemed guilty of an illegal practice. He did not understand this at all. The second part of the Amendment, however, was that in which he (Sir Henry James) personally took the most interest, as it contained the words—

> "Or if he shall obtain a baronetcy, knighthood, or any other title, within five years of his election for a constituency, which he would not, in the opinion of a judicial tribunal, have obtained had he not been a candidate at the said election, he shall be deemed guilty of an illegal practice."

He, himself, had been a candidate for a constituency, and must plead guilty of having obtained a Knighthood within five years of his election. He would be thus affected by the proposal, as also would be his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and many others in the House.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Would the hon. and learned Gentleman allow me to interrupt him for a moment. I would point out that I have not made this Amendment retrospective.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the hon. Member (Mr. Labouchere) would not think him so selfish as to suppose that he only thought of himself and his Friends in this matter. He was thinking of the future; and surely it was fair to suggest that the hon. Gentleman himself might obtain a distinctive title in consequence of being elected, being as he was such a distinguished ornament to the House, and standing as he did so high in the favour of his Sovereign and public opinion. He hoped the Committee would not consent to rob his hon. Friend of the title he was so likely to earn.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought there would be some difficulty in carrying out the Amendment; but, at any rate, the hon. and learned Attorney General had thrown more ridicule upon it than it properly deserved. No doubt, the proposal expressed a feeling that was very general in the public mind, and which hardly existed in it before the present Government came into Office—which had only been kindling the public mind since the present Government took the reins of Office. Of course, it might be in the power of a Minister of the Crown to confer titles and rewards for public services, if he imagined his Party and the country were identical, and that services rendered to the one were services rendered to the other—if he thought that contesting an election and spending large sums of money in the interest of his Party were services in the interest of his country. But he contended that, under the present Government, and under the present Prime Minister, Baronetcies and other titles had been almost, he might say, prostituted. What had happened? Let them take two leading instances where a constituency, by a deliberate and uninfluenced vote, had returned certain candidates to that House, and where the present Prime Minister had advised those candidates to throw up their trusts, in order to make room for a Minister of the Crown. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Where?] There was the case of the Radnor Boroughs, for instance. The noble Marquess the present Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of

Hartington) had contested North Lancashire, and was defeated; and, if he recollected right, the elected Representative for the Radnor Boroughs, thereupon threw up his seat, in order to make room for the noble Marquess, and for so doing received a Baronetcy. But that was a mere trifle compared with what had taken place the other day. The right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), who was being elevated the other day to the head of the new Agricultural Department, was unseated at Chester for corrupt practices—no doubt on the part of his representatives, for he should be sorry to say that the right hon. Gentleman himself had been guilty of any dishonourable act. The right hon. Gentleman was, at that time, President of the Local Government Board; but having been unseated for corrupt practices was unable, as was necessary, to take his seat in the House. The right hon. Gentleman, seeing the ground upon which he was held incapable of sitting for Chester, ought to have resigned himself to his position. Not so, however—the Prime Minister at once produced a Baronetcy. [An hon. MEMBER: A Peerage!] Yes, a Peerage from his pocket, which he dangled before the eyes of the various persons in the Liberal ranks who aspired to that dignity, and the hon. Baronet the Member for Scarborough (Sir Harcourt Johnstone) rose to the bait and created a vacancy for that constituency. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) maintained, therefore, that this was not a joke, because if public dignities were to be given for political services of so base a description, they were no longer right and proper. He could very well understand the object with which the hon. Member (Mr. Labouchere) had put this Amendment on the Paper, and it certainly ought not to be treated with the levity that the hon. and learned Attorney General seemed to bestow upon it.

MR. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock has admitted that he sees a difficulty in dealing with the subject. He can well understand the difficulty of carrying out such an Amendment as that of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and yet he has not stated how we are to overcome it; and, at the same time, he says he can understand the circumstances under which it was put upon the Paper. I, myself, can understand the circumstances which led the hon. Member to put it upon the Paper. There is a growing practice in this House, according to which some hon. Members exercise their humour and some their sarcasm, sometimes through the medium of Questions, and sometimes through the medium of Amendments. The hon. Member has found an excellent opportunity of exercising his humour on this clause. The question is, not whether we can understand this matter, but whether we can seriously put such a proposal into the law of the land? The noble Lord has furnished us with information from knowledge drawn from fountains which are quite inscrutable to me; but that information is not the fact. He says that, to his knowledge, a bribe has been offered by the present Prime Minister to two persons—one who represented the Radnor Boroughs in a late Parliament, and the other who was elected during the present Parliament for the borough of Scarborough—to make way for Ministers of the Crown. He says this bribe was, in the first instance, a Baronetcy; and, in the next, a Peerage—that, in view of the offer of these bribes, the seats were vacated, in order that new candidates might be elected who were to hold seats in the Cabinet. Now, there is not a word of truth in the whole statement. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes; as regards any offer, or communication, or inducement, or anything of the sort held out to either the previous Member for the Radnor Boroughs or the late Member for Scarborough.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD: It is only a coincidence, I suppose?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes; but is that the same thing? Take the case of the borough of Scarborough. Sir Harcourt Johnstone was Member for that borough. He was a person whom I had long had in my mind to recommend to Her Majesty for a Peerage. He had every qualification; he was—if I may so say—of excellent complexion as a Liberal partizan; he was a person of very high character, and one who had done great service in this House in connection with public measures.

An hon. MEMBER: In what way? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. GLADSTONE: He was a person of large fortune; and upon all these grounds, combined with having known him myself from a very early period of his life, he was one who, in my mind, I had marked out for recommendation for a Peerage. Entirely without any communication from him, and, as far as I know—indeed, I am perfectly convinced of it—without any communication from any Member of the Government, he, aware that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to submit the name of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for an Office in the Cabinet, offered to vacate his seat, without allusion or reference of any kind to any reward, or any promotion of any sort. That offer was accepted; and, instead of its being correct, as the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock says, that thereupon a Peerage was given to Sir Harcourt Johnstone, a very considerable time elapsed. [*Ironical cheers from the Opposition.*] I know not why those jeers should greet a statement of fact of this nature if we are upon a serious discussion. I say a very considerable time elapsed; I cannot recollect the period exactly at this moment.

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR said, that 18 months elapsed.

MR. GLADSTONE: My noble Friend's recollection serves him better than mine serves me. He informs me precisely 18 months elapsed before any communication on the subject of a Peerage was made to Sir Harcourt Johnstone; and the noble Lord's doctrine is, that though this Gentleman acted purely of his own motion, and without any expectation whatever, or communication or promise of reward, vacated his seat for a Member of the Government, and a long period elapsed between that act and his receiving a Peerage, that, therefore, he should be under a perpetual ban, and should not be permitted to render service to his country. That is the case of the noble Lord. The case of the noble Lord turns on the fact that some communication, some promise, some expectation — [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No, no!]—then what did it turn upon? Was it a charge against Sir Harcourt Johnstone? It turned on the assertion that there was some previous offer, or communication of some kind or other, to justify Sir Harcourt Johnstone in accepting some reward. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It was, perhaps, only intuition.] The noble Lord seriously proposes intuition in the case of the expectations of Sir Harcourt Johnstone as a basis for the acceptance of this Amendment. Surely, that is carrying the jest a little too far. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) would do well, I think, to measure his facts a little more. The popular Government which I suppose my hon. Friend desires and anticipates never could be formed if such an Amendment as this were adopted. It would be an absolute impossibility. When the hon. Member's Government is formed, it would probably be one rather more remarkable in a certain degree than the first Government formed by Lord Derby, when, owing to peculiar circumstances, 14 Privy Councillors—nearly the whole of the Cabinet—were sworn in in one day. How would my hon. Friend form his Government, when called upon by the Queen, when the mere fact of their being Privy Councillors, and receiving the attachments of the honour or title of "right hon. Gentleman," would cause them to vacate their seats, and render them liable to punishment? How could my hon. Friend be guilty of an indecency like that? We may go on in a humdrum way, the pendulum swinging from the Opposition to the Government Bench; but the object of my hon. Friend is to bring all this corrupt system to an end, and to form the foundation of a really popular Government. But I have shown that it would be an absolute impossibility for him to form a Government. It would be absolutely impossible for him to form a Ministry, or obtain Ministers, except in one or two instances, where they would not have to be Members of the Privy Council. If there has been any case in which a title has been given, either corruptly or wantonly, under my advice, I challenge discussion. I am not here to say that such a thing is not for the consideration of the House of Commons. It is a matter most proper for the House of Commons to take in hand; but my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton, with great kindness and indulgence, would give complete immunity, with respect to the past, to all of us who are old and hackneyed in the ways of wickedness. His vengeance is to be directed against himself, and against the advanced popular Government of which, probably, he had indicated he himself was destined to form at some future time.

Mr. CAINE said, that was the third time, during the discussion in Committee on this Bill, that the name of his noble Friend (Lord Derwent) had been mentioned in connection with corrupt practices. He (Mr. Caine) would like to relate the facts referring to the recent election in Scarborough. Six months before the General Election, Lord Derwent (then Sir Harcourt Johnstone) was suffering from ill-health, and he was exceedingly desirous to retire altogether from the candidature. It was only by the strongest pressure that the noble Lord was induced to stand the annoyance and the worry of the General Election. Within a week of his being returned for Scarborough, by a majority of 580, the noble Lord said to him (Mr. Caine)—"Now the election has been decided by so large a majority, I sincerely trust the Party in Scarborough will allow me to withdraw." His noble Friend was anxious to retire in favour of another Gentleman, in no way connected with the Government, but who had been defeated in another constituency. Again, they put pressure on him to remain; but about six or eight months after he came again, and said his health was so bad that he must really withdraw from the representation. A third time they persuaded him to remain, and it was not until the occasion occurred in which he could retire in favour of his (Mr. Caine's) present right hon. Colleague (Mr. Dodson) that Lord Derwent did retire from the representation of the borough. As a matter of fact, Lord Derwent had been suffering from ill-health ever since. Indeed, he had been so ill that he had only been able to take his seat in "another place" on two occasions. He (Mr. Caine) sincerely trusted that this would be the last time that these ungenerous attacks would be made on an absent man.

Mr. LEWIS said, the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had mentioned two instances, about the earliest in point of date, and the most important in point of circumstance, which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister took good care not to refer to. He (Mr. Lewis) referred to the subject on the second reading of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman was not in the House at the time, and he (Mr. Lewis) only referred to the matter indistinctly; but what he suggested then, and what he suggested now, was this—that it was perfectly impossible to expect the public to respect the laws which Parliament passed to prevent bribery at elections, if they (the Government) did not respect the law themselves. If the Government of the day were guilty of acts which bore the complexion of jobbing away seats in the House for titles at their disposal, it was one of the most grievous things that could ever happen. The case that everybody had in their minds the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister took care not to refer to. In the year 1868, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) was most unfortunate in Lancashire, and he required a seat. And, before recounting the circumstance, he desired to state it was a mistake to suppose that the Law of Bribery was this—that, unless they bargained beforehand, there was no bribery; they knew perfectly well that, if they gave anything after a certain act was done in respect to that act, they were distinctly and manifestly guilty of bribery. Now, in the face of the House, and in the face of the public, he would recount the facts surrounding the election of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, and let them speak for themselves. He made no charge, but was content with the inference which must necessarily be drawn from the facts. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War was defeated in North Lancashire, and required a seat. Great as was the property of the family of the noble Marquess, he (Mr. Lewis) had never heard that the noble Marquess or his family was in any way connected with Radnoshire. The Gentleman, however, who represented the Radnor Boroughs, and who was now even a Member of the House of Commons, retired in favour of the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess was returned for the Radnor Boroughs within a reasonable time, and the Gentleman was made a Baronet. He could not say the time; but he was utterly indifferent as to whether the Baronetcy was conferred at one, two, six, or twelve months after the retirement. Such were the facts. The noble Marquess wanted a seat, and a vacancy was created, and the noble Marquess filled it up. The Gentleman who retired was given a Baronetcy by the Minister at the head of the Cabinet of which the noble Marquess was a Member. He (Mr. Lewis) hoped it would not be imputed to him that he suggested, for one moment, that this was a promotion in promised payment for the withdrawal of the Member for the Radnor Boroughs. There was one circumstance to show that there was no special reason why the hon. Gentleman should retire from the House, because he got back to the House as soon as he could, and, in fact, now represented Radnor County. He (Mr. Lewis) considered that this case was worthy of the notice of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. But, unfortunately, that was not the only case; and it was because there had been two cases under the Administration of the right hon. Gentleman that considerable attention had been directed to the subject. He was not going into the circumstances of the case of Scarborough, though they were certainly exceedingly remarkable. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister seemed to suggest that, because there had been no sort of promise or suggestion about promotion in connection with the retirement from the seat, that, therefore, there was no blame attaching. Of course, they accepted to the fullest extent the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman that there was no sort of promise or understanding in connection with the withdrawal. The facts remained, however, that they had a convenient withdrawal; then a title followed. He asserted that the public were entitled to view these things with suspicion; and he repeated the observations which he made on the second reading of the Bill, that if these things were done in the highest orders of the State, it was impossible to make persons in the lowest orders of society believe the House of Commons was sincere in its desire to put down bribery and corruption. He imputed nothing in the case of the Radnor Boroughs except this, that the noble Marquess wanted a seat, a vacancy was made, and the Gentleman who made the vacancy had a title conferred on him.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Lewis) makes no charges. He has twice stated that in making the most severe charge, and one totally needless, which, I think, few hon. Members in the House but himself would have made. Twice the hon. Member said that I took care not to refer to the case of the Election of Radnor. Does the hon. Gentleman mean to say that I endeavoured to avoid discussion on a subject of this kind is not a charge? If so, I do not envy the discernment of the hon. Member; and I do not understand what his standard of language or conduct can be, when he professes to make no charge, and, at the same time, makes one of the severest charges he could make against a public man; but he is thoroughly and grossly inaccurate, for he says that the Gentleman who then sat for the Radnor Boroughs surrendered his seat at the beginning of 1869, and got back as soon as he could. He got back more than 11 years afterwards. [An hon. MEMBER: He tried in 1874.] Then he tried in 1874. I do not know how the hon. Gentleman can say, under such circumstances, that he got back as soon as he could. The hon. Member (Mr. Lewis) surely might have thought that I might have found some difficulty in going back to transactions 14 years old, and to bring to my memory all the particulars of the given transaction. He might have displayed a little charity in the matter; but he has not chosen to do so. I have considered the facts of the case, in the few moments that have taken place since the hon. Gentleman rose to address the Committee. What were the facts? Instead of being made a Baronet as soon, as the hon. Gentleman says, decency would permit— [Mr. LEWIS: I said within a reasonable time.] The hon. Gentleman evidently does not know that nothing was done of the kind for more than five years after the public service had been rendered, which undoubtedly was a distinct element in the case of the hon. Member receiving the consideration of the Government. If the Amendment of my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) had been law at that time, I believe I should have had no operation whatever in regard to this Baronetcy; for I believe the time had elapsed in which the conferring of the title would have been an illegal practice. I challenge the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) to make good the assertion that he has made, that this was an improper promotion. What ground has he for saying it was an improper promotion?

[Mr. LEWIS: I never said it was an improper promotion.] Then, if it was not an improper promotion, why do you make it the subject for controversy? Did this Gentleman render a public service, or did he not? ["No, no!"] It was no public service to enable my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) to take his place here? ["No, no!"] Then I will put the case on the other side. I am not contending that for this public service alone — [Mr. BIGGAR: What else?] I beg that the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who frequently intrudes himself on the indulgence of the House, will, for once, spare me his incessant interruption. The contention is, that because the hon. Member in question rendered that public service, though he was otherwise fitted, he ought not to be made a Baronet. The contention is, that because he made an opening for my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington), whatever might have been his qualifications for a Baronetcy, that very act alone rendered him disqualified to receive the honour. Such is the contention of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry, who comes down here to teach us what is the true standard of purity and public conduct. [Mr. LEWIS dissented.] The hon. Gentleman shakes his head. Then, what does he mean? Has he been talking grammar, and sense, or has he not? He says he has not a word to say against the qualification of the Gentleman who was made a Baronet, or against his fitness for promotion. His only allegation is, that this Gentleman made an opening for my noble Friend near me, to present himself for the constituency of the Radnor Boroughs. Was that, or was it not, a case of disqualification for a man who was previously qualified.

MR. LEWIS: It was a disqualification if it was done for Party purposes.

MR. GLADSTONE: You may call it Party purposes, if you like; I am not going to rake up the transactions of other Governments, but this thing is as old as Parliament; it is no effort to me to find analogous proceedings that have taken place under the charge and responsibility of the Opposition when they were in power. It really appears that everything turns on the question whether a person is qualified to receive it or not, and the hon. Gentleman himself (Mr. Lewis) does not dare to say that that Gentleman was not qualified. He will not abandon his charge, he cannot support it; but he is compelled to admit that he has nothing to say against the fitness of that Gentleman to be made a Baronet, and that is the predicament in which the hon. Gentleman stands. This is the case of the hon. Gentleman who was promoted; he had received a mark of the confidence of the borough of Radnor, and he has since received a mark of the confidence of the county of Radnor itself, in being returned as its Representative — [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Since the Baronetcy]—showing, I conclude, that they approved of the honour being conferred upon him. He is a member of an old family in the county, of very large property, and on whom no stain or disfigurement has been attached; but because the hon. Gentleman committed the great and grievous sin of enabling my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) to take his share in serving the Queen, he was, according to the contention of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry, disqualified from being made a Baronet. I really, Sir, am extremely sorry that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry has obtruded a subject of this kind in discussions which hitherto have been carried on in excellent temper and in a judicial spirit. I will not attempt to describe the conduct of the hon. Gentleman. He does not dare, he does not venture, to make the smallest imputation upon that promotion. He knows that it is beyond his power—however good his intention may be, he knows it is beyond his power—he could not find a shred of objection to the promotion, except that the Gentleman who was the subject of it committed a great sin by enabling my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) to present himself to the Radnor Boroughs. I submit that was not a sin which ought to disqualify or unfit a man, who was otherwise qualified, from receiving a mark of honour. That is the case which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry says I have taken good care to avoid.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that the remarks he was about to make would be tendered in the greatest politeness of which he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) was such a master. He desired to draw the right hon. Gentleman's attention to a strange coincidence which occurred not long ago. A Gentleman, not of old family, but of large property in the South of England, and of large property in the North of England, fought two contested elections in the South of England, in both of which he was unsuccessful. In 1880 he went to the North of England, where he fought another election, and again he was unsuccessful. The three elections cost the Gentleman in question a large sum of money, but shortly afterwards he found himself in the House of Peers. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did not know how that Gentleman got there, but he supposed it was certainly not for great public services rendered; he supposed the Gentleman got a Peerage because he fought three contested elections on behalf of the Prime Minister. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) found no fault with the elevation of Sir Harcourt Johnstone to the Peerage; he found no fault with the action the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister took in the case referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis); neither did he find any fault in the case he himself had just called attention to. The same thing was done in former times, and if it was justifiable formerly, it was justifiable now. It was, however, inconsistent that a Liberal Government should reward Gentlemen for political services, and then bring in a Bill which would send a man to prison who merely gave a glass of ale. All these pretended corrupt practices were not corrupt practices at all, nor were they recognized as such. With the object of dealing with these petty so-called offences, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had introduced these wretched pitfalls for any man who might in future contest a constituency. He had endeavoured to give in a calm, and, he hoped, in no offensive manner, his opinion upon this subject. He could not agree with the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere); but as he found the Government were determined to carry through at any cost this tyrannical and useless Bill, he should vote with the hon. Member if he went to a Division.

Mr. LEWIS said, he should be unworthy of sitting in the House if he allowed the speech of the Prime Minister to go unnoticed. In language most extraordinary, and in a manner certainly not very calm, the right hon. Gentleman attacked him because he did not attack the person to whom he referred when last he addressed the Committee—the whole burden of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was that he (Mr. Lewis) did not attack the character of the hon. Gentleman the present Member for Radnorshire (Sir Richard Price). He Mr. Lewis) had no intention of doing any such thing. The right hon. Gentleman dared him to do it; but never having had the smallest intention of attacking the character of the hon. Gentleman in question, he did not do so, and would not do so. What he did, without uttering one harsh word, was to draw attention to the simple facts. Those facts as narrated by him could not be impeached. The only error in his statement, if error it was, which the right hon. Gentleman had pointed out, was that the promotion of the hon. Member for Radnorshire took place at the end, and not in the middle, of the Ministry of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. He did not think the Committee or the country would see any important difference between his statement and the corrected statement of the Prime Minister. He accepted all the daring of the right hon. Gentleman, and he would repeat the charge, if a charge the right hon. Gentleman called it. What he said was that the right hon. Gentleman had taken care not to refer to the case of the Radnor Boroughs, and he was entitled to say that that was the mode of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. The right hon. Gentleman, in his second speech, did not say he forgot all about the Radnor case, and therefore he (Mr. Lewis) was right in assuming that the Prime Minister did remember it, though he did not refer to it. He (Mr. Lewis) repeated that the retirement of the hon. Member for the Radnor Boroughs was not a public service, but a Party service, for the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister freely admitted that the retirement took place in order to make room for the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). Whether there was any understanding connected with the retirement, they had the different links of the chain—a seat wanted, a seat vacated, and a Baronetcy conferred. With reference to the noble Lord the late Member for Scarborough (Lord Derwent), he had not now referred to the case; but in his speech upon the second reading of the Bill he referred to a case which had taken place in his own Party—he referred to the case of a distinguished lawyer, now long since dead, for whom a vacancy was created under exactly similar circumstances by the late Conservative Administration. He complained of that case; indeed, he was perfectly impartial in his complaints. The Attorney General (Sir Henry James) knew that he distinctly referred to that case, to show that he was not making a Party charge. He had asked before, and he asked now, how they could expect the people to respect the law when corruption was carried on in the highest Departments of the State? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was totally mistaken if he supposed that he (Mr. Lewis) had said that the right hon. Gentleman made any offer to the hon. Member for the Radnor Boroughs to induce him to retire. He made no charge against the right hon. Gentleman, except that which he made against his Predecessors. The Heads of both Parties had been in the habit of doing these things, and he merely asserted that they were done in the interest of political Parties.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that charges of corruption ought not to be made merely because hon. Gentlemen accepted the promotion due to them. That could scarcely be called corruption. The hon. Member's contention, however, was that a man ought to be treated as disentitled to promotion or honour of any kind if his retirement made room for a Member of the Government.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, the Amendment under notice was perfectly consistent on the part of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who represented his absent Colleague. They all knew that that Gentleman was opposed to all rewards for public services; and he (Mr. Newdegate) believed he was right in saying that he had marked that particular subject as his own. He was sorry that the hon. Member for Northampton should represent, with regard to this question, opinions which he had hoped were forgotten. There was much truth in the observation made by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) to the effect that the excessive severity of the provisions of the Bill were inconsistent with the system of Government existing in this country. They might be applicable to a Republic; but they were certainly not applicable to the Constitutional Monarchy of this country. He (Mr. Newdegate) was very anxious that the House of Lords should be strong; and he was happy to see that its functions were of growing importance. He believed that no reward was more appropriate than that which was conferred upon men who had been distinguished by the fidelity of their services in that House. For instance, it was acknowledged on all hands that a Speaker, when he ceased to preside over their deliberations, unless he misconducted himself, should be made a Peer. This system of rewards was the means by which the House of Lords was recruited, and he rejoiced in its existence; but he felt that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had rendered this legitimate system of promotion difficult by adopting that foreign element of secrecy in connection with elections. The whole of the severity of the present Bill had become necessary in consequence of the corruption which had been produced by the Ballot Act; and before these discussions closed, he would bring that fact plainly before the attention of the House. The Committee was in a false position. They were asked to act with undue severity, and in a manner alien to the Constitutional spirit of the country, towards persons in minor positions; and they found it impossible to recruit the House of Lords sufficiently to maintain that great Institution, which he hoped would grow in strength, without violating the principle upon which this Bill was founded, and without having recourse to that secrecy which unavoidably disgraced the electoral system wherever it existed.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he could assure the Prime Minister that he intended no joke or sarcasm in bringing forward this question. He intended to discuss the matter as one of principle. He held it to be a great misfortune that the public should think, rightly or wrongly, that the Members whom they elected to represent them in that House, if they voted for Ministers for a considerable time, would somehow or other become Baronets. Hon. Members opposite had given this question a personal character. It was not he that had done so. He had been asked by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister for a single case in which a title had been conferred corruptly. He did not mean to go into the cases; but he would say that the practice was, and had been, for years in this country to give titles for personal services. Everyone knew that was the case; and he could cite just as many instances, perhaps more, with regard to Gentlemen on that side of the House than with regard to Gentlemen on the opposite Benches. It was a system which had been adopted both by Liberals and Conservatives, and the Prime Minister had only followed in the footsteps of his Predecessors. He could not anticipate the contingency which the right hon. Gentleman shadowed forth of Her Majesty sending for him (Mr. Labouchere) to form an Administration. He was contented in being a humble follower of the right hon. Gentleman. But were Her Majesty to do so, he should at once consult his legal advisers as to whether the appellation "Right honourable" was a title. The conferring of a Peerage conveyed a title; but nothing of the kind was implied in the words "Right honourable." As far as he could see, his chief supporter in this matter would be the right hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), and that being so, he thought his proposal would hardly be considered by the country as a Radical one. Under these circumstances, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment; and he must content himself with the belief that if his Amendment was in a small minority in that House, it was supported by a very large majority out of it.

MR. BIGGAR said, he hoped that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Labouchere) would not withdraw his Amendment; for his own part, he (Mr. Biggar) was not at all sure that he would get leave to do so. He thought the hon. Member for Northampton had done very good service in drawing the attention of the Committee to this subject; and, more than that, he was prepared to go a little further than the hon. Gentleman himself. This system of tampering with Members of Parliament by the Government of the day was a great evil. The practice in the case of a wealthy man was to confer upon him a title, say a Peerage or a Baronetcy; but in the case of a man who was not wealthy, these bestowals took the form of Government situations. Whatever they were, they had a tendency to shake the allegiance of Members to their principles and constituents, and to make them disposed to curry favour with the Government of the day. If he could find a satisfactory number of Members to support him in that part of the House, he should certainly challenge a Division on the question raised by the hon. Member for Northampton. It seemed to him very hard that penalties should be imposed by the Bill on Members of Parliament who unwittingly spent a little more money than they intended upon their election, while the Government were allowed to heap rewards on Members of Parliament for betraying the interests of their constituents.

MR. SHEIL said, he would remind the Committee of a circumstance which had probably not entered into the minds of many hon. Members in connection with the present subject. In 1881, Mr. Speaker had thought it consistent with his duty to expel from that House some 20 or 30 Irish Members; and hon. Members would be aware that the right hon. Gentleman in question had since been awarded a very important title. Again, Mr. Lyon Playfair, then Chairman of Ways and Means, had suspended a group of Irish Members. Not long afterwards, the Knight Commandership of the Bath was conferred upon him.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 11; Noes 186; Majority 175.—(Div. List, No. 162.)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had an Amendment to move on behalf of his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). With the view of saving the time of the Committee he would do no more than move the Amendment to which he referred.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, at end of clause, add,—"Any Assistant Commissioner, Registrar, or other officer appointed under the provisions of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' who, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate, interferes therein, or is engaged or employed either with or without payment, for any purpose or in any capacity whatever, shall be guilty of illegal employment, and shall forfeit his appointment, and any candidate, or election agent of a candidate, who aids or abets, or confirms in any manner such offence, shall be guilty of an illegal practice."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could see no reason why this Amendment should be entertained. His objection to it was that it singled out a particular class of persons holding judicial offices, and subjected them to a disqualification which did not attach to other holders of judicial offices. He could not understand why this class of persons should have been selected, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would not think it necessary to press the Amendment.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, if the Amendment were withdrawn, he hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General would bring in a clause which would prevent any persons holding judicial positions from taking an active part in elections. He believed, in that way, the hon. and learned Gentleman would introduce a real improvement into the Bill.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS thought the best course, under the circumstances, would probably be that the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) should be postponed till the Report, and then he could raise it himself.

MR. BIGGAR hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would fight this matter out now, for it was intolerable that the Land Commissioners should have the power of lowering or raising rents in Ireland according to political considerations. He could not see upon what ground the hon. Gentleman wished to ignore this Amendment, for it was one of the best on the Bill. The Committee knew how directly the Land Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners were in contact with the tenant farmers, and what pressure they applied to them. That was a public scandal, which ought not to be tolerated.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS hoped, as a matter of courtesy to his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson), the Committee would allow the Amendment to be withdrawn, so that it might be brought up as a new clause upon the Report.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he likewise thought the Amendment might be withdrawn. He should be sorry to take advantage of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) who had put it on the Paper; but this was really a case of some difficulty, and one which he thought would be only aggravated by Amendments of this kind. The Amendment did not include the Chief Commissioners, and it conferred a stigma upon one particular class of officials. It was extremely undesirable to do that, and he hoped the Amendment would be withdrawn.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he trusted that before this proposal could be again made the Government would consider the matter with a view to inserting something of the kind in the Bill. He did not understand the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) to say that it would be right for Assistant Commissioners to take such a part as they were prohibited from taking by this clause. All he said was that it did not apply to the Commissioners as well; but surely the Commissioners ought to be equally debarred. He could not conceive anything worse for any Party or side in Ireland than that the Assistant Commissioners or Chief Commissioners, or any other persons connected with the administration of the Land Act, should be allowed to take an active part in elections.

MR. BIGGAR said, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had raised two points. First he said the Chief Commissioners were excluded from the clause. Everybody knew that they held such a position that it would be out of the question for them to be employed as election agents, considering their social position and their incomes. On the same ground, County Court Judges, who got very large salaries, would not take employment as election agents. They might take a prominent part in elections, but they would not mix themselves up in the details. But it was a different thing with the Assistant Commissioners and clerks, who had only temporary employment, and to whom a small extra sum of money would be very welcome. If an Assistant Commissioner took an electioneering agency in a county, that would probably be worth a large sum to him in other ways. He might get, instead of temporary employment for one year, a permanent situation. Under the circumstances, it would be better that the Amendment should be withdrawn; but he hoped it would be moved again.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he hoped the Government would not object to consider, without prejudice, the propriety of introducing the Chief Commissioners as well as the Assistant Commissioners; because, no doubt, the observation of the Premier hit the blot in the clause when he pointed out that only the Assistant Commissioners were included. He did not think there was any objection on this side of the House to include every kind of official under the Land Act, and he was sure hon. Members from Ireland would be happy to meet the Premier in that respect.

MR. SHEIL said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had urged that it would be discourteous to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) not to allow this to be withdrawn; but it seemed to him (Mr. Sheil) that if there was any discourtesy at all, it was on the part of the right hon. Gentleman himself. He took upon himself to move this Amendment, and then suggested its withdrawal. If the Amendment was withdrawn it would be raised again, it was said, as a new clause.

MR. CALLAN said, he wished to meet this Amendment with a direct negative. The Assistant Commissioners were as independent as any men who sat on the Treasury Bench or on the Front Opposition Bench; they were electors, and had a right to interfere in elections, to vote, and to influence their neighbours. The clause was evidently aimed at Mr. Wyllie, who had been Parliamentary agent to the Whigs of Ulster; but he (Mr. Callan) thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) might give up the Amendment, for Mr. Wyllie's office was a sinecure, because the Whigs of Ulster were an extinct body, wholly crushed out.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not wish to set a bad example; but they had now reached new matter, and he would move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

PRISON SERVICE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan.*)

[BILL 248.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

MR. O'BRIEN said, this was a Bill of considerable importance to a very meritorious class of prison officials in Ireland, and he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Bill would be able to see his way to deferring the Committee on the Bill for a reasonable time, to enable the prison officials in Ireland to see whether it satisfactorily carried out its title.

MR. TREVELYAN said, this was, as the hon. Member (Mr. O'Brien) had said, a Bill dealing with the grievances of a very meritorious class of officers in Ireland; but, as he gathered, there was no great objection to the principle of the Bill, and if the second reading were now taken, there could be no objection to delaying the further stage for a time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

[BILL 154.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

MR. O'DONNELL said, he hoped that, considering its importance, no attempt would be made to make progress with this Bill now. A large number of Irish Members were at present away in Ireland, who ought to be consulted on the matter. Although, technically, this was a Money Bill, and could therefore be proceeded with at any time, still it involved issues much beyond those involved in an ordinary Money Bill, and if taken now would withdraw important questions of Government policy from any chance of fair discussion by the House. He was afraid this was merely a Bill to cover those Unions which had played an unpatriotic part in driving out of the country the helpless poor who were committed to their charge; and, on the other hand, to impose disabilities, by completely neglecting the merits of those Unions which had done their best to meet the necessities of the distress in Ireland. He feared that the defaulting Unions, in a national sense, were those which would be benefited by the Bill, and he hoped the Government would not try to proceed with the discussion of the Bill that evening. It would be just as easy to bring the Bill forward at another time, when there was a fuller attendance of Irish Members; and the Government owed them an opportunity of discussing it. That opportunity was taken from them by the manner in which the Government proceeded at the last stage, and he believed the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland gave a pledge to-day to the effect that, if there was any opposition to the Bill, he would not seek to advance the Bill this evening.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he had expected that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would make some statement as to the reasons for his withdrawal from the engagement he entered into with the Irish Members, that the Bill would not be spirited through the House that night as it was the other night. The Irish Members would have to protest as strongly as they could against any progress being now made with the Bill, for so grotesque a way of dealing with starving people, after months of cogitation, was quite unexampled in the annals of English bungling in Ireland. From all that he had heard the gist of the right hon. Gentleman's defence of the Bill was that he was ready to give some personal pledge that the money would not be used for the purpose of emigration, but simply in aid of those who had spent money in emigration. One of the Unions to be helped out of its difficulties was a Union in which the Guardians had supplied most of the cheap emigrants to the Government. Disguise the Bill as they might in this House, it was a cruel mockery to call it a Bill for the relief of distress in Ireland. It was a mere bribe to the Unions which had been carrying out the mockery of the Government Workhouse theory. These Unions had run themselves into bankruptcy by carrying out the Government programme, and this Bill was encouragement to them to go on carrying out that programme, and in sticking to the workhouse test. There was nothing to prevent the Local Government Board, who were notoriously partizans of this policy, spending the £50,000 in bribing the Unions which had distinguished themselves by carrying out the policy of the Government. Before they could consent to this Bill, Irish Members wanted to know what it was intended to do for the unfortunate starving people, thousands of whom were in Donegal, to this hour existing on private charity, without which they must have died long ago? But for the hour of night, he could give most heartrending details of the things that were going on without the slightest help from the Government in Donegal at this moment. This Bill, which purported to be for the relief of distress, not only did nothing to relieve these unfortunate people, but appropriated £50,000 out of Irish funds, in order to add insult to injury, by transporting these unfortunate people. For those reasons, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not utilize the temporary advantage he had through the absence of the great body of Irish Members, and would not press the Bill forward until the Irish Members had an opportunity of framing Amendments which would secure, at all events, some portion of the money for the suffering people.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member (Mr. O'Brien) had, in one respect, missed the mark upon this matter. Three of the four Unions to be helped by this Bill were Unions which had been taken in hand by Mr. Tuke's Committee, and had never spent a halfpenny on emigration; and they were merely being aided because they were living from hand to mouth.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, that, as he understood, a large portion of this money would be at the absolute disposal of the Local Government Board, to be lent to Unions which had got themselves into trouble through helping emigration.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that was the case; but the Local Government Board had not shown itself desirous of lending public money where it was not absolutely wanted for the purposes of local relief. The practical object of the Bill was to indemnify certain Unions who had borrowed small sums under the pressure of last winter. He did not wish to enter into the merits of the Bill at this moment. It was, in itself, an exceedingly small Bill, upon which hon. Members opposite wished to raise a considerable question. That question had been raised in the shape of an Amendment by the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst), who had an opportunity of bringing it on upon a Friday evening; and so intimately allied was that Motion with the substance of this Bill, that the hon. and gallant Member was actually seriously alarmed lest the Government should take advantage of this Bill being on the Paper to interfere between him and his private Motion. The Government, however, did not take that course. The Motion was discussed, and the House decided the point by a Division, which was sufficiently large, considering the time of the Session, and considering the relations between the Government and those Irish Members who wished to raise this question upon this Bill. He quite recognized that the hon. Members for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) and Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had something to say for themselves when they urged that there were a considerable number of Irish Members absent now, who were present on Thursday, and who intended to take part in this discussion at some stage of the Bill. Under the circumstances the Government were perfectly willing to postpone the question until Thursday; but he would take this opportunity of saying that on Thursday the Government would consider they had a perfect right to ask the House to go through the stage of the Bill at any period of the evening, even as late as this (1 o'clock A.M.). This subject had been so frequently and so fully debated this year—this question of outdoor relief in Ireland, of which the present Bill was only a small part—that he thought he had a right to say that, after this notice, the Government would consider themselves at liberty to press the measure on the House, even at a very late period of the evening. Under these circumstances he would accede to the request of hon. Members opposite.

MR. BIGGAR said, he understood the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) agreed to the proposal for the adjournment of the debate; and he (Mr. Biggar) would therefore move that it be adjourned. He must say he considered the right hon. Gentleman had been guilty of very sharp practice, as he had not very long ago made a pledge to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) that he would not bring this measure on after half-past 12 o'clock at night, and that he would not bring it on without Notice to the Irish Members. On Friday last he had brought the measure forward before half-past 12 o'clock, sheltering himself behind some hon. Gentlemen who had no connection with the Irish Party, and who, he said, had done something or other that justified him in breaking his pledge. Now, at 1 o'clock in the morning, and knowing that the leading Members of the Irish Party were absent from London, the right hon. Gentleman had sought to pass the measure without having questions raised on the different clauses, which he was perfectly aware it was the desire of hon. Members to raise. Hon. Gentlemen had a perfect right to complain of his conduct; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman owed them an apology with regard to it. However, seeing that the right hon. Gentleman had agreed to postpone his Motion for the Speaker to leave the Chair until Thursday, he (Mr. Biggar) would now move that the debate be adjourned.

MR. KENNY said, he should be happy to second the Motion.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

MUNICIPAL DISQUALIFICATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 232.]

(*Mr. Callan, Mr. Gray, Dr. Commins, Mr. Kenny.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, he hoped the House would not consent to the second reading of this measure, which, in practice, would be found to be perfectly unnecessary. He believed that it had been insufficiently considered by the hon. Member (Mr. Callan) who had brought it forward. The measure would disqualify persons from holding municipal offices, where they had been guilty of certain indictable offences and had admitted having committed those offences, but, it would seem, did not provide any disqualification in the case of persons who had been convicted on trial for such indictable offences; and it would, therefore, have this singular effect—that it would disqualify a person who admitted his guilt, while a person who made no such admission, but was put on his trial and convicted, would not be disqualified at all. Further than that, a practical difficulty would necessarily arise in dealing with questions under the Bill — namely, that no mode of proving the fact of admission was prescribed. The evidence given in Court would not be authentically reported, and there would be disputes as to whether the person who made the admission had or had not admitted facts which amounted to a crime. Further than this, the Bill had this objectionable feature in it—that this disqualification would only take place in the case of persons actually elected to a municipal office, and who afterwards admitted themselves guilty of an indictable offence. It would not extend to persons who had made an admission and were afterwards elected. Therefore, it seemed to him that the Bill was manifestly insufficient and eminently illogical. If it were seriously intended to legislate upon this subject, it would be well for the hon. Gentleman to consult with those with whom he acted, to see whether they could not bring forward a more matured scheme. Though no names had been mentioned, probably it would be understood that the measure had been introduced to meet certain cases which had recently arisen; but he might mention in this regard that absence from a municipal borough for six months would render the seat vacant under the Municipal Corporations Act, and thus taking the case of a person absent from the 13th of January, the period which would tend to disqualify him would expire on the 13th of this month. Therefore it would be seen that, in the case of a person of this kind, such a measure as this would be unnecessary. For the reason that the measure was illogical and insufficient, he would suggest that it should not be proceeded with, and would move that it be read a second time that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. CALLAN said, he thought he had great cause of complaint against the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, who had been guilty of a gross breach of faith towards him on this matter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had misled him altogether on this subject. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, he had misled him completely and distinctly. He (Mr. Callan) had crossed over from his seat in the House to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and had spoken to him on the subject of this Bill, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman had told him that he did not object to the second reading, although he could not approve altogether of the character of the Bill, and that it would have to be considerably amended in Committee—in fact, that it would have to be recast. After having had plenty of opportunity of speaking to him (Mr. Callan) on the subject, the first intimation the right hon. and learned Gentleman had given him that he intended to oppose the Bill was this Motion of rejection. Was that a right way for an Irish Law Officer—a Member representing a Northern constituency—to treat a Member of the National Party in the House of Commons? Probably the right hon. and learned Gentleman objected to the Bill because it would disqualify the infamous James Carey. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) had taken off his block from the Bill when he was given to understand the object with which it was brought forward, and yet the Attorney General for Ireland was there to oppose its progress. No doubt, James Carey would be disqualified by the 13th of July by his continued absence; but he

(Mr. Callan) wanted to disqualify him by Act of Parliament—him or any other such man in Ireland. When the real character of such a man was known, and when he admitted upon oath that he had been guilty of the most fearful crimes, he should be at once disqualified from continuing in a municipal office.

Mr. SPEAKER: I really must call upon the hon. Member to address himself to the merits of the Bill.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had described the nature of the Bill, and whatever faults it might be found to have he should be ready to remove in Committee. It had been prepared by a Queen's Counsel, who was the senior of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, and all it would do would be to disqualify a person who confessed himself guilty of an infamous offence from continuing a member of a representative body; and he should have thought that the Government would have aided such a desirable object rather than have drawn an obstacle in its way.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, the hon. Gentleman had entirely misunderstood what had passed between them the other evening. He had given the hon. Member to understand that he perfectly sympathized with his object, but that the Bill would not carry it out. He had mentioned the objections to the measure, pointing out that it was perfectly hopeless to think of passing it; and if the hon. Member had understood him to say that he did not intend to oppose the second reading, he was altogether mistaken.

Mr. CALLAN: The Bill has the effect of disqualifying James Carey, and that is why you object to it—everyone knows it.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Second reading *put off* for three months.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL BILL.

On Motion of Sir Thomas Brassey, Bill to make further provision respecting the application of the Revenues of Greenwich Hospital; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Thomas Brassey and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 253.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 3*rd July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Railways (Continuous Brakes)* (135).

Second Reading—Lunatic Poor (Ireland) (85); Registry of Deeds (Ireland) (97).

Committee—Pawnbrokers (79·136).

Committee — Report— Drainage (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2)* (124); Public Health (Dairies, &c.) (92).

Report—Tramways Provisional Order (No. 4)* (104); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order* (118); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 2)* (119); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 3)* (120); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 4)* (121); Supreme Court of Judicature (Funds, &c.)* (130).

Third Reading—Inclosure Provisional Order (Hildersham)* (115); Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2)* (116); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Fraserburgh Waterworks)* (63); New Forest Highways* (101); Forest of Dean (Highways)* (98), and *passed*.

PUBLIC HEALTH — OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA IN EGYPT—SANITARY PRECAUTIONS.—QUESTION.

The Earl of WEMYSS: I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question, of which I have given him private Notice. Your Lordships are, no doubt, aware that, in consequence of the existence of cholera in Egypt, the French Government are taking precautionary measures against its introduction into France. I want to ask, Whether any similar measures are being taken by Her Majesty's Government?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, my noble Friend has asked me a Question upon a very important subject. No doubt, the question of the public health is one to which every Government ought always to pay the most earnest and immediate attention. Your Lordships are aware that there has been a sudden outbreak of cholera in certain parts of Egypt, chiefly at Damietta, the climate of which is, at this time of the year, of a peculiarly unhealthy character. There is not, and never has been, the slightest evidence whatever of the cholera having been brought by ships from India; and with regard to any measures taken by the Government, while we have made inquiries into the subject, we have not thought it necessary to suggest any change whatever in the regulations for the protection of Egypt from the cholera, and we have no reason to believe that any change has been made in those regulations. The accounts we have received to-day in some of the newspapers is that the deaths from cholera on the 2nd of July were as follows:—Damietta, 130; Mansourah, 12; Damanhour, 4; and at Alexandria one suspicious death, which the doctor who made the examination would probably say had resulted from cholera. We are told that the Egyptian Government are, with great energy, taking steps to isolate the infected districts in which the cholera occurs. On hearing of the outbreak, my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War immediately telegraphed to the English military authorities in Egypt, requesting them to take most stringent precautions with regard to the health of the British troops, and particularly calling their attention to the regulations adopted in India with reference to cholera. I am happy to say that we have reason to believe those instructions from my noble Friend have already been anticipated by the highest English military authorities in Egypt before they reached that country. With regard to our Colonial ports, quarantine has been established for 10 days at Cyprus, and other precautions taken. At Malta, quarantine for 21 days, with other precautions, has been established; while at Gibraltar it has been established for 21 days. With regard to what has been done at home upon the subject of cholera, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Wemyss), in common with your Lordships, must be aware that the responsibility of dealing with cholera was 12 years ago transferred from the Privy Council to the Local Government Board. In 1873, Mr. Stansfeld issued an Order, which had been passed in Council, carrying out the three principles of medical inspection, disinfection, and isolation of those seized with illness. That Order remains in full force at this moment; but it has been thought proper, in case attention should not be given to it, to re-issue it immediately with some alterations of a substantial character. It is not for me to say anything of an official character as to what danger there is to Europe from this sudden outbreak; but it may be satisfactory to your Lordships to hear the opinion of one of the most eminent medical authorities of the day — Sir William Gull—upon the subject. It is contained in the following letter, written to me to-day, and which I will read to the House:—

> "Dear Lord Granville,—I have watched, with some interest, the character of the reported outbreak of cholera in Egypt. Up to this time I have not thought there was much ground of alarm, either for Egypt, or for the spread of an epidemic of the disease in Europe. When epidemics of cholera have been extensive and severe, they have generally been preceded in the foregoing winter and spring by scattered cases, and there has been a history of outbreaks in some parts of the East. On this occasion it has not been so. The reported outbreak has been local and sudden, and I believe that at present we may expect it will subside and not become epidemic.
>
> "I am, yours very truly,
> "William W. Gull."

LUNATIC POOR (IRELAND) BILL.

(The Lord President.)

(No. 85.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord President of the Council), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it had been framed by the Irish Government with a view to dealing with a very serious evil in Ireland, and of relieving a very miserable class of persons—namely, those pauper lunatics, who were not at present confined in any asylum or workhouse, but were living as they best could with their friends, or were wandering at large about the country. The wretched condition of these persons had attracted the attention of the Irish Government, and they, being desirous of testing the information they had received on the subject, appointed a medical officer to make a test inquiry in two Poor Law Unions in Ireland—one in Dublin, and the other in the country. He (Lord Carlingford) had seen the Report of the Inspector, and the description he gave of the miserable persons whom he personally saw and examined was very painful. In the Report, he said he found lunatics in bed with no covering, some perfectly naked and lying on straw, and others filthy and perfectly neglected, and some bearing the appearance of suffering from want of food. There were many instances of mental suffering, combined with physical neglect, the sufferers frequently being children—their condition being most deplorable. That was the state of things to which the Bill desired to apply a remedy. That was the main object of the Bill, and it was proposed to attain it in this way. First, the Bill provided for the regular inspection of all the lunatic poor in Ireland who were not in any asylum or workhouse; in all cases of neglect and ill-treatment, a power of committal to the workhouse of the Union in which the lunatics resided was given. In the second place, the Bill transferred the control and supervision of all lunatics to the Local Government Board, in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Lunacy appointed by the late Government. Under the Bill it would be the duty of the Guardians and the Relieving Officers of all Unions in Ireland to make themselves acquainted with all such cases as he had mentioned, and to bring them before the magistrates. It would then be the duty of the magistrates to call in the assistance of a medical officer to examine each case; and if, on that examination, and upon the certificate of the doctor, they thought it right, the Bill enabled them to send the lunatic to the workhouse of the Union in which he was found, there to remain until he was discharged cured. In this procedure the Bill followed the English Act of 1853, with the exception that, instead of being sent to the lunatic asylum of the county, the lunatics would be sent to the workhouse. The reason for this was, that there was no room in the Irish asylums for any more patients, the asylums already being overcrowded; and there was no prospect of the country being in a position to afford to make any addition to these very expensive institutions. It was further provided by the Bill that, in every Union, the Guardians should make, and keep, a list of all the lunatic poor within their Union; and all such lunatics should be periodically inspected by the medical officer, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they might be safely left where they were, at large, or whether it would be for their safety or comfort that they should be brought into the workhouse. In that particular the English Act was followed. In transferring the whole supervision and control of the lunatics in Ireland from the two Inspectors, as at present, to the Local Government Board, the Bill was in conformity with the recommendations of the Lunacy Inquiry Commission, which strongly advised that there should be one supervising authority in Ireland in lunacy cases. The obstacle in the way of this arrangement, they said, consisted in the present constitution of the Lunacy Department in Ireland, and they went on to recommend that the Local Government Board should have the responsibility. That was the proposal of the Bill. In asking their Lordships to read the Bill a second time, he did not recommend it as a complete measure upon the subject, or pretend that it carried out completely the recommendations of the Commission to which he had alluded; although, so far as it went, it was entirely on the lines of the Report of that Commission, and was, he believed, thoroughly approved of by the Commissioners themselves. Although not complete, it was brought in for the purpose of providing at once a remedy for a great evil, and a great deal of suffering which ought not to be allowed to exist longer; and he had no doubt that, if passed into law, it would, before long, lead to still greater improvements. The Bill might excite the fears of two classes. It might be feared, from the point of view of humanity, that the workhouse was not the best place for the treatment of lunatics. That he would not deny. But they ought to compare the condition of those poor neglected lunatics and idiots now with their condition as it would be in the workhouses. Though the workhouse was not, of course, as far as comfort or medical skill were concerned, equal to those expensive institutions, the county asylums, and though he fully admitted that the Lunacy Commission preferred a more perfect system of treatment for lunatics, by the erection of special auxiliary asylums in different parts of Ireland, he must say that they gave a most favourable opinion of the treatment of lunatics and idiots in a very large number of the Irish workhouses, and spoke of it as highly creditable to the liberality of the Guardians and the supervision of the Local Government Board. All things considered, it must be evident, he thought, that with proper management a workhouse might be made a sufficiently fit place for the care and treatment of harmless lunatics. He had no doubt it would be perfectly easy for the Local Government Board, when these new duties were imposed on them, and they felt the responsibility, to take care that proper care and humane treatment should be given to the lunatics and idiots committed to the Irish workhouses. The Bill might also excite fears from the ratepayers' or cesspayers' point of view. But in that respect it would make no difference, except that it would provide for the care in the workhouses of a certain increased number of neglected and often cruelly ill-treated persons. The additional cost would not be large; but, whatever it was, it was a charge which it was perfectly right that the rates should bear. The Bill would remove a large amount of human suffering, and would secure the treatment of lunacy in Ireland upon a better system than ever had prevailed before, while it would lead before long to still greater improvements. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

"*Moved*, That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, he would at once admit that the Bill was an attempt to deal with what was and had been a cruel evil in Ireland; but he held that the method proposed was not the best way of dealing with it, and that it would perpetuate another evil, which, though less, was still a very bad one. There was, no doubt, a great number of lunatics and idiots at large in Ireland, some of whom overflowed into this country; and they were often treated by their relatives in a very cruel manner, and therefore some legislation was required. But this Bill seemed to him to deal with the subject in the most unsatisfactory way. The noble Lord (the Lord President of the Council) had pointed out how those lunatics and idiots would be collected in the workhouses, and he appeared to think that there would be no increase of expense. He also spoke of the cesspayers; but it was the ratepayers and the landlords, not the cesspayers, who would have to pay the rates. Up to the present time, the lunatic asylums were being paid for by the cesspayers, and in addition there was a capitation grant of 4*s.* per head paid to them by the Government for each inmate, but nothing to the workhouses. Yet this Bill provided for an enormous increase of lunatics in the workhouses which were supported by the rates. His opinion of the unsuitability of the workhouses for such a purpose was strongly confirmed from personal observation. Beyond that the Commissioners reported that there was, in many cases, very imperfect accommodation in the workhouses for lunatics and idiots, who caused the greatest inconvenience in those establishments, that there was no regular staff provided for them, and no provision for their cleanliness, or for exercise. And yet the Bill proposed largely to increase the number of such persons in the workhouses. The Report also pointed out that, in the lunatic asylums, there were a great many curable cases; and proposed that a certain number of the asylums should be set apart for these cases, while others should be devoted to the dangerous and incurable cases. But the Bill went exactly in the teeth of that Report, except as regarded supervision.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord President of the Council) said, that he stated that the Commissioners were not in favour of committing these persons to the workhouses; but that they gave a very favourable account of the treatment of lunatics in a large number of the workhouses.

The Marquess of WATERFORD said, that the Report spoke of the great neglect of lunatics in workhouses. The real question was this—Were enormous numbers of lunatics to be placed in the workhouses, to the disadvantage, not only of the regular inmates, but of the lunatics themselves; and were the Government prepared to increase the burdens of the landlords by an addition to the poor rate? If so, he should be very much inclined to oppose the Bill; but he hoped to hear from his noble Friend the Lord President that there was a prospect of the adoption of some better system. The Bill was both costly and incomplete; costly, because the very first step to be taken, the fitting up of suitable wards, would require a good deal of money. Was it the intention of the Government to put their hands again in the pockets of the Irish landlords? He regarded it as a misfortune that this important subject should be dealt with in this piecemeal manner. Why did not the Government, as it was dealing with the matter at all, instead of doing so in this incomplete manner, follow the recommendations of the Royal Commission? At the present moment, they had only succeeded in introducing a Bill, which was bad for the lunatics, bad for the landlords, and bad for the occupiers.

Lord O'HAGAN said, he would admit that the present Bill was very imperfect and crude; but he did not think he ought to take upon himself the responsibility of preventing the passing of a measure introduced by the Government dealing with this question. Lunatics who possessed property were already well provided for; but that was by no means the case with the poor. Several attempts had been made to improve their condition; and in 1877 a comprehensive Bill was introduced, which applied to Ireland the whole of the English law on this subject; but the Government of the day were not prepared to accept the measure, and, instead of legislating, appointed a Royal Commission. That Commission inquired into the subject very fully, and reported very exhaustively; and the recommendations contained in its Report, if they had been adopted, would have had the effect of completely assimilating the Irish to the English system, which was a very important matter for Ireland. Nothing, however, was done in a further direction; and, now that so many efforts to help these poor people had been frustrated, he would not take upon himself to resist the present insufficient proposals. It appeared that in the course of the 20 years preceding 1878, the pauper lunatics of Ireland had increased from about 1,500 to about 3,000, and since that period, there was, as he understood, a great many more, so that it was obviously necessary to find a remedy for an evil of such magnitude, by which the sufferings of people so afflicted would be mitigated; but, whatever was done, it should always be borne in mind that the object was not to extend or to stereotype a bad system, but to find a better one. They all knew how indifferent both Houses of Parliament were concerning those matters; but, as they were now dealing with this particular subject, and alive as to the necessity for action with regard to it, he would say that if they did a little, and did not do enough, while they would be giving a palliative to the legislative conscience, they would be relegating to the distant future the passing of a proper measure that would have the effect of alleviating the sufferings of the helpless and hopeless poor creatures afflicted with lunacy. He would be a bold man who said that any effort in that direction should be resisted or rejected by the House. At the same time, he was bound to say, at once, that this was a most insufficient measure. He would not, however, as he had said, take upon himself the responsibility of opposing it, as he hoped it would be improved in Committee, inasmuch as he thought it was not by any means bad, as far as it went; and though it was characterized by many defects, it contained several useful provisions. For instance, it was well for the magistrates to be empowered to detain wandering lunatics, and keep them out of harm's way; and it was, no doubt, well that places in which lunatics were appointed to be received should be under medical inspection. This was as it should be; but a further application of the English system was most desirable. The condition of the Irish workhouses had lately attracted much attention, and it was to be hoped that they would be found suitable for the lunatics who, whether paupers or millionaires, ought to be treated in the same liberal manner. The conveniences and arrangements that were necessary were not to be found in Irish workhouses; and the danger was that, if the provisions of the Bill were not adequate, a bad system might be perpetuated, when otherwise it might be destroyed. He would not discuss the proposal to change the control from the Board of Control to the Local Government Board; but he would say that the Inspectors of Lunacy had always done their duty, and he hoped, when the change was made, those services would not be forgotten. The boarding-out of imbecile children and of adult lunatics, who were capable of being so dealt with, was adopted in Scotland, and had been followed for centuries in Belgium; and if it could be resorted to in Ireland it would relieve the gorged asylums and reduce the expenditure for such establishments. It seemed to him to be a proper remedy. If the Bill passed, the Government ought to consider some of the suggestions that had been made.

The Earl of LIMERICK said, he was sure that every one of their Lordships would be in favour of any measure that would alleviate the sad and miserable condition of the pauper lunatics and idiots of Ireland; but he looked upon the present Bill with some mistrust, for it appeared to him that to carry it properly into effect would render necessary the forming of a properly constituted lunatic ward in every workhouse, and thereby increase the cost to the ratepayers. He was afraid, moreover, it would postpone indefinitely the passing of a better measure. The Bill did not give a magistrate power to commit to any workhouse in which there might be ample space, and which might have the licence of the Local Government Board; but it obliged a magistrate to order a committal to the workhouse of the Union to which the pauper belonged, without giving any power to vary the order. It should also be remembered that the habits of many of these unfortunate persons rendered it impossible that they could be associated with ordinary paupers. If the Bill were properly carried out, it would involve additional heavy charges on the rates, and they ought to be met by some grant from Imperial funds. Unless the Government were prepared to give that assistance, he should be inclined to think it best that the Bill should not be carried at that time. As special Notice had not been given of the measure for that evening, he did not, however, propose to move its rejection; but, when the Bill came to the third reading, he thought its rejection ought to be moved.

The Earl of ROSSE said, that he fully concurred with other noble Lords who had spoken, in giving a general approval to the Bill. But while doing so, he thought it would increase the expense to the ratepayers, and, at the same time, it would not give the lunatics any increased accommodation—in fact, if the Bill was passed in its present form, it would remain a dead letter. However, if in Committee some considerable Amendments were moved, it would, perhaps, make the Bill more satisfactory. There could be no doubt that its further consideration would involve, as his noble Friend (the Earl of Limerick) had remarked, an obligation on the part of the Government to consider the suggestion as to making some grant from the Imperial Exchequer.

The Earl of LONGFORD said, he hoped the Government would not press the Bill, as it did not appear to be acceptable to anybody. He could not oppose it; but he was equally unwilling it should pass in its present shape.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord President of the Council) said, that after listening to the speeches against the Bill, and still more to the speech delivered by his noble and learned Friend (Lord O'Hagan) in its favour, he did not think the prospects of the Bill were very bright. However, the Irish Government took the greatest interest in the measure, and had promoted it solely with a desire to relieve a great deal of suffering and misery; and, therefore, he should be sorry if the Bill were not read a second time. In moving the second reading, he made allowance for the two classes of objections, which he anticipated—namely, the objections of those who did not agree to the transferring of the maintenance of the institutions from the county cess, which was paid by the occupiers alone, to the poor rate, which was paid by the owners and occupiers combined; and the fears of the humanitarians, who, apparently, would prefer that these wretched creatures should remain at large in the streets, unless they were treated in the most refined and expensive manner in lunatic asylums of the best kind, and who would rather have nothing done unless their schemes were carried out. He now found that he had not rated those objections sufficiently high; and he saw how powerful their effect was in that House. He could assure their Lordships that all the criticisms that had been made on the Bill should be duly considered, and there should be no hurry in pressing it forward; but he hoped their Lordships would assent to the second reading.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that after the melancholy speech of the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President of the Council), he should be glad to know when they might expect the next stage of the Bill to be taken?

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord President of the Council): On this day fortnight.

Bill *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 17*th instant.*

PAWNBROKERS BILL.—(No. 79.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 and 2 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Assistance in the recovery of stolen goods to be given by pawnbrokers).

EARL FORTESCUE moved, in page 1, line 21, an Amendment to dispense with the attendance of a police constable in cases of search when notice had been given of stolen articles to the pawnbroker, and to provide for the attendance of the owner, or some friend, or servant, or relative of the owner, who could identify the article, which a policeman generally would be unable to do.

Amendment *moved,* in page 1, line 21, after ("behalf") insert ("other than a police constable.") — (*The Earl Fortescue.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that considerable concessions had been made to pawnbrokers in that Bill, as compared with the Bill of last year. It was not as if the owner or policeman had power generally to overhaul the goods in the pawnbroker's shop; search would be carried on by the pawnbroker himself. If the Amendment were limited so that any person appointed by the owner, even though that person should be a police constable, could conduct the search, he would accept the Amendment.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he would accept the suggestion of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack.

Amendment (*The Earl Fortescue*) (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Amendment, in page 1, line 21, leave out ("acting"), and insert ("appointed by him to act,")—(*The Lord Chancellor,*) —*agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Lord HENNIKER, the following Amendment made:—In page 1, line 22, after ("possession") insert ("received after the date of the robbery and.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Duty of pawnbrokers to answer police inquiries respecting stolen articles).

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE moved an Amendment providing that only constables specially chosen for the purpose should be empowered to conduct searches in pawnbrokers' shops. It was not right to intrust such powers to any inexperienced constable. A pawnbroker's business was of a confidential character, and he might reasonably object to the disclosure of his customers' secrets. A young and inexperienced constable might go into a shop where there were 20,000 articles, and insist on the proprietor turning over every one. It would be better that men with special knowledge in the matter should be appointed, and that the wishes of the pawnbrokers should, as far as possible, be acceded to. It should be borne in mind that the evidence given before the Committee of their Lordships' House showed that, as a class, pawnbrokers bore a very high character.

Amendment *moved,* in page 2, line 3, after ("by any") insert ("specially authorized.")—(*The Earl of Pembroke.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that if a constable came to search, he could understand the necessity of his coming with proper authority; but here the constable only came to inquire, and the pawnbroker was to search for himself.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON wanted to know who was to authorize the constable, and what was to be understood by special authority?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would point out that the clause only related to inquiries, and gave no power to the constable to search.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Pawnbrokers to enter in pledge book distinctive marks on pledges).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would propose, with the view of meeting an Amendment placed on the Paper by the noble Earl (the Earl of Pembroke), and by way of relieving the pawnbroker to some extent from liability, to substitute for the words "any articles pawned," the words "all watches or articles of plate or jewellery pawned with him, and all other goods pawned for the sum of 20*s.* and upwards." With that alteration he thought the clause would meet every reasonable objection. The entry of distinctive marks on articles of the description to which he had referred would enable a pawnbroker in a police court to say whether a particular article produced had been in his possession or not. He hoped their Lordships would adhere to the clause as amended, for it was, perhaps, the most valuable clause in the whole Bill; and as to watches and jewellery, the practice of 90 out of 100 of the respectable pawnbrokers in London was already to have columns in their books for an entry of the distinctive marks.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 27, leave out ("any articles pawned") and insert ("all watches or articles of plate or jewellery pawned with him, and all other goods pawned with him, for the sum of twenty shillings or upwards.")—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE said, he would admit that the alteration got rid of much of the objection he entertained to the clause; but, even with the proposed limitation, it would, in his opinion, prove extremely onerous to pawnbrokers, and would add so materially to their expenses that it ought to be struck out of the Bill.

LORD HENNIKER said, that the Act of 1872 only required nine columns in the pledge book. This clause proposed to add another column, to make the entries in which would require the employment of a skilled person, and add to the pawnbroker's expenses. He thought the clause a very oppressive one.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he thought that the concession made by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack was a very considerable one; and he hoped, therefore, his noble Friend (the Earl of Pembroke) would not divide the Committee. Some further revision might, however, be made in the clause as to the registration of marks on articles pawned. He held in his hand a spoon on which a crown and anchor could be clearly seen; but an ordinary inspection would not suffice to show that a broad arrow was mixed up with the other illegible marks. With the best intentions there would be a difficulty in carrying out the clause.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that he, too, had been examining his own watch, and was unable, even with the assistance of a magnifying glass, to make out the number. It consisted of five figures, and there was also a quantity of other marks, all equally illegible. Yet, by the Bill, the unfortunate pawnbroker was bound to have all these marks registered; and how he was to do that he (the Marquess of Salisbury) would like to know. He thought that some words should be introduced to show that the pawnbroker was only bound to record such marks and inscriptions as were practicable.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that, with a view to obviate the criticisms upon the clause, he would propose to amend it, so that the pawnbroker would be only bound to register "such clear and distinctive" inscriptions and marks as appeared on articles.

Amendment, in page 1, line 25, after ("such") insert ("clear and,")—(*The Lord Chancellor,*)—*agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Detention of persons offering stolen articles).

EARL FORTESCUE said, he objected to the provisions in the clause by which pawnbrokers were required to seize and detain persons who offered to pledge or sell any article or articles which the pawnbroker suspected or had reasonable cause to suspect had been stolen. It might be physically impossible for the pawnbroker to comply with the requirements of the law. In thews and sinews the pawnbroker might often be very inferior to the powerful Bill Sikes, whom this clause compelled him to attempt to seize and detain.

LORD ABERDARE said, it was necessary that the clause should throw the express duty of detaining persons offering stolen goods upon the pawnbroker wherever practicable.

On the Motion of The Earl of LIMERICK, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 34, omit ("suspects or.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to*, with Amendments.

Schedule *agreed to.*

LORD NORTON, in moving the insertion of a new clause, to follow Clause 21, said, it often happened that a man pawned an article for 10*s.* or 20*s.* and immediately sold the ticket, went to the pawnbroker, made a declaration that he had lost it, and next day, presenting the declaration, redeemed the article with the money which he had received from the vendee. Shortly afterwards the vendee honestly appeared, showed the ticket, and demanded the article pledged, and the pawnbroker was obliged to pay him the value. The only remedy he had was a prosecution at the Assizes entirely at his own expense, for the expenses of a prosecution were not allowed in such a case, and he had to pay from £10 to £20 in addition to the loss he had sustained by the fraud of the pawner. Giving a power in Petty Sessions to deal summarily with such a case by fine or imprisonment would remedy such injustice and check the frauds so prevalent. That was really the chief change needed in the pawnbrokers' law. Pawnbrokers were mainly a well-conducted class, not to be confounded with the marine store dealers; they helped to detect robberies, and were themselves constantly plundered with impunity.

Moved, In page 8, after Clause 21, to insert as a new Clause—

> "So much of the twenty-ninth section of the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth Victoria, chapter ninety-three, as enacts that any person making the declaration provided in the fifth sub-section of the third schedule of that Act, of a pawn-ticket being lost, knowing the same to be false, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour and liable to the punishment attached to perjury, is repealed; and in lieu thereof be it enacted, that such person shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or to be imprisoned for not exceeding six months."—(*The Lord Norton.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Clause *inserted* accordingly.

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 136.)

PUBLIC HEALTH (DAIRIES, &c.) BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(No. 92.) COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 to 12, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Application to Scotland).

LORD BALFOUR, in moving the omission of the clause, said, that his object was to prevent the application of the Bill to Scotland. He thought it was a very unfortunate course to apply the Bill to Scotland, because the way in which the Bill was drawn showed that it was primarily intended to apply to England, since it proposed to transfer powers now exercised by the Privy Council to the Local Government Board. There might, or might not, be in future a Local Government Board for Scotland; but if there was to be, he thought it would be much preferable to wait until it was established, and then transfer from the Privy Council to that Board any powers it might be desirable it should exercise. The Bill, if passed, would take from the county and burgh authorities some of the powers they exercised under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878, and transfer them to the local sanitary authorities. In Scotland, the local sanitary authorities were small bodies, being the Parochial Boards of the landward parishes, and the Police Commission or Town Council, as the case might be, in burghs. He understood that one of the reasons for the proposed transference was that the powers of the Act of 1878 had not been generally exercised. There were at present 112 local authorities in Scotland under that Act, and only 24 of them had put the powers conferred on them in force; but, of the 24, not less than 16 were county authorities, and 8 were burgh authorities. There were 33 counties in Scotland and 78 burghs, and the effect of the change would be, that the execution of these powers in the landward districts would be entrusted to the same class of persons as in the burghs, who had already failed, with a small exception, to carry them out. Anyone who knew what the constitution of a Parochial Board was would agree with him that it was a very unfit body to have such extensive powers entrusted to it as were proposed by the Bill. It seemed to him that the parish was much too small an area in which to work an Act of this kind, and that it was much better and more economically done, and with much less friction, when worked by the county authority. If the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President) said that the county was too large an area, he (Lord Balfour) would reply that it was better to wait until a Local Government Board was formed for Scotland, and then see whether some other authority could not be devised for working the Act. If the Bill in the present state of matters were applied to Scotland, he was convinced that nothing but evil would ensue from it; and, so far from the Act of 1878 being more zealously worked, the very reverse would be the result. He moved the omission of the clause.

Moved, "To leave out Clause 13."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, that there was a rather general impression that this Bill created certain new powers. Was that so? He believed it simply proposed a transference of powers already in existence from one authority to another, but thought it would be desirable that his noble Friend (the Lord President) should make such a statement on the subject as would re-assure those concerned.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was glad the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) had asked the question, because it gave him the opportunity of stating that the Bill was absolutely limited to the transfer of the powers of the 4th section of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878 from the Privy Council to the Local Government Board. The fact was that a purely sanitary clause found its way into that Act which had nothing whatever to do with diseases in animals, and was entirely concerned with matters affecting the health of mankind; and the proposal was to transfer the working of that clause to the Department which was concerned with all other sanitary matters, without the smallest addition. As to the proposal to omit Scotland from the Act, he had done his best, since the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour) last stated his views, to ascertain how the matter lay, and he had quite failed to convince himself that there was any sufficient reason for omitting Scotland. This was a purely sanitary matter; and if the Scottish sanitary authorities were fit to deal with all other sanitary matters, they were surely fit to deal with this, and they would henceforth be under the direction of the Board which was charged with sanitary matters. He failed to see how the Bill introduced into the other House, with reference to Scottish Business, affected this question. It proposed a Scotch Department in London, but not to meddle with the Departments in Edinburgh; and he had no reason to believe that it would affect anything except the management of Scotch Business in London. It would not affect the constitution or the powers of the Boards in Edinburgh. He, therefore, hoped the noble Lord would not press his Motion.

LORD BALFOUR said, he had no intention of discussing what was the precise effect of the Bill just introduced into the other House; but, if the view of the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President) was correct, the measure was of a much more limited nature than the people of Scotland believed. As to the Bill now before their Lordships, he repeated that, if the reason for it was that the existing authorities had not put in force the powers in the Act of 1878, it proposed, in order to correct that failure, to take away the administration of them from the authority in Scotland, one-half of which did put them into force, and to give it to an authority all over Scotland, corresponding with that of which only one-tenth had put them into force.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he would ask his noble Friend (Lord Balfour) not to press his Motion. He thought the proposal of the noble Lord (the Lord President) was a very proper one. His noble Friend spoke about the local authority in Scotland putting the powers in the Act of 1878 in force. He believed his noble Friend was connected with some authorities who had done so; but still the fact remained that out of 112 local authorities in Scotland only 24 enforced these regulations. He disagreed with his noble Friend when he said that the parish was too small an area in which to put the Act in force. It seemed to him (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) that the fact of its being a small area would make it much more easy to ascertain whether the dairies were in good or bad condition. His own idea was, that these provisions had hitherto done an immense deal of good; and he believed it would be greatly to the advantage of both countries that this Bill should pass into law.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that under the Bill it was probable that the local authorities who had done nothing would hear something from the Board of Supervision, which possessed means of exercising a supervision such as the Privy Council did not possess.

Motion *disagreed to*.

Remaining clause *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next.

REGISTRY OF DEEDS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord O'Hagan.*)

(NO. 97.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD O'HAGAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was intended to carry out the recommendations of a Committee which inquired into the subject of extending the provisions of the Bank Holiday Act to the clerks in the Registry of Deeds Office in Ireland. The proposal was to add four holidays to that which the clerks at present enjoyed, and he thought no one would be inclined to oppose such a proposal.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord O'Hagan.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to provide for the use of Continuous Brakes on passenger trains on railways—Was *presented* by The Earl DE LA WARR; read 1ª. (No. 135.)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
till To-morrow, half past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 3*rd July,* 1883.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Medical Act (1858) Amendment [205].
Committee—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Thirteenth Night*]—R.P.; Medals [188], *debate adjourned.*

PARLIAMENT—SELECTION.

Leave given to the Committee of Selection to make a Special Report:—

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY accordingly *reported* from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged the following Members from the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures:—Lord Eustace Cecil, Mr. H. W. Fitzwilliam, Mr. Justin M'Carthy.

And had appointed in substitution:—Mr. Brinton, Lord Claud Hamilton, Mr. Leamy.

Special Report to lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS.

—:0:—

LUNATIC POOR (IRELAND).

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will give some intimation, during the present Session, of the manner in which Her Majesty's Government propose to deal with the question of harmless lunatics and idiots in Ireland; and, if he will endeavour to bring in a Bill early next Session to legislate on this important subject?

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not think I could satisfactorily enter upon this subject in replying to a Question; but perhaps I may find an opportunity of doing so when the Estimate for the Lunacy Department is under consideration. I will endeavour to bring in a Bill next Session, should the Bill which has already been introduced in "another place" not reach the House this Session.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOLS COMPULSORILY CLOSED.

MR. RANKIN asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, in the case of a school compulsorily closed on account of infectious illness or for any other reason, instructions might be given to the Government Inspector of such school to take into his consideration the length of time for which the school in question had been closed, and to make a corresponding allowance in the acquirements of the children, so as to enable the school to be classified in the same standard, and so to earn the same grant, as it otherwise would have done if it had not been closed?

MR. MUNDELLA: Under the Code now in force the period during which a school is compulsorily closed does not count as part of the 22 weeks of attendance which qualifies a child for examination. The Inspector, however, may waive the examination of children who have suffered from epidemic illness; and the fact that the school has been compulsorily closed will be taken into account in assessing the merit grant, as the Code requires the Inspector to have regard "to the special circumstances of the case."

THE IRISH BUTTER TRADE—CORK BUTTER MARKET.

Mr. A. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the evidence given before the Richmond Commission has satisfied him of the existence of grave abuses in the Cork Butter Market, particularly in the matter of the inspection; and, whether, if unwilling to take the subject in hand themselves, the Government would look with favour upon any well-considered scheme of reform promoted by private Members?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am afraid there is too much reason to think that some abuses do exist, especially in the details of the inspection; and, should any well-considered scheme of reform be promoted by private Members, I will be happy to give it my best consideration.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—WORKHOUSE HOSPITALS.

Mr. A. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the workhouse hospitals are in many districts the only similar institutions available for paying patients and people in well-to-do circumstances, who are suffering from infectious diseases; whether he is also aware that there are powers of compulsory removal of such persons from their homes under certain circumstances; whether it is a fact that all persons, except the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, are compelled to wear the workhouse uniform, provided by the Guardians, whilst in hospital, and that great exception is taken to this by paying patients; and, whether, taking these facts into account, with a view to check the spread of infection, by removing every obstacle to such persons going into hospital, he would urge the Local Government Board to modify their rules in this respect?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The facts are as stated in the first two paragraphs of this Question. With regard to the dress of patients, the present practice has been in force since the year 1862. Boards of Guardians were then advised by the Local Government Board that persons in fever hospitals ought not to be allowed to wear their own clothing, in order to prevent the danger of infection when they returned to the neighbourhood in which they lived, but that a simple form of hospital dress, having nothing in common with the ordinary workhouse dress, should be provided. The Local Government Board believe that in some instances Guardians relax this rule in the case of the Constabulary and other paying patients; but they regard this relaxation as very objectionable. They think that persons returning to their own homes in the dress they have worn in hospital are likely to spread infection. This opinion appears to be well founded; and I fear, therefore, that any change in the regulations such as is suggested by the hon. Member would not be likely to tend towards the restriction of the spread of infection.

EGYPT—OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA.

Mr. GOURLEY (for Sir Edward Watkin) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, considering the appearance of epidemic cholera in Egypt, in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, Her Majesty's Government are taking steps to bring about an International Convention as to quarantine, with a view not merely to checking the progress of the disease, but also to minimising inconvenience and loss to the shipping interest and to travellers; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have considered the scheme for International agreement as to quarantine formulated in 1879, by Sir Sherston Baker, barrister-at-law, and published in that year by the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: My hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) has a similar Question for Thursday, and I propose to reply to his Question now, as well as to that of my hon. Friend. Her Majesty's Government have no present intention of taking steps to bring about an International Convention or Congress as to quarantine, nor have they received any proposals to that effect. Her Majesty's Government are acquainted with the proceedings of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, and the views of the author referred to.

STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—TRAFFIC AT HAMILTON PLACE.

MR. ROLLS asked the First Commissioner of Works, If, in consideration of the great inconvenience caused by the block of traffic at the corner of Hamilton Place, arrangements could be made by utilizing Park Lane, at present almost unused, for the traffic going Southward, leaving Hamilton Place free for traffic going Northward?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that the Office which I represent has no jurisdiction whatever over the streets, and that I am quite unable to carry out what the hon. Member recommends. I also understand that the police, since 1870, have had no power of regulating the traffic in the streets so as to enforce any such regulation.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—PRECEDENCE OF GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Mr. Speaker, I beg to move the Motion that stands on the Orders of the Day in the name of the Prime Minister, in accordance with the statement which he made in the House yesterday—namely,

> "That Government Orders have precedence, this Evening, of the Notices of Motions and the other Orders of the Day, and that Government Orders have precedence To-morrow."

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Do I understand that this is an Order merely for to-day and to-morrow, and that next week, when a Motion is made to take private Members' nights for the remainder of the Session, we shall then have an opportunity of considering the whole of the subject?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes.

MR. THEODORE FRY wished to express the great regret of himself and other Members that this course on the part of the Government would prevent the Committee stage to-night of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill being taken. This was a measure which had already been read a second time by a majority of 3 to 1; and it was of so much importance that he trusted the Government would give a Saturday Sitting in order that it might be pushed forward.

MR. GORST could not say that he felt at all pleased with the precedent that was being set on this occasion. The principle on which the Business of the House had hitherto been conducted was this—If the Government wished to interfere with the days allotted to private Members, they either obtained the general consent of the House and of the Members who had secured those days, or at the end of the Session, when Public Business became urgent, a full statement of the intentions of the Government was made to the House. Neither of these courses had been taken, and he felt considerable alarm that this should be taken as a precedent, and that Governments in the future should come down and demand two or three days of private Members' time without conforming to either of the conditions he had named. He did not wish to oppose this Motion; but he thought it should not be allowed to pass without some protest.

MR. RYLANDS also would not oppose this Motion; but he wished to fix upon the attention of the Government the strong necessity there was for not allowing Supply to get further into arrear. He trusted that on Monday the House would have a statement from the Prime Minister that a certain proportion of Mondays and Thursdays would be devoted to this object, for Supply was already in a very backward state, and a considerable number of Votes yet remained to be taken. He quite agreed that it was desirable that those measures which the Government desired to pass should be properly considered; but it was equally important, and not less the duty of the House, that it should insist on having ample opportunities for dealing with Supply.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member who had last spoken. He thought the Motion ought to be agreed to only on the condition that a distinct statement was made on Monday as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the Bills before the House. The House also ought to insist on another matter, which was that if private Members' nights were taken the Government should not take up the "fad" of one particular section, otherwise he was quite sure the House would not grant the facilities which the Prime Minister desired. He hoped also that some arrangement would be made so that recourse need not be had to Saturday Sittings. Last Session, it would be remembered the House had an Autumn Sitting for the discussion of the New Rules, and just before the House rose in December the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) gave a promise that the House should have an opportunity of reviewing the operations of the Sessional Order relating to the Grand Committees before the middle of this July. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head; but there could be no doubt that there was a distinct understanding. He should like to know what the Government were going to do in the matter?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had no doubt that, after the Motion of the Prime Minister on Monday had been made, very little time would remain for private Members. But there was a question in which he was more particularly interested—the South African Question. He understood the Prime Minister to state that he was quite aware that a discussion would be desirable before the close of the Session. He (Mr. Forster) could only state that discussion was made more desirable by the statement that the Envoys were coming over from the Transvaal; and, as they would hardly arrive in this country before the Session closed, it was important that there should be some Parliamentary discussion before the Prorogation. The subject could not be very conveniently discussed in Committee of Supply; but he did not know that any other time could be asked. He hoped, however, that his right hon. Friend would consider the matter between now and Monday; and if it was decided to take the debate on the South African Vote, one night at the beginning of an evening would be fixed.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, it might, perhaps, be convenient to the House and the right hon. Gentleman, if he stated that, under the circumstances at present existing, he did not wish to hold the right hon. Gentleman to the conditional promise he had made as to finding a convenient time for the discussion of the Motion of which he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had given Notice nearly a month ago—that this House should resolve itself into a Committee to inquire into the state of affairs in South Africa. Since that time Her Majesty's Government had taken a very important decision with regard to Basutoland—the principles or the necessity of which he did not at all desire to question; and as to the details, they were not, and, perhaps, could not be, in a condition to be discussed at present. With regard to the Transvaal, he had been desirous, ever since the commencement of the Session, to bring this question under the consideration of the House, and he thought he had some reason to complain that he not been able to do so. He did not wish to dwell upon that now. What he had been anxious to do was, to prove to the House that the Transvaal Convention had failed, and that Her Majesty's Government were responsible for that failure. He thought that the very fact that Her Majesty's Government were preparing to revise that Convention, not yet 18 months old, in concert with persons who, for whatever reasons, had been unable or unwilling to fulfil their obligations with regard to it, showed that it was a failure; and, that being admitted, as he thought it must be admitted, surely it followed that the Government who concluded the Convention were responsible in the matter? Therefore, as the case which he desired to establish seemed to be incontestably proved by facts, he had no wish to call the attention of the House to what had already passed on that subject. But he thought there was much force in the views already expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), especially after the statement that had been made, that the Convention was to be considered by Her Majesty's Government in concert with Envoys from the Transvaal, who could not arrive before the autumn; and it was surely desirable that they should have some distinct statement of what the Government contemplated in the revision of the Convention. He thought they ought to have a full opportunity of debating the matter in the House, and he doubted whether it would be an entirely satisfactory opportunity to do so on the Estimates. He would have thought, after the view expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, that he, and those who agreed with him, might have been disposed to obtain by distinct Motion some expression from the House as to the direction in which that revision should take place. He had also been anxious to bring under the consideration of the House the condition of affairs in Zululand. He observed that his hon. Friend the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay), who had great personal knowledge of this matter, had given Notice of a Motion standing on the Order Book, which raised in direct and distinct terms an issue before the House. He did hope that, as he was not now asking the right hon. Gentleman to fulfil the conditional promise he made in regard to his Notice of Motion, he would favourably consider the claims of his hon. Friend the Member for the North Riding for an opportunity for discussion. It was a matter which had never been discussed in the House, and one on which those on his side of the House held very strong opinions, and on which they thought the judgment of the House ought to be taken.

Mr. W. FOWLER pointed out that the Motion calling upon private Members to give up their Wednesdays was made very much earlier than was usual. In 1878 the Motion was not made until the 15th of July; in 1879 it was the 14th of July; in 1880 it was the 12th of July; in 1881 it was the 1st of August; and in 1882 it was not made until the 24th of July. He did not rise to oppose the Motion; but he wished to point out that they might almost as well be asked to give up Wednesdays altogether — [*Cheers.*]—for now it was absolutely useless to put down private Members' Bills after the middle of June. [*Renewed cheers.*] If that was the opinion of the House, of course he would not complain; but till it was made known he thought private Members had a right to protest. He thought the principle involved in the question under discussion was a very serious one.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was glad to see the Home Secretary in his place, as he was in the House when the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War made the statement referred to. There were a large number of Amendments on the Paper, chiefly in the name of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and himself; and they waived those Amendments on the distinct understanding that the House should have the fullest opportunity of revising the proceedings of the Standing Committees. He only wished to say one word with respect to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) about Supply, and he hoped it would be pressed on the Prime Minister. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the way in which the Prime Minister had fulfilled the pledges with regard to Supply; but there were two Votes which he wished the Prime Minister to except from the ordinary course—namely, the Vote for the Representative in the Transvaal, and the Vote for Major Baring. The appointment of Major Baring would mark a new departure; and there could not be a better opportunity than on that Vote of reviewing the past conduct of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would endeavour to answer, as well as he could, the various points that had been raised. As there was an opinion that the public purse was a bottomless purse, and so capable of meeting every call upon it, so there seemed to be an impression in the House that the time at the disposal of the Government after the middle of July was virtually unlimited, and that they could give as much as every Gentleman might want for the discussion of what he deemed to be a very important matter. Now, he (Mr. Gladstone) must point out that the time which they might take, if the House chose to give it—and he was sure the House would bear witness that they had no desire to take it on this occasion, except with the free will of the House—was, after all, only a limited quantity, which it was not in their power to extend, and which they could do no more than distribute as best they could. In taking time to consider the course to be pursued, they had to regard more especially the condition of the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill. It was quite true, as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had said, that the course proposed was quite an exceptional one, and that there had been a desire expressed in the House that it should be marked as an exceptional proceeding;

and he was seconding the wish of the House that it should not be betrayed into making it a precedent, but that it should be distinctly and fully recognized that the proceeding at present asked for should not bind the House. It had been said that he never admitted a citation from *Hansard.* He believed that in the course, perhaps, of 50 citations from *Hansard,* which had been made for him or against him, there might have been one or two cases in which he had said that he could not recognize that they fully conveyed his meaning. With regard to what his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War had said about the revision of the Standing Order relating to Standing Committees, he found, on reference to *Hansard,* that what his noble Friend had said was—

> "If it was proposed to renew the Resolutions, either in their present or in any other shape, it ought to be done when the House was in a condition to fully and adequately discuss them; and he would make every effort in his power to secure that that should take place before the end of July."—(3 *Hansard,* [275] 517-18.)

That accorded with his own recollection. Of course, if the Government made no Motion the matter would fall to the ground; but he would say at once that they would not think it a subject at all fit to be brought forward after the House had ceased the full flow of its attendance; and he therefore trusted that that would be regarded as a satisfactory declaration. With regard to the question of Supply raised by his hon. Friend (Mr. Rylands), although it was quite true that the progress made had not been very great, yet it would not be forgotten that upwards of a fortnight was occupied at the opening of the Session in the debate on the Address, and that there was also an interruption—an unavoidable one, perhaps—which occupied two or three weeks in reference to the Parliamentary Oaths Bill. Under the circumstances, the Government were desirous of doing the best in their power, in the first instance, to dispose of the Committee on the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, and then to launch themselves into Committee on the Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill. He hoped that this would be taken as a distinct and final indication of their intentions to obtain the judgment of the House on these two Bills. With regard to everything else, he did not think any difficulty would arise; but the House would hold them responsible for making the best use they could of the limited fund of time now left, and hon. Members would be judges of how that was done. He quite agreed that a convenient time might be asked for the discussion in Committee of Supply of the Vote for the salary of Major Baring and for the Transvaal; but he was not able to say at present what desire or what cause there might be for a separate discussion with respect to Zululand, and he would rather not say anything then on that subject. He entirely agreed with what had been signified by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Forster) with regard to the Transvaal, and hoped a convenient opportunity would be found for the discussion of the question. With respect to Supply generally, he was sure his hon. Friend (Mr. Rylands) would not desire, by thrusting forward Supply, to prevent the adequate discussion of the legislative measures of the Government. The Government thought it was the desire of the House that the two Bills he had mentioned should have preference till they had got through the laborious stage of Committee. After that, or before that if necessary, they should have no disposition, on the one hand, to throw over those Bills which were of interest and importance to the country, and that the country wished to see passed, nor, on the other hand, to give these Bills an undue preference over Supply. He hoped the House would be disposed to sit patiently until these measures were disposed of. They should have a better opportunity of dealing with this subject when they came to consider it on Monday next.

Mr. W. H. SMITH reminded the Prime Minister that as late as last Thursday he made an engagement with regard to the Navy Estimates, with which at present very little progress had been made. They were engaged in an important discussion on the condition of the Navy, and considerable time would still have to be devoted to it. He hoped, therefore, that an early day would be fixed for resuming the discussion on the Navy Estimates. With regard to the point referred to by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), he hoped also that some early Monday and Thursday would be taken for Supply, seeing that the Government would have

Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays for their ordinary Business.

MR. STEVENSON expressed regret that the opportunity would be lost, through the arrangements made by the Government, of bringing on the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill, in which he could assure the House the public took great interest.

MR. RAIKES confessed that he was disappointed that the Prime Minister had not availed himself of the opportunity presented him to take a more decided stand with regard to Wednesdays, because he was sure the House would willingly respond to the Government taking that day. ["No!"] At all events, he was content to leave it on record that if the Prime Minister brought forward any proposal to appropriate Wednesdays he would support him. With regard to Tuesdays, however, the case was very different, and he would make an earnest appeal that there should be no invasion of Fridays before the end of July: He wished to call the attention of the Government to a very important Motion of which Notice had been given for the last Friday of the present month, and which referred to the question of National Education. With regard, also, to the Bill which stood first in the Orders of to-morrow, he desired to state that it would be met by a very substantial opposition; and he trusted that on Monday next the Government would be prepared to take a decided course in respect to Wednesdays.

MR. E. A. LEATHAM said, he had secured the first Order on Wednesday week for a subject in which great interest was felt by many Members in the House, and by a large portion of the public — reform of patronage in the Church of England. He had previously been unfortunate in getting an opportunity to bring forward this question, and it seemed as if he would be equally unfortunate this year. Last year he had no reason to complain of the postponement, because the Business then before the House was of an urgent character; but that was not the case now, and he put it to the House whether, under the circumstances, it would be fair for the Government to take Wednesdays? He had been in the House a good many years, and they had always been pottering with the Law of Elections and tinkering the Law of Bankruptcy. In a year or two's time they would probably make an entirely new departure on both these questions.

MR. ONSLOW complained of the late period of the Session at which the Indian Budget was usually brought forward, and asked the Prime Minister to consider whether he would give facilities for the discussion of a Motion which he had on the Paper relating to India, and on which the whole question of the Egyptian policy of the Government would be raised? He also hoped the Prime Minister would be in a position, when the Papers relating to the Ilbert Bill were laid before the House, to state the views of the Government respecting that important matter. He trusted, moreover, that on Monday the Prime Minister would be prepared to state that it was not the intention of the Government to afford special facilities to private Members to bring forward any of the huge number of Liquor Bills which had been introduced. He also wished to know whether the Government would give a day for the discussion of the Congo Treaty, should any Treaty be agreed upon?

MR. CARBUTT remarked, that the affairs of India were generally left over to the end of the Session, and he hoped the Government would afford facilities for resuming the adjourned debate on the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope).

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he wished to complain of the increasing attempts which were being made to dissociate private Members from the active work of legislation. Members were selected by constituencies because they believed them capable of promoting legislation on certain questions; but what opportunities were given them of doing so? If a Member by good luck succeeded in securing Tuesday or Friday for a Motion, the probability was that the Government would seize the morning for their own purposes, and count him out in the evening. If he obtained a place for a Bill on a Wednesday which was not in the Easter Holiday, the Whitsun Holiday, or the Epsom week, he might still find that soon after Midsummer his Wednesday was appropriated to the use of Government. He admitted that individual must give way to public interest; but he thought it hard that individual Members should be treated with injustice and caprice by the Government. He thought that it would have been better if the Government, instead of asking private Members to make a sacrifice on the strength of a statement to be made in the future, had made their statement first, and then asked for the sacrifice.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL complained that the only one of the important Bills which the Government intended to pass that related to Scotland was, the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, and that did not much matter so far as Scotland was concerned, for there were no corrupt practices in that country. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that there would be great disappointment felt in Scotland unless an opportunity was found of forwarding some of the Scotch Bills now before the House.

Mr. WARTON considered there was nothing more discreditable in their proceedings than the way in which year after year the Indian Budget was relegated to the last week of the Session. With regard to the Wednesdays in that House, they were a perfect farce, as a rule, and nine-tenths of the Bills brought forward on that day were perfectly absurd and idiotic. The only useful measure passed during Wednesday this Session was the Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill, to which the Government had given a reluctant assent. He hoped that if private Members agreed not to enforce their rights on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, the Government would not yield to the demand of a few fanatical Radicals to have Saturday Sittings for the purpose of giving them an opportunity of airing their particular crotchets.

Mr. LABOUCHERE trusted that the Prime Minister would stand firm, and would prove a perfect Herod to all those innocents on whose behalf appeals had been addressed to him, not making an exception in favour of any one of them. He would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that the simplest plan would be to take all Tuesdays, all Wednesdays, and all Fridays, and, if there were any pressing legislative difficulty, to have Saturday Sittings also. [An hon. Member: Why not Sunday?] He had no objection. What the country wanted was legislation. What Members wanted was to legislate as speedily as possible, and then comfortably go away to enjoy themselves.

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That Government Orders have precedence, this Evening, of the Notices of Motions and the other Orders of the Day, and that Government Orders have precedence To-morrow.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[Bill 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 2nd July.*]

[THIRTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Illegal Payment, Employment, or Hiring.

Clause 15 (Use of committee room in house for sale of intoxicating liquor to be illegal hiring).

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that before he proceeded to state his reasons in support of the Amendment standing in his name, he thought it desirable that the Committee should receive some explanation from the Attorney General as to the reasons which had induced the Government to place this clause in the Bill. His object in asking for that explanation was solely for the purpose of facilitating the progress of Business. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members opposite appeared to receive that statement with some amount of impatience; but the Committee were entitled to the explanation he asked for; and if it were necessary for the purpose he should feel it his duty to move to report Progress. Although the Amendment he was about to move did not meet all the objections which he entertained to this clause, it did so to a certain extent. The clause appeared to him to contain one of the most extraordinary and novel proposals ever introduced into a Bill—namely, that places where intoxicating liquors were sold should be excluded from being used as committee rooms on the occasions of Parliamentary elections. He could not conceive that there should be any objection to the use of public-houses as committee rooms either within or without the limits of Parliamentary boroughs, and he said it was for the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to justify the clause. He apprehended that the existing law was quite sufficient for any legitimate purposes the Government had in view with regard to the use of public-houses at the time of an election; if there were cases of disorder in houses licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquor the law provided remedies which would meet any case of the kind; because they were able to punish the occupier of the premises by taking away his licence, or by any other mode which the law appointed. He could not understand, on general principles, why this particular class of buildings were selected to be dealt with in the manner proposed, or why it was that they were to be so dealt with only at election time. He pointed out to the Committee that in the case of elections other than Parliamentary elections, these taverns, hotels, and public-houses were the very places resorted to for carrying on the business connected with the election. The hon. and learned Gentleman would probably recollect that the London Tavern and the Charing Cross Hotel, amongst others, were made use of in such cases. If there was a charity school to be advocated, or a fund of any kind to be supported, it was always at institutions of that kind that the meetings were held; and he had never heard, in connection with them, that the fact of intoxicating liquor being sold there had led to any abuse. In his own borough, if there happened to be a meeting called for any public purpose, the premises sought out and used were one of the taverns or hotels within the limits of the borough. Unless the hon. and learned Gentleman could produce some justification of the clause, or state some substantial reasons why licensed premises should not be used as committee rooms on the occasion of elections, he thought the clause ought not to be allowed to remain in the Bill. He passed on to the next point with regard to committee rooms. Candidates would be allowed to have one room for every 500 electors in their constituency; and he would ask, where were they to find those rooms unless in the hotels and other licensed premises? In his own borough he would be entitled under the Bill to have no less than six committee rooms at the next Election; but he was sure that, although no man was better acquainted with the borough than himself, it would be impossible for him to find the requisite accommodation. Looking at this question from another point of view, everyone, including the hon. and learned Attorney General himself, knew what was the usual cost of hiring rooms for committee purposes. Licensed Victuallers, as a rule, had only one price, so that a candidate knew exactly what he had to pay; but under this clause he would be quite in the dark as to the cost of a room suited to his purpose. The Government said—"You are not allowed to use any room which comes within the category of rooms ordinarily used for electoral purposes; we prevent you holding your meetings in them; we have fixed a maximum line of expense which you must confine yourself within, nevertheless you must pay any price which is demanded of you." He said that this was not only an inconvenient rule, but also a very unjust one; because the candidate would be exposed to the necessity of seeking in out-of-the-way places for rooms which he could not get in the borough. Then there was the question of private houses, which in the clause was mixed up with the question of intoxicating drinks; and that was why he appealed to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to give some logical explanation of his reasons for introducing the clause. The restrictions sought to be imposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to him to amount to this—that people should not use any tavern or hotel for electoral purposes, because they might get intoxicated there. But, surely, the same thing might be said in the case of a private house. What was there to prevent people drinking too much on the premises of a private individual, or in a club? But he would not go into that question now. All he wished to do was to point out the inconvenient and illogical results which must follow, if the proposal in the clause were adopted. The hon. and learned Gentleman forbade the use of rooms in hotels and taverns, because liquors were sold there but he had already shown that if the law were carried out there was a legal remedy for everything in the nature of disorder which might take place. Although the clause struck at the business carried on in licensed premises, it would have the effect of protecting coffee taverns and temperance hotels, and, thereby, the honest trader who took out a licence would be placed at a great disadvantage. That was not fair or upright dealing in any way; and he felt sure there must be something at the bottom of it. He said that legislation of the kind proposed was not only pernicious, but humiliating. He was satisfied that the Attorney General himself must have attended committee rooms not only at respectable hotels, but at the public-houses in the borough of Taunton; and, that being so, it was impossible for him to conceive how the hon. and learned Gentleman, after his distinguished career, could come down to that House and kick away the very ladder by which he had ascended to the Treasury Bench. But what was the cause of this zeal on the part of the Government? He believed it was due to a desire to make things pleasant with the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson); they knew there was the temperance vote hanging over, and they wanted to get hold of it. As had been pointed out last night, the hon. and learned Gentleman had never given a vote on the liquor question; and if he had any opinion at all with regard to it he had kept it entirely to himself. His view of the case was that this unjust and un-English-like proposal to shut out a respectable class of men was entirely owing to the desire of the Government to obtain the votes of the Blue Ribbon Army, and perhaps of the Salvation Army also; on no other grounds could he understand this superstitious feeling against entering into those buildings in which liquor was licensed to be sold. His proposal did not go to the very root of the clause; but it would, to a certain extent, raise the principle which it contained; and, therefore, reserving to himself the right of future opposition, he begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 4, after the word "premises," to insert "within the limits of Parliamentary boroughs."—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could assure the Committee that he was not about to follow his right hon. and learned Friend's somewhat discursive speech in all its details; and, although he made it a rule never to enter into any personal matters, he could assure his right hon. and learned Friend that he was entirely mistaken in his opinion with regard to the public-houses and hotels being used for the purpose of election committees in the constituency which he had the honour to represent. Both political Parties were in the habit of holding their committee meetings in the Town Hall and temperance establishments. The clause was framed with the desire to prevent the corrupt practice of treating; and if the right hon. and learned Gentleman asked him for proofs of the necessity of the clause he pointed to the Election Petitions, which would show that there had been a great deal of treating resulting from the transaction of business at elections in public-houses and hotels; and, therefore, he said that if the Committee were earnestly disposed to put a stop to this corrupt practice the clause was fully justified. But the right hon. and learned Member had pointed out that there were other means of corrupting people than by treating; and, in order to overcome that difficulty, he was willing to add, after the word "premises," in line 7, "or any other premises where refreshment shall be sold for consumption on the premises." In making this proposal, which, the Committee would perceive, brought temperance hotels within the clause, he trusted he had been able to do something to meet the objection of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, that exceptional legislation was intended against the Licensed Victuallers.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought the Attorney General, by his proposal, had really increased the strength of the objection which his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Whitehaven had taken to the clause, inasmuch as he had materially enlarged the number of rooms or premises where these committees could not be held. It appeared to him that, throughout the Bill, the Government had considered far too exclusively the circumstances of large towns. It might be perfectly right and proper that committees should not be held in public-houses in towns even of moderate size; but every Member of the Committee would know that there were rural districts in England in which it would be impossible to find for the use of the candidate a committee room of suitable size, unless it were in public-houses, or in the private houses of electors of some position in the district. What would be the effect of this proposal? The houses belonging to private individuals would, no doubt, be readily opened as committee rooms, with or without charge, to the candidate with whose politics the owner agreed; but, just as in the case of the prohibition of hired conveyances, the present restriction would very materially affect the poorer class of candidates. He did not want to look at this question from a point of view favourable to any political Party, but from an impartial one; because he was sure that if they left in the clause anything that was in the nature of injustice they would make the provisions of the Bill unpopular. The Committee had decided that payment for carriages at elections should be an illegal act, and he would point out that that provision could only be carried into effect by very materially increasing the existing number of polling places. Now, for each of those polling places there must be a committee room; but he ventured to say that there would be, in many rural parts of England, places where by no possibility a suitable committee room could be found for the candidate who happened to be politically disagreeable to the principal inhabitants of the district where the election was to be held, except in a public-house, or a very inconvenient one in some small house. That was not a desirable result to be achieved; and he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman, even if he did not approve the Amendment before the Committee, would adopt some wording which would have the effect of relaxing the stringency of the clause in cases where it was impossible to obtain a proper committee room.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, no one would suppose for a moment that the right hon. Gentleman who just spoken would take any Party view of the question. For a long time there had been a grievance felt throughout the country, owing to the large growth of clubs; and now, for the first time, it was proposed by Her Majesty's Government that there should be an equality of legislation between licensed houses and private establishments in which intoxicating liquors were sold. He strongly suggested to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) to withdraw his Amendment; because the point which it raised could, in his opinion, be much better discussed on the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton); and, further, if the Amendment were withdrawn the Committee would be able to proceed to the consideration of the very important alteration of which the Attorney General had given Notice, and which, in his opinion, was deserving of the most serious attention of the Committee, inasmuch as it proceeded on lines of equality and justice.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, before the Question was put to the Committee, he wished to say a few words, because he did not see why boroughs were to be entirely shut out from the use of committee rooms in public-houses. In his own borough it was perfectly impossible to address the constituents in the out-lying districts unless public-houses were availed of in which there were large rooms, such as those generally used by the Oddfellows, Foresters, and other Friendly Societies. He had the honour to represent a large borough, in which it was impossible to conduct a house-to-house canvass; and the only way in which it was possible for a candidate to lay his political views before the electors was to make use of the accommodation offered by public-houses in the various districts. The Attorney General, by this clause of the Bill, and by the restrictions he was about to place on the clubs, entirely cut away from him the possibility of addressing his constituents. He would like to know how they were to meet their constituents, if they were to be debarred from the use of the large rooms which had been constantly used for the purpose of addressing the electors? Where there was a *bond fide* club, which had been kept up by the working class for a long time, and at which they were accustomed to discuss political matters on both sides of the question, he could not see the logic of prohibiting that club room from being used at elections. If the Government intended to carry out this proposal it was equivalent to depriving the constituencies of the right of listening to their Members; because it was impossible to find, in any other buildings than public-houses, rooms sufficiently spacious to contain a large number of electors. He was as anxious as the Attorney General himself to abolish all improper and illegal practices at elections; but this proposal of the Government would have no less effect than to prevent candidates from meeting their constituents, unless suitable rooms capable of containing a large number of persons were provided for them. For these reasons, he trusted the hon. and and learned Gentleman would reconsider the clause with a view to its alteration.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE agreed that there were assembly rooms in many parts of the country which were used by candidates for the purpose of addressing their constituents, and which were in connection with public-houses. But this clause did not touch such cases.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had conclusively proved that it would be impossible to get committee rooms in many parts of the country if the clause remained unaltered. It had been suggested, however, that the necessary accommodation might be found in private houses. He could not conceive a greater incentive to treating than such an alternative; for instance, a candidate might hold his committee in the drawing-room, and it would be a very easy matter to say to the electors—"If you require any refreshment you have only to step into the opposite room; nobody will see you." When they came to the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), he trusted the Attorney General would pay some attention to the fact that it was impossible to obtain committee rooms in many places; and provide that, in the event of there being no suitable room available, the candidate should be allowed to hire one of the usual places through the Returning Officer.

Mr. BROADHURST said, it would be well for the Committee to remember, in the first place, that there had been a great tendency to encourage the use of more committee rooms than were at all necessary, and that a great deal of the discussion then going on was entirely useless, because the committee rooms which some Members were contending for were really not wanted. Having been born in a rural parish, and having had considerable experience in matters of this kind, he believed there was no difficulty whatever in finding the necessary accommodation for electoral purposes wherever it was required. The hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) complained that the Government prohibited the use of public-houses, and that he would not have in consequence an opportunity of addressing his constituents in the out-lying districts of that borough. He thought the hon. Member, quite unconsciously, of course, had exaggerated the effect of the clause. He had himself attended, on one occasion, a meeting at Portsmouth, which was held at a place where he was certain it would be possible to gather together and address, in the course of a fortnight, the whole of the electors of the borough. The fact was, the Attorney General had acted very wisely and sensibly in introducing this provision, which he was sure would meet with the approval of a considerable number of people in the constituencies. That would be the view taken of the endeavour of the hon. and learned Gentleman to put down and prohibit the use of any place for election purposes where intoxicating liquors were sold. No one was surprised that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven should put his foot down for the maintenance of the old tap-room Caucuses; because, when they were abolished, he would probably find very considerable difficulty in carrying on some of those electoral arrangements of which he had, no doubt, had a large experience.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK rose to Order. It appeared to him that the hon. Gentleman opposite was referring to him in terms that were not consistent with Parliamentary usage.

The CHAIRMAN said, he had listened to the observations of the hon. Gentleman, and he was unable to say that they were in any way out of Order.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he did not mean to offer any affront to the right hon. and learned Gentleman. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman had had considerable electioneering experience, and, moreover, expressed himself strongly in favour of the old system of conducting elections in tap-rooms. He thought the Attorney General had taken a distinct step in the right direction; and he hoped that he would not listen to any appeal to recede from the position he had taken up. He did not for a moment expect—and he very much doubted whether the Committee expected—that the Attorney General would be able to satisfy the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven by his concession. It was not the desire of the right hon. and learned Gentleman that committee rooms should be prohibited at licensed houses; but it was his desire that they should be permitted in the future, as in the past, to be associated with the bad beer, and worse tobacco, which had the effect of confusing the electors, and preventing their forming any intelligible idea of the candidate's political opinions.

MR. RITCHIE said, he was glad to hear from the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) that he had not intended to make any reflection on the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven; but, whatever his intention was, he, and other hon. Members on those Benches, certainly understood him to attribute to the right hon. and learned Gentleman an illegal practice. He would only say that the tone of the hon. Member's remarks were not likely to contribute to the progress of the Bill. They were all agreed upon the desirability of altering the law in such a way as would conduce to the purity of election. That was certainly his wish. He could not support the Amendment of his right hon. and learned Friend, because it would introduce a very invidious state of things if they were to allow in counties that which they prohibited in boroughs. It was all very well for his right hon. and learned Friend, who represented a constituency of 19,000 inhabitants, to make that proposal; but in his own constituency, which contained 450,000 inhabitants, it was necessary to work upon totally different lines. Now, the right hon. and learned Gentleman below him had contended that the clause should not apply to counties, because of the difficulty of obtaining in some poor and scattered districts committee rooms of sufficiently large dimensions. But the difficulty which the right hon. and learned Gentleman pointed to as existing in counties was certainly to be met with in his own constituency. In a large number of the polling districts of the Tower Hamlets the houses were all small; and if the use of the large rooms only to be found in public-houses were prohibited, he would certainly be shut out from addressing his committee in any large numbers. Through that a candidate might be unable, at the time of the election, to address any large meeting. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that was not so.] He would give an illustration of a case which would certainly come under the clause. He himself was constantly in the habit of going round and addressing meetings of his committee. In a large borough, like the Tower Hamlets, the committee was composed of an immense number of persons—indeed, as many as could be got to join it—and he was in the habit of going round in the evening to address meetings of the committee. Those meetings were always largely attended, and they were looked upon as stimulating the efforts of the committee; and he could conscientiously say that if he was prohibited from holding them in the large rooms attached to public-houses it would be impossible to hold them at all, as those were the only rooms suitable to the purpose. It was often very essential that the candidate should be able to address his committee on their various duties, and on the necessity of their doing their utmost in the interests of the cause. That was why he objected to the provisions of this clause, and why he could not support the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). That Amendment drew a distinction which ought not to be drawn between counties and boroughs, and he should vote, himself, for the entire omission of the clause.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was surprised to hear the Attorney General say that he intended to treat clubs established in boroughs as if they were low drinking houses, and as if they were otherwise open to the objection which, no doubt, existed to public-houses. In regard to public-houses, he quite admitted that there were serious objections, indeed, to committee meetings being held in them. He had known in his own case that public-houses were often used as committee rooms, and that an opportunity was thereby afforded for giving free drink to persons who visited the committee rooms. Therefore, he went entirely with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General in his desire to put a stop to this abuse; and certainly any sale of drink at a committee room which would degenerate into the giving of drink was a proceeding which they would all wish to avoid. But the hon. and learned Gentleman went beyond that, as he (Mr. Rylands) understood. The Attorney General proposed to extend the provision which he applied to licensed houses to respectable clubs which had been established for political purposes in all the large towns of the country. He could only speak in regard to Liberal Clubs; he knew very little about the Conservative Clubs, but he knew the Liberal Clubs of Lancashire very well. He was intimately connected with them, and he understood all about them in his own borough. In the principal polling districts in his borough there were Liberal Clubs, which had been established, and were supported by a number of highly respectable working men who took an active interest in politics. In two or three cases he believed that drink was sold in the clubs; but, as a rule—and he stated it on the best authority—the amount of drink purchased in the clubs was very slight indeed. The management and conduct of the clubs was in the highest degree respectable. What happened in connection with them? Many of his Liberal friends connected with the several polling districts of the borough were in the habit of meeting, from time to time, at the club, to keep an eye upon the general political interests of the ward. He presumed that his political opponents did the same in their clubs, and it was a perfectly legitimate thing to do. In the Liberal Clubs political discussions were encouraged among the persons connected with the Association. He was sorry that the Attorney General was not paying very much attention to what he was saying, as he was particularly anxious that the hon. and learned Gentleman should receive some information upon these points. He was informing the hon. and learned Gentleman that in Lancashire the proposal contained in this clause would create a very large amount of irritation and annoyance; and he wished the hon. and learned Gentleman to carry in his mind what it was that actually went on amongst the large constituencies of Lancashire. In the different wards of the large Lancashire boroughs the Liberal Party, and no doubt the Conservative Party also, met in their clubs, and at the time of an election those clubs were naturally the centres of the political influence of the respective wards. Then, were they going to shut up these clubs? ["No!"] If the Amendment were adopted, he understood that it would have that effect. What was proposed was, that in these clubs, where drink was only a minor incident in their constitution, no room should be used as a committee room. Well, he contended that that was a monstrous proposition, and that it struck at the political life of the great centres of the population. ["Oh!"] Certainly it did so. He could not account for the desire of the Attorney General to attack these Political Clubs, which, in his (Mr. Rylands's) judgment were most useful. He must say that he thought this proposal ought not to be proceeded with, and he trusted that the Attorney General would withdraw the clause.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought that what he had heard from his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) afforded a good lesson. As long as things were favourable to the Party who sat below the Gangway on the other side of the House, and so long as the penalties only affected that (the Opposition) side of the House, so long were hon. Members opposite anxious that the Bill should go on; but the moment it came to deal with that which he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) held to be a most legitimate thing, whether in regard to one side or the other—namely, all these clubs, which were established in different localities—that moment the hon. Gentleman got up and denounced the clause as one of a highly objectionable nature, and one which ought not to be allowed to pass. They had a Maximum Schedule in the Bill, and he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had been going into far too many details. From the beginning to the end, the hon. and learned Gentleman had attempted to show that the people of this great country were not to be trusted for a moment whenever they came to an election; but that every one of them were more or less absolutely corrupt. The hon. and learned Gentleman was of opinion that nothing in the shape of temptation should be placed in their way, and that they should not have the power of getting a glass of anything to drink, or a mouthful of anything to eat. He wished to call attention to one of the statements which had been made by the hon. and learned Gentleman, because he gathered from it that the hon. and learned Gentleman was absolutely going to prevent any room whatever from being used as a committee room, or for any purpose in connection with an election, because the words of the clause were very strong—

> "Any premises on which the sale by wholesale or retail of any intoxicating liquor is authorized by a licence (whether the licence be for consumption on or off the premises), or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is sold, or any part of any such premises, shall not be used as a committee room for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at an election; and if any person hires or uses any such premises, or any part thereof for a committee room, he shall be guilty of illegal hiring, and the person letting such premises or part, if he knew it was intended to use the same as a committee room, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring."

Consequently, wherever the room might be situated, if drink of any kind was sold on the premises, such room was prohibited from being used at an election time as a committee room. He ventured to say that the words uttered some time ago by his right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) were words that ought not to be passed lightly over. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) knew what the rural districts were, and also what large towns were; and if they were to draw this hard-and-fast line around the candidate, they would place him in a position of the greatest difficulty in regard to obtaining committee rooms at all. The hon. and learned Gentleman, if he knew anything about elections in this country—and it was his bounden duty to make inquiries as to every part of England, so as not to place any candidate in a difficulty as to obtaining committee rooms—if the Attorney General knew anything of such matters, he must know that in the county districts the only places in many localities where there was a room at all was at the back of an inn, where there was usually a large room used for the meeting of Foresters and other kindred Associations. No other room could be obtained at all. He would ask if the hon. and learned Gentleman could tell the Committee where rooms fit for this purpose could be procured on the occasion of an election? If the candidate was a popular man, people would come from long distances to hear what he had to say, and the rooms in which he addressed the electors would be crowded. He must say he thought the Government were carrying this clause a great deal too far. He was in favour of putting down bribery and corruption; but a few good and well-considered clauses would have been quite sufficient, without going so much into petty details. If the hon. and learned Gentleman wished to pass the Bill he must make many concessions in regard to matters that were absolutely necessary.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that the Bill went too far; but the House had assented to the principle, and they were now simply engaged in giving effect to that principle. He thought the alteration proposed to be made in the clause was distinctly in the right direction. It was a just cause of complaint that a person should be placed in an invidious position, and a ban put upon him, because he sold an article which was recognized by the community and the Legislature as a legitimate article of commerce. He thought the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman would make a commendable change. There were clubs which were public-houses in a complete sense; and he thought the proposition of the hon. and learned Gentleman would meet with general acceptance. He thought that the application of the change was misunderstood. He understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that these clubs were not to be used as committee rooms; but a club room might be used for a public meeting. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) said he would not be able, after the clause was passed, to go to a club and address a meeting. He (Mr. Cowen) did not understand the clause to prohibit anything of the kind. There was nothing that would prevent an hon. Member from visiting any club in the borough he represented and making as many speeches as he liked. All the clause prohibited was the establishment of a committee room where the business of the election would be carried on. There was no objection to the hon. Member addressing a meeting in any assembly room he might select. He would be quite as open to do so in the future as he had done in the past; but the clause would prohibit the transaction of the business of an election in clubs as well as in public-houses, where liquor was sold. In that respect, he thought the clause had a tendency to equalize all parties. Hon. Members would be aware that there were two kinds of clubs. There were clubs and clubs. There were clubs of which he did not wish to speak harshly; and, therefore, he would only say that he had no special liking for a Caucus Club.

Mr. H. S. NORTHCOTE wished to ask the Attorney General how such a case as this would stand? In the borough he had the honour to represent (Exeter), a Political Club existed containing a large room for the use of which it was expected that the borough and county Conservative Associations would pay an annual rent, and employ it for a committee room or other similar purposes. Members of the Club had a right to use the room in their individual capacities; and he wished to know if it would be illegal for them to hold meetings at election time in what might be regarded as a committee room? As far as he understood the Attorney General's meaning, the effect of his proposal would be that A, B, and C might not meet together as members of an election committee, but might do so as members of a Political Association.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it was a matter of interpretation. In the case which the hon. Member had put to him, it was certainly intended that the clause should not apply in any way. In answer to the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) and the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), he would only say that they might hold as many meetings as they liked for the purpose of addressing their constituents. The large rooms capable of containing many persons were not the rooms they wanted for committee rooms, and the clause, as it was now worded, would not affect them. The intention of the clause was to prevent the carrying on of the business of the election, from day to day during the time of the election, at a place in which intoxicating liquors were sold. Hon. Members knew very well how the business of an election was conducted in such places.

Mr. RITCHIE asked if it was not competent for a candidate to assemble his committee at a public-house for the purpose of addressing them?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it would be quite within the competence of a candidate for the purpose of addressing them as much as he liked; but if they sent out canvassers from that committee it would be an ordinary committee room, transacting ordinary committee work. Gathering the committee together for the purpose of addressing them would certainly and distinctly not be within the clause. All they had to deal with was the question whether the business of the election should be conducted in a public-house where the means for carrying on these corrupt practices existed, and where temptation might be employed? Hon. Members wished to separate the question of clubs from the question of public-houses. He quite agreed that, in one sense, it was a matter of detail. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said there were altogether too many details in the Bill; but this was rather a serious and important question. The committee had been told that the matter would interfere with the whole basis of political life; but surely it was a very simple question, although a serious and important one, to say whether a committee room should be held at a public-house or not. He thought they might separate the question of a committee room being held in a public-house from the question of Political Clubs; and he would endeavour, if it was the wish of the Committee, to direct his attention to this matter, in order to see whether hereafter it might not be possible to include a provision in the Bill which should separate the club from the public-house.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, the question was, no doubt, a very important one, especially if it was taken in conjunction with a subsequent Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord G. Hamilton), which provided that the premises of any public elementary school in receipt of an annual Parliamentary grant should not be used as a committee room. It would become a serious matter, therefore, if there were no possibility of taking a club room for such a purpose. In regard to the question as it applied to large constituencies, he ventured to think that in large counties, like North-East Lancashire, North Lancashire, and Cumberland, if they excluded the possibility of taking rooms in a public house, and using them for committee rooms, there would be very great difficulty in obtaining rooms at all. He certainly failed to see how, in many cases, it would be possible to find a room; and when they came to consider the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex he should certainly support it. He should have a great deal to say bye and bye in regard to the question of clubs; but, in deference to the suggestion which had just been made by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, that they should postpone the consideration of that question now, he would defer those remarks for the present.

MR. CALLAN said, he thought the sop which the Attorney General had thrown out to the Temperance Party would before long be found a very disagreeable matter for digestion. No doubt, the hon. and learned Gentleman had yielded to the representation of some of the purists of the House with reference to the exclusion of public-houses. He thought a favourable addition would be made to the clause if it proposed to include coffee-houses, because in many respects they were much more objectionable than public-houses, and bore a worse character. He certainly thought the more they were brought under supervision, not only during elections, but at all other times, the better it would be for the public morality. It was suggested that rooms would be obtainable in every constituency without having regard to the public-house. Now, he had had the honour of assisting to conduct the first election of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), in 1874. At that time he had charge of the Murrough district, and there was not a single house in the district except the priest's, the Protestant minister's, the schoolmaster's, and the public-house. He had addressed a meeting of 200 electors from the window of the public-house, and he had used the tap-room as a committee room. ["Oh!"] Yes; it was quite true that he did so, and he was made welcome to it without payment. He thought there were very few of the temperance advocates who would give the use of a coffee shop without requiring payment for it. In two places in his own county, he had had no other house to go to than the public-house. There was no other house in the parish except the police barracks, the Protestant and Catholic clergymen's residences, the house of the National schoolmaster, and one or two private houses. Therefore, if they carried this clause so far as Ireland was concerned, they would altogether prevent a candidate from addressing his constituents in certain remote districts. Legislation of this kind might be all very well in a Parliamentary borough where there were plenty of large public buildings; but in the country districts of Ireland such places were not to be found. The clause said—

> "Such premises shall not be used as a committee room for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at an election, and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof for a committee room he shall be guilty of illegal hiring."

His objection would be largely removed if the Attorney General would add some words to carry out the suggestion of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen), to which he understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to assent—namely, that the clause should only apply to a public-house which was used from day to day as a committee room. If the clause were passed in its present shape, and a case were brought before the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, he should like to know how Chief Justice Morris would deal with an unfortunate candidate who had used a room in a public-house once a-week for a month? High as the character of the Attorney General was as a lawyer, his remarks would not form the slightest guide to an Irish Judge in deciding what came under the operation of the clause. If anyone hired a room in one of these public-houses he would be guilty of illegal hiring, and would subject himself to the penalties imposed for illegal practices. Nobody who employed a public-house as a committee room, whether he was a Member of Parliament, or a candidate, or an election agent, would be knowingly guilty of the offence of illegal employment. But what was a committee room? If the Attorney General would define what a committee room was a great deal of the difficulty would be removed. It had been his fate to contest both a borough and a county, and in each case he had a bed room and a sitting room at an hotel, and he was in the habit of using the sitting room as a committee room. His friends went to him there, discussed confidentially with him what the state of the district was, what promises had been given, who were reliable and who were doubtful, and who ought to be called upon. That was simply committee work; and under this clause the room in which it took place would be held to be a committee room. But was he to be disqualified because half-a-dozen friends went to his sitting room at the hotel and transacted electioneering work there? If a Petition were presented against him he would be compelled to admit that he went over the election books, and that he used the room in every sense as a confidential committee room. If he wanted to address the electors he was obliged to address them from the windows of a public-house; and when he had finished addressing them he naturally went down stairs and mixed among them to ascertain what the state of feeling was. Probably he arranged who was to canvass the district, and because those things happened there, was the room to be called a committee room? If the Attorney General would put words into the clause, or into the Bill, showing that if a man made use of a room in a public-house in order to meet his friends, ascertain their views, and arrange for canvassing the district, the room he used was not to be considered a committee room, then his objections would be removed.

Mr. E. STANHOPE desired to point out to the Attorney General that, so far from meeting the objection which had been raised by his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), he had introduced a fresh difficulty into the matter. His right hon. and learned Friend had pointed out, in regard to the country districts, how difficult it was to obtain a room. He could fully support what his right hon. and learned Friend had said, and he believed the same difficulty was felt even in the case of boroughs, and that it would be extremely difficult to get any other place for a committee room in the centre of a polling district than a public-house. If the public-house was prohibited they would have no alternative but to borrow or hire a room in the house of some elector living in the village—he was speaking now of county elections—and that would be open to the gravest objection. If they could not go to the public-house, they would have no other means of obtaining a committee room left open to them. In most county constituencies a candidate desired to meet his committee in each polling district before the day of election, in order that he might address them, and discuss with them the proper steps to be taken in conducting the contest, and in many cases, if the candidate was prohibited from engaging, for that purpose, a room in a public-house, he would have no means of addressing his committee at all. The Attorney General said the candidate might hire a room in an inn for that purpose, and that he might hold a meeting in that room; but he did not think that the hon. and learned Gentleman at all met the objections of his right hon. and learned Friend. On the contrary, it threw a fresh difficulty in the way.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, he thought the experience the House had had of the Bill proved that every clause contained a pitfall for the candidate, and that the present clause surpassed in ingenuity all the other traps contained in the preceding clauses. The Attorney General told them that they might use a room in a public-house for the purpose of holding a meeting; but if at that meeting any unwary man who happened to be present took out his canvassing book and referred to the events of the past two hours, or was induced to anticipate a canvass two hours later, that act would constitute the room a committee room under the Act. A clause of that sort was, in his opinion, absolutely absurd. Any unscrupulous opponent might attend a meeting ostensibly for the purpose of hearing a speech, and he might induce an unwary elector to take out his canvassing book and make a communication to the candidate for the purpose of giving information, in consequence of which the candidate might be unseated for using a public-house as a committee room. He would also point out to the Attorney General that this clause would contribute very materially towards increasing the expenses of an election. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) had remarked that in a large borough constituency like his, and also like that which he (Baron Henry De Worms) represented, it was the custom on both sides to address meetings of the electors in the committee rooms. Of course, they were obliged to hire rooms for those meetings, and if they were obliged to obtain others for committee rooms, it would add a considerable item to the expense. It was not now necessary to obtain special rooms for the purpose of holding a meeting; but they were able to make use of the committee rooms. If, however, this clause passed in its present shape, the candidate would have to incur the additional expense of engaging separate rooms for addressing public meetings. He should be glad to know on what principle the Attorney General proposed to exclude the use of committee rooms for that purpose? He understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that it was for the purpose of preventing treating; but he (Baron Henry De Worms) wished to know whether the facilities for treating would not be exactly the same in the case of holding a meeting in a public-house, as they would be in that of men sitting round a table in a public-house for the purpose of comparing notes in reference to the canvass? Of course, it might be alleged that the meeting only lasted one evening, whereas the work of a committee would go on for many days; but if it was argued that it was improper to have a committee room at a public-house because it would promote the practice of treating, then that argument was certainly applicable to the holding of a committee in a public-house for any purpose whatever. The hon. and learned Member now went further, and said that they should neither hold a meeting at a public-house nor at a club—acting on the principle of two wrongs making one right. If the hon. and learned Gentleman admitted the principle of the right of a candidate to address the constituents in a room attached to a public-house, he (Baron Henry De Worms) could not understand on what principle the hon. and learned Gentleman could exclude the use of a room at a public-house for any purpose whatever. He knew that he might be told that a committee sitting permanently in a public-house would produce drinking; and that any sort of Political Club, where drinking was allowed, ought to be placed under the same category as a public-house. He thought that at least a clause ought to be introduced specifying that particular rooms might or might not be used for the purpose of holding a meeting; that in such rooms drink might not be supplied, but the number of glasses of water which each speaker might drink should be fully set out in the Bill. They were arriving now at a point where they were making the restrictions under the Bill so severe that they would always be evaded; and they were so absurd that the friends of the candidates, on both sides, would be wary before they attempted to put the provisions of the Act in force, because they would be fully acquainted with the absurd stringency of the punishment which would be inflicted on one side or the other in the event of a person being found guilty under the Act. He was not in favour of anything like corrupt practices or treating; but he had had some experience in connection with contested elections, and he was satisfied that a clause of this sort would be utterly absurd, arbitrary, and unworkable.

MR. ONSLOW said, he had an Amendment later down upon the Paper somewhat on the lines of the suggestion of the Attorney General. He thought the Committee would agree that, as far as the statement of the Attorney General went, it greatly modified the clause. At the same time, when the proper moment arrived, he should vote for the rejection of the clause altogether, because he believed that it was the most monstrous proposition he had ever heard; that it would prove utterly unworkable; and that it was not only a pitfall to the candidate himself, but a pitfall to every member of his committee. Where was a candidate to go during an election? If he went to a public-house, the Attorney General ruled that it would be illegal for six or seven of his committee to go there and compare the day's work. Surely that was a thing that was constantly done, and must be done, in the conduct of an election. He had done it himself over and over again; and he ventured to say that there had been no illegal practices resorted to, so far as his knowledge went. Certainly the gentlemen he had met on such occasions never treated him to anything, nor had he ever treated them. Under the provisions of the present Bill, the working men were treated as if they were perfect children. They would not know where to go, or what to do, or how they were to carry on the election. He should not vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton), who proposed to exclude a church or chapel registered or licensed for the performance of public worship from being used as a committee room, because he thought those were the very places where a farce of this kind ought to be enacted, in order to show the solemn character of an election proceeding after the passing of the Bill. He presumed that it was intended in future to exclude places such as the Westminster Palace Hotel from being used for the purposes of a committee room. He thought it was absurd to say that a candidate should not have a committee there, or in some of the old county hotels. He believed, if this clause were passed as it stood, that there would be great difficulty, not only in the rural districts, but in the boroughs as well, in obtaining committee rooms. All he said was this—that if they did eliminate public-houses, they ought to eliminate other places where refreshments of any kind were sold. They ought not to hold a committee room over a butcher's or a baker's shop, because he believed an enormous amount of treating would take place at these shops—much more than in public-houses. The clause was utterly absurd and utterly unworkable; and how the Attorney General, with all his experience of elections, could propose it, he could not conceive.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER desired to say a word in regard to this clause, because he believed the constituency he had the honour to represent differed to a very considerable extent from that of any other Parliamentary borough or city, except, perhaps, the City of Westminster, which was very much in the same position. In the City of London the rent of rooms was simply enormous, and he did not see how a candidate was to conduct an election in conformity with the provisions of the Bill unless some special arrangement was made to allow him to hire committee rooms. He was disposed generally to be favourable to the proposition of the Attorney General that committee rooms should not be hired in public-houses; but, at the same time, the hon. and learned Gentleman must bear in mind that while the great object of this Bill was to diminish expense, this particular proposal must necessarily increase the cost of elections in large constituencies. Therefore, it was a proposal that could scarcely be adopted. A publican would lend a candidate his room for a committee room almost for nothing. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members laughed; but he thought he was stating a well-known fact, and he might add that the publican did so for this reason. Quite independent of any improper proceeding, or of any treating or corruption, it brought people to the publican's house. Such people wanted refreshments, but they paid for them out of their own pockets. It was, consequently, worth while for the publican to let the candidate have a committee room for a very small sum. That being the case, although he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) was disposed to think the proposition otherwise a good one, it was undoubtedly a proposition to increase the expense of elections. Speaking of his own constituency, it would affect them probably more than any other, because the expense of engaging committee rooms would be simply enormous, and he would ask the consideration of the learned Attorney General to that point. The rent of a committee room in Cheapside, for instance, would be a very different item from the rent of one in Taunton. Probably he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) would have to pay 20 times as much as the Attorney General; and, under those circumstances, he felt that it was a matter which required to be very carefully considered, because, although he admitted that it was a good proposition not to have committee rooms in public-houses, the proposal, if carried out, would tend largely to increase the expense of elections.

Mr. WARTON remarked, that one of the most irritating things in connection with this Bill was the cool way in which the Attorney General pooh-poohed facts that were undisputed, relying upon the support of the majority behind him, The hon. and learned Gentleman could say nothing, but he was ready to deny anything. He (Mr. Warton) would, however, make an appeal from the Attorney General as a Member of the Government to the Attorney General as a lawyer. The hon. and learned Gentleman was a distinguished advocate, and knew very well how to regard evidence in a Court of Justice. He would, therefore, ask the hon. and learned Gentleman how, supposing six hon. Members—the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), the right hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), and the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) — how, supposing all those witnesses came into Court before the Attorney General, and told him, as a matter of fact, that in their respective constituencies committee rooms could not be obtained except at a public-house, he would receive their evidence? Would he not at once say that he could not resist the evidence? Undoubtedly he would, because in a Court of Justice he would be guided by common sense; whereas in that House he allowed himself to be led away by the feeling of the majority behind him. The scheme proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman had been shown to be utterly impracticable, both in counties and boroughs. It was all very well for the Attorney General to sneer at the right hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven; but that did not answer the fact stated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, that in his constituency he would be unable to obtain a committee room. Sneers and jeers were not argument or evidence; and the hon. and learned Gentleman was driven to something worse than legal subtleties in order to make distinctions in which he even surpassed himself. The hon. and learned Gentleman said—"You may address your committee in any room you like; but it does not become your committee room." He (Mr. Warton) certainly felt inclined to take the Attorney General at his word, and to advise that on every occasion when a room in a public-house was so used, some such notice as this should be put up:—"*Nota bene*—I intend to address my committee repeatedly in this room; but it is not my committee room." He did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman would sanction such nonsense in a Court of Justice; he only sanctioned it while sitting on the Treasury Bench. He (Mr. Warton) entirely saw through the design of the hon. and learned Gentleman in this particular case. He was holding with the hare and hunting with the hounds. The hon. and learned Gentleman desired to strike a blow at the Licensed Victuallers. He disliked and hated them; and this clause was drawn, first, to do injury to respectable traders in the country, who, although they carried on their business under legal restrictions, were a respectable and an honourable set of men. In the next place, the hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to reject the clubs; but, in consequence of suggesting that no committee rooms should be allowed to be held in a club in which intoxicating drinks were sold, the hon. and learned Gentleman found himself subjected to a terrific onslaught from the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who told him that if he took away the use of the club rooms he would hear of the matter again from Lancashire. He (Mr. Warton) asked the Attorney General to have sufficient good sense to dismiss from the Bill these ridiculous clauses, which would only add to the expense of elections, and would produce no good effect whatever. The laws against treating were already sufficiently severe, and it was all nonsense to say that they would be promoting treating by permitting a committee room to be held in a public-house. Were they to have two classes of committee rooms at a greatly increased cost—one outside a public-house, and another in a public-house, where a candidate might address a meeting of his committee? He entreated the Attorney General to get rid of the two inconsistencies which disfigured the Bill, one of which laid down minute and vexatious principles, and threw an undeserved imputation upon one of the most respectable trades in the country, while the other would cause candidates to run imminent risk of exceeding the maximum scale of expenses allowed under the Act.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he had no wish to prolong the discussion; but the remarks which had been made by the Attorney General in answer to his observations must not be passed over without notice. He had certainly made a complaint that the clause would prevent a candidate from addressing a meeting of his committee; but he understood now that if he hired rooms in a public-house, for the purpose of addressing a meeting of a committee, it would be legal. He wished to know if the hon. and learned Gentleman had considered the full significance of that fact? They had passed clauses of the Bill already saying that the candidate should only have a certain number of committee rooms, and they had passed a clause that he was not to pay for the display of bills. He could understand why he should not pay for the display of bills, and why he should only have a certain number of committee rooms; but now it was to be open to the candidate to engage rooms in every public-house of the borough in addition to his committee rooms, in which to hold meetings of the committee for the purpose of addressing them, and he might be able to placard the whole of those public-houses with bills convening the meetings. The consequence would be, if the suggestions of the Attorney General were accepted, that the provisions they had already passed, in regard to the display of bills and the limitation of committee rooms, would altogether be set aside.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he wished to put a question to the Attorney General. The hon. and learned Gentleman had informed the Committee that the holding of meetings in a public-house would not be against the clause. If that was the conviction of the hon. and learned Gentleman, it would be as well to insert words to that effect in the clause; because, although the hon. and learned Gentleman might hold that opinion, it did not follow that an Election Judge would take the same view as the Attorney General. At the present moment, if a candidate hired a large room in a public-house for meetings, it was usual to give him the use of a back room for the purpose of a committee room for nothing. The present proposal would, therefore, add to the election expenses of the candidate; because, instead of having a committee room for nothing, he would have to pay for the use of it, and also for the large room, which it would be necessary to hire for the purpose of addressing meetings of the committee. In the borough of Portsmouth there were about 20,000 electors. By the Schedule attached to the Bill, he would be allowed to have a committee room for every 500 voters, which would give 40 rooms altogether. But at the last election there were, as a matter of fact, 32 districts and 32 committee rooms, and now in future it would be necessary to have 40. He would have to bear the expense of those committee rooms, and beyond that the expense of rooms for holding meetings. Those requirements would add materially to the expense of an election, and the cost would be still heavier, if he was not allowed to make use of the clubs which existed at this moment, and which had been created for political purposes. They were not spurious, but real and legitimate clubs, in which political discussions were already carried on. He thought the Attorney General would facilitate matters a good deal, if he were to insert in the clause words which would govern the decision of the Judge, and which would provide that the holding of a committee at a public-house would not be against the principle of the clause. But as the effect of the clause would be materially to increase the expense of elections, he would suggest that the best way would be to withdraw the clause altogether.

Mr. LEWIS observed, that little as he attempted to modify any detail of the Bill under which the candidate would incur expense, the Attorney General, by this clause, proposed to do away with the only means a candidate possessed, in most localities, and especially in country districts, of holding meetings and engaging committee rooms. As a rule, in rural districts, the only place which candidates had at their command was the tavern of the village, or small country town. The hon. and learned Attorney General proposed to shut that up. If the Committee would turn to Clause 46, they would see how much further this annihilation of the ordinary means of providing a committee room was carried by the Bill. By Clause 46 it was provided that no part of any premises used by the Returning Officer for a polling station at an election should be used as a committee room for a candidate at that election. Then, what would be the effect in a small country town? There might be in a village or country town, besides the public-house, some room or institution appropriated for public purposes; but that would be secured by the Returning Officer for the purpose of taking the poll. The tavern would be closed, which but for this clause might be resorted to by the candidate, and used as a committee room; while Clause 46 enacted that—

> "The same part of any premises, or different parts of the same premises, shall not be used on the day of the poll at an election for a polling station and also for a committee room for a candidate at that election."

No doubt he would be told that the limitation only applied to the day of polling; but that was the day when it was wanted most, and when the candidate desired to concentrate all his efforts. Perhaps the Committee would follow him a step further, and look at the next provision in Clause 46. Sub-section 2 said—

> "If any person uses any premises or any part thereof for a committee room in contravention of this section, or hires the same on behalf of a candidate at an election, when he knows or has reasonable cause to believe that part of such premises has been engaged or will be required by the Returning Officer for use as a polling station at the election, he shall be deemed to be guilty of illegal hiring."

So that a man required to be possessed of the gift of prophecy, in order, among other things, that he might escape the penalties of the Bill. He knew that it was perfectly absurd for him to say anything further. He was sorry to say that many hon. Members seemed to take delight in providing means of embarrassment for candidates on the day of election. The idea that the Bill would decrease the expenses of an election was most prominent; but this clause, instead of narrowing the expenses, increased them. He had no wish to defend the interests of the Licensed Victuallers. He did not look upon the matter from that point of view at all. He did not look at it from the electioneering agent's point of view, or from the publican's point of view; but from the beginning to the end he had looked upon the Bill in reference to the interests of the candidate, the influence and effect it would have upon him, and the dangers with which it was surrounding him. This clause was only one of those curious fetters forged by the Attorney General for the purpose of binding hand and foot an unfortunate candidate, and sending him to the poll in a distressed and embarrassed state of mind. What was a candidate for the City of London and other Metropolitan boroughs to do? Every public building would be closed against him. The Westminster Palace Hotel, in the City of Westminster, the Cannon Street Hotel, and all the old-fashioned taverns, formerly available, would be excluded from his use. Where was he to go? He would have to get an unoccupied house in a back street if he could find one. And how much would he have to pay for the use of a place of that kind for a month? It would be a very different matter if it were proposed to take the place for a year or seven years; but to let it for a month might cause a loss of the chance of letting it permanently; and, therefore, the owner would refuse to let it unless the candidate agreed to give him some £20 or £50. That was no fancy idea; but anybody who was acquainted with the City of London would know that it was likely to occur. Those who supported the Bill in all its intensity were setting up a sort of idol, to which they proposed to bow the knee at all hazards. Purity of election was their cry. He had no objection to purity of election; but they proposed to surround the candidate with all sorts of fences which were not really defences, and then to say to him, amid all these difficulties—"You must conduct your election with the utmost purity." It was nothing but playing with the difficulty which stared them in the face. He would take his own case. Whenever he was engaged in a contest in the City of Londonderry he stayed at the head hotel in that city. His friends called to see him there; the canvass books were on the table; they called to tell him they had been to see so-and-so to see which way he was going to vote. He was most happy to see them, and to talk over the result of their labours in a most friendly way. But could there be any doubt, after this clause was passed, that the room in which this took place might be decided to be a committee room? Judges would be found eager, and even greedy, to extend the law, and say that it was an offence. Hon. Members, who never intended to stand for a constituency again, could shape the clause as they liked, because they would not feel the effect of it. But those who had hopes of a future Parliamentary life wanted to see how they could practically work an election. He hoped the Committee would not part with the clause until they had exhausted every effort to make it a sensible and a working clause, not in the interests of the publicans, for whom he did not care one jot, or in the interests of any voter, but in the interests and for the safety and protection of the candidate.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he entirely agreed with the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) in the hope he had expressed, that the Committee would not part with the clause until they had made it a sensible and a working clause; and he, therefore, thought they had better direct their efforts to that object. The hon. Member had referred to Clause 46. But he (the Attorney General) would remind the Committee that that clause was open to amendment when it was reached, if the Committee thought fit to amend it. It was said that the publicans would let candidates at election times have rooms cheaper in their houses than they could be obtained elsewhere, and that, in some cases, they would let the candidate have a large room for nothing. Why was that? It was on account of the trade that went on there; it was because, at an election time, an abnormal amount of drinking went on at public-houses. There was generally a great congregation of people there, many of whom were electors and about to vote; the excitement in reference to the election was very great; and it was, therefore, advisable that committee rooms should not be held in such premises.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL remarked, that the people paid for their own drink.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was doubtful whether they always paid for it, and he should like to know what guarantee the noble Lord had that they did pay for it? He believed it was a pretty well-known fact that the publicans allowed persons at election time to consume drink pretty freely without paying for it, and the candidate not unfrequently had long scores brought against him after the election was over. It was quite certain that many Members of the Committee had applications made to them after an election in regard to the consumption of drink which had taken place on particular premises, and at the instance of persons who were supposed to have had authority to order it, the drink itself having been consumed by electors. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had pointed out what a danger it would be in country places if persons went to the committee room and the least hospitality was displayed towards them. The danger would be greatly increased if the committee room was situated in a public-house; and he was afraid that in many cases the public-house would become, as a matter of fact, an open house with all its temptations. He knew there were many hon. Members who differed from that view; but he trusted that the discussion would not be prolonged, and he earnestly appealed to the Committee to consider whether the time had not now arrived when they ought to come to some decision in regard to the principle of the clause.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not think that any time had been lost, because they had been practically discussing all the Amendments which had been proposed to the clause; and, in regard to a clause of this kind, long experience convinced him that a general discussion in the first instance cleared the air to a great degree; and that, as a matter of fact, no time was, in reality, lost. The Attorney General said that economy and purity of election could not be promoted by the clause. Now, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) did not think that economy would be promoted by it, because candidates would find it very much more difficult in a great many places to obtain rooms from private persons, who had not been in the habit of letting out such rooms, than in a public-house. Then, as to purity of election, the hon. and learned Gentleman stated, quite properly, that under the clause as many meetings might be held in public-houses as the candidate liked; but there must be no committee meeting there. A candidate might meet his committee and address them at a public-house; but he must not have a regular committee room there. Now, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was very much afraid that that was a trap, not intentionally so; but he feared that it might become one. If a candidate was in the habit of going about from public-house to public-house to make speeches, of meeting his committee, of seeing them before he went in to deliver his address, and then of seeing them again when he came out, the room in which those things took place would be held to be a committee room, and there would be great danger of overstepping the law. If they were to retain the clause, there ought to be a definition of what a committee room was, or otherwise the candidate would be over and over again caught in a trap. It would be quite natural when he was going to make a speech for the canvassers to get up and show their books; and, in that case, the Election Judges would hold that it was a committee room, and an illegal practice, because it was in excess of the number of committee rooms authorized under the Act, and that it had been paid for, for the purpose of holding a meeting. He was of opinion that far greater disadvantage would be reaped from the clause than advantage; and he hoped, before the discussion closed, that the Attorney General would be able to see his way to amend the clause very materially, or to withdraw it altogether.

MR. GORST said, he had risen several times in order to try and save the time of the Committee by suggesting to the Attorney General why a debate should not take place, and why it would be better to withdraw the clause. It must be quite clear to the Attorney General that the clause did not prohibit the hiring of any number of rooms for the purposes of the election; it only prohibited the use of rooms when they were hired as committee rooms. He had noticed, in the speeches of some of the right hon. Gentlemen who had spoken from the Front Opposition Benches, an assertion that committee rooms must be had for the work of the election, and that they could not be dispensed with. The right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), took that view of the question, believing that committee rooms were of the greatest possible assistance in the conduct of an election; and being willing, as usual, to throw over the boroughs whenever they thought it expedient to do so, they were perfectly ready to prohibit the use of them in boroughs, as long as they might be retained in counties. Perhaps those right hon. Gentlemen would allow him to tell them that they were entirely mistaken. He believed they had never been engaged in a contested election at all, and he did not think they knew anything about an election contest. As a matter of fact, nothing was more useless in an election contest than a committee room, with the exception of a central room. What was called a district committee room was absolutely useless. Such rooms were spread all over a borough, and no work was done in them at all; they were merely rooms hired for the purpose of feeing the publicans who owned them, and as a means of spending money in the borough. Would this clause stop that practice at all? All it forbade was the use of the committee room; but there was no prohibition against the candidate hiring as many of these rooms as he liked all over the borough, whether at public-houses or not. It would not matter as long as they were not used for the purpose of committee rooms. Now, he would like to ask the Attorney General what was meant by the term "using a room for the purpose of a committee room?" Suppose he (Mr. Gorst) hired a room in a public-house to meet his constituents, what would make it a committee room? He believed that people would go into it, would sit in it of an evening, would smoke their pipes there, and would call for something to drink; perhaps they would not always pay for it themselves, but it would be paid for by others, whose motives it would be for the Election Judges to find out. Well, what would make that room a committee room? Because, whatever it was, they might depend upon it that particular thing would never be done. If it was the use of pen, ink, and paper which constituted the room a committee room, very good care would be taken that no pen, ink, or paper ever went into it; if sitting around a table constituted a committee room, they would take care that the people who went there sat against the walls. Whatever performance constituted the use of a committee room that performance would be avoided, and there would be nothing to prevent a room being hired and drinking going on, unless this clause went a great deal further, and prohibited the hiring of more than a certain number of rooms for any purpose whatever. In that case it would be said to be an interference with the liberty of a candidate in addressing his constituents. Unless the hon. and learned Attorney General was prepared to carry the clause as far as that, he did not see what the good of the clause was. It would prohibit something which the candidate had a perfect right to do, and would leave quite open that which they desired to suppress—namely, the possibility of opening a number of rooms all over the constituency.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the Attorney General had made an appeal to the Committee not to protract the discussion, and he (Mr. Bentinck) would take the opportunity of stating the course he intended to pursue. He was bound to say that the discussion which had taken place had not satisfied him at all. He apologised to the hon. and learned Gentleman if any remark had fallen from him which the hon. and learned Gentleman considered to be of a personal character. He had not had the slightest intention of saying anything in the least degree disagreeable; and when he had alluded to the borough of Taunton he had only stated what happened during his own time—the time he represented the borough. It was always his practice to stay at one of the houses of entertainment in the borough—namely, an hotel. His right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had referred to a candidate living at one of these houses of public entertainment, and being waited upon by a committee, and he said that the candidate might, in consequence, find himself in a somewhat unpleasant position. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) hoped the Government would withdraw the clause, and, if necessary, bring up something new. At all events, it was quite certain that the suggestion of his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire ought to be followed, and that a positive definition should be introduced into the Bill as to what a committee room was. What he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) proposed to do in this case was to withdraw the Amendment at present, because he thought that it might be more conveniently moved at the end of the clause. That was the suggestion which had been made by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold), and it was one which he believed met with general support, and was the best course that could be adopted. Therefore, if the Committee would give its assent, he would adopt that suggestion. He had only one other observation to make, and it was in reference to the remarks which had been made by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). The hon. Member seemed to be very angry with him (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), and had made some strong observations; but he was bound to say that he thought the hon. member had hit out rather wildly. The hon. Member talked of his (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) being connected with a Caucus, and having to do with the distribution of bad tobacco and sour beer. Now, as a matter of fact, he never was a member of any Caucus; and as to bad tobacco and beer, he thought any hon. Member whose acquaintance he had the honour of enjoying would know that it had not been his practice to supply his friends with such articles; but, on the contrary, the best that could be procured for money. In regard to his election experience, the hon. Member showed a want of knowledge which he might easily have remedied by referring to the ordinary channels of communication. The hon. Member had spoken in terms of reprobation of the practices indulged in at his (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) elections; but he could assure the hon. Member that the usual practice in connection with his elections was for him to be returned without any opposition at all. He really thought that the hon. Member must for a moment have fancied himself at a Trade Conference, where whenever he had a disagreeable opponent to deal with who was likely to occasion trouble he had him turned out. He did not think the hon. Member was likely to turn him (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) out, and he was not in the least afraid of anything the hon. Member could say.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, that before the Amendment was withdrawn, he wished to enter a protest against the statement of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), that committee rooms were absolutely unnecessary. Of course, he was unable to say what the case was in regard to the borough represented by the hon. and learned Gentleman; but he could speak for a much larger borough—namely, the one which he himself represented (Greenwich), and which was 13 square miles in extent. In that case, as in that of the large constituency of the Tower Hamlets, represented by his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Ritchie), committee rooms were absolutely necessary. One committee room in the centre of the district would be perfectly useless. He should like to call the attention of the Attorney General for one moment to a point upon which he wished to elicit from the hon. and learned Gentleman a clear statement—namely, whether or not they were to understand that although the number of committee rooms was limited by the previous clause, the number of rooms in which a candidate could hold meetings of his committee for the purpose of addressing them was unlimited? This was a very important matter. He was quite certain that the Attorney General had no wish to provide traps for the unwary to fall into; but unless some further explanation was given, the result would be that a candidate, although acting in perfect good faith, would inevitably fall into the pit provided for him by this clause.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he was of opinion that if the manner in which the clause dealt with committee rooms was correctly stated by the Attorney General, the provision itself was perfectly worthless. The object of the clause, as he understood it, was to put down treating at an election; but if there was any one place where treating would take place to a large extent, it was the place where the clerks made out their canvass books, to enable the election to be carried on. According to the doctrine of the Attorney General, meetings might take place in public-houses, the candidate might call the committee together, hold communication with them publicly, and then privately give every facility for treating to any extent. Now, he (Mr. Biggar) was no advocate for treating the electors. Nothing could be more hazardous than for the candidate to have drinking going on among his committee and paid *employés;* but unless the principle of this clause was very much altered, he did not see how that evil was to be avoided. He believed that the most sensible thing would be for the Committee to ignore the clause altogether. If the clause was intended to have any practical effect, it should prohibit the meeting of electors in a public-house, and the use of the public-house, or any other place where drink was consumed, altogether. If any other course were taken the candidate would simply hire a room, post up a placard to say "this is my committee room," and then the principal part of his supporters would go to a neighbouring public-house, and drink there just as much as if the committee room were actually in the public-house itself; and as far as the consumption of drink was concerned, the provision inserted in the Bill would have no practical effect whatever. Unless the clause were made much more stringent, he thought it would be just as well for the Attorney General to withdraw it altogether.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he thought there was a very simple answer to the point which had been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms). His hon. Friend asked if he was to understand from the Attorney General that a candidate could hire as many rooms as he pleased for holding public meetings, provided they were not used as committee rooms? Now, if his hon. Friend would look at the Schedule he would find that Part II. showed the legal expenses of a candidate, in addition to the expenses under Part I., and one of those items was the expense of holding public meetings. Then, if he went on to Part IV. of the Schedule, he would find that the maximum scale for boroughs, where the number of members on the register did not exceed 2,000, was £350; where it did exceed 2,000, the maximum amount was £380, with an additional £30 for every 1,000 electors above 2,000. If the candidate wished to spend £350 in holding public meetings, he could do so in a constituency which did not exceed 2,000; and in a constituency exceeding that number he could go to the extent of £380, with an additional £30 for every 1,000 above 2,000.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he thought it was desirable that the Attorney General should give some kind of explanation in answer to the question which he had put, and which he considered to be a very important one.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had answered it already.

Mr. RITCHIE begged the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon; he had not addressed himself to the point at all. Clause 6 made it an illegal practice to pay money on account of any committee room in excess of the number allowed by the first Schedule of the Act. The hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that a candidate might hire a room in a public-house for the purpose of addressing a meeting of his committee; but that would not, of necessity, become a committee room, and the point, therefore, was this—that while the Schedule limited the number of committee rooms, the hon. and learned Gentleman was practically doing away with that limit by allowing the candidate to engage a room in every public-house in the borough for the purpose of addressing a meeting of his committee. The noble Viscount the Member for South Wiltshire (Viscount Folkestone) said the expenditure was controlled by the maximum set forth in the Schedule, and that was just what he (Mr. Ritchie) complained of. In addition to fixing a maximum, they were limiting the number of committee rooms, and yet were abolishing that limitation by saying that the candidate might hire a room in every public-house in the place for the purpose of addressing his committee. He wanted to know how the Attorney General intended to meet that point?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was afraid that he must intrude himself upon the attention of the Committee once more, or otherwise he might appear to be discourteous to the hon. Member who compelled him to do so. He certainly thought that he had answered the question put to him by the hon. Gentleman and also by other hon. Members.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he had spoken three times, but he had not yet received an answer.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the hon. member had spoken very often, no doubt. The object of the clause was to meet the case of committee meetings being held in public-houses, where meetings might be held in secret from day to day, nobody knowing what went on at them. The case was altogether different with regard to public meetings, and he did not care so much about them, because they were above-board and open to observation, and everybody knew what went on at them, and could provide a remedy if anything wrong was done. As to the question of expense to the candidate, if a man engaged more rooms than he ought to have he would have to give an account of them, and the full matter would have to be discussed. There would be two safeguards. First, there was a limitation as to the number of committee rooms; and, next, if a room was hired at a public-house, it must be used for public purposes. In the next place, if an excessive number of rooms were hired, the maximum fixed in the Schedule would come into play.

Mr. GREGORY said, he thought the hon. and learned Attorney General had invited the discussion which had taken place upon this clause. He confessed, however, on looking at the Amendments upon the Paper, that none of them met the objections which had been so strongly raised, and in which he entirely concurred. A good deal of time would have been occupied in discussing the Amendments, and it was, perhaps, better that it should be occupied in discussing the clause generally as it stood. It seemed to him that the Attorney General had hardly shown sufficient confidence in his own Bill. What he appeared to contemplate was, that the mere fact of a committee sitting in a house of public entertainment would immediately encourage drinking. The hon. and learned Gentleman evidently left out the consideration of the disabilities to which the Bill subjected the committee and the candidate if drinking took place. One of the most important consequences was that the election would thereby be voided, and that the offence could very easily be brought home to the committee. Surely, then, it would be rather a safeguard and a protection that the committee should be sitting in a public-house, so that the agents of the candidate might prevent any practice of that kind being carried on, or any illegal practice whatever being resorted to. He could not help thinking that it was a mere chimera that was raised by the Attorney General, and that the clause was entirely uncalled for by any difficulty which would arise. It was unwarrantable to conclude that the mere fact that the presence of an election committee in a public-house or refreshment-house would lead to corrupt practices.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to put a question to the Attorney General. When he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) addressed the Committee some time ago, he asked the Attorney General to put words into the clause to make it perfectly clear that holding meetings in a public-house would not be prohibited. He thought it was absolutely necessary, before they proceeded with this clause and divided upon it, that the Attorney General should tell them if he did intend to put words into the clause or not; because he had understood the hon. and learned Gentleman, by the gestures he had made some time ago, to say that he would do so. The hon. and learned Gentleman, however, had avoided saying so in express terms. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would give the Committee some explanation, or the Committee ought to meet the clause with vehement opposition.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had been unwilling to make any positive promise; but he would give an undertaking to this extent—that he would, at the end of the section, or in the Definition Clause, introduce words excepting the hire of rooms used for the purpose of addressing meetings from the operation of the clause. Perhaps it would be advisable to take a Division on the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), in order to see what the opinion of the Committee was as to the principle of the clause.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK remarked, that if the hon. and learned Attorney General found that he could not define a committee room in the way he proposed, he hoped he would not leave out of consideration a case where a candidate was himself staying in a house of entertainment. That was a rather important distinction, and he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had already illustrated it by his own case.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he did not see how a Division upon the earlier Amendment would affect the whole of the clause. He himself had an Amendment lower down to include a club in which, by the rules, intoxicating liquors might be supplied to the members; but if he understood what words the Attorney General proposed to insert at the end of the clause, it might not be necessary for him to propose that Amendment. At the same time, it certainly was not his intention to acquiesce in the clause as it stood in the Bill. He thought that if the principle was once conceded that a committee meeting should not be held at a public-house, it would also be necessary to provide that it should not be held at a club in which intoxicating liquors were provided for the members. He did not see how it was possible to decide every question by a Division upon the Amendment now before the House; and, therefore, whatever was done in regard to the present Amendment, he should consider himself perfectly free to move that which stood in his own name.

MR. CALLAN said, he had prepared an Amendment which he thought would remove all the main objections which had been raised upon this point, and which would carry out very clearly what the Attorney General had stated, and what the hon. and learned Gentleman had no doubt stated in good faith. At the same time, the Committee could have no certainty and no assurance whatever that the Election Judges would construe the Act in the same sense and spirit as the Attorney General; and the Amendment he would suggest was to insert, after the word "election," in line 9—

> "Provided, however, that nothing in this clause shall render illegal the use of any part of such premises for holding a meeting to address the electors."

If the Attorney General would accept such a Proviso, he thought it would remove a great part of the objections which had been raised to the clause.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. E. STANHOPE said, the object of the Amendment he had now to move was to exclude clubs from the operation of the clause. He was quite prepared to accept any modification of his Amendment which would draw a distinction between genuine clubs and what were sometimes called sham clubs, which were got up on principles very different, indeed, to those of the recognized clubs of the country. He believed he was perfectly correct in saying that in certain parts of the country clubs had been built, and built, in great part, for the special purpose of being used for committee rooms on election days, and for the promotion and procurement of the election of certain candidates. Why were clubs built for a special purpose not to be used for that purpose? It was a perfect libel upon most of the clubs of the country to say that they were badly conducted. As a matter of fact, hon. Gentlemen knew that the clubs of the country, as a rule, were conducted with perfect regularity and order. It did seem exceedingly hard to exclude from use buildings which were partly erected for the special purpose—a purpose thoroughly legitimate in itself—of aiding the election of a given candidate. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 6, to leave out the words "or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is sold."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it was an admitted fact that there were good clubs as well as bad or spurious clubs. He did not think it was possible to draw, for legislative purposes, a distinction between good and bad clubs. They must take the good with the bad, and ask themselves whether it was better to close a club or not on a polling day? Personally, he should vote against the opening of the clubs; but he admitted that that was an open question upon which there was a great diversity of opinion. He should like hon. Gentlemen to vote just as they pleased; of course, he knew they always did. He was, however, very gratified with the support he had received from the Committee hitherto; but he really considered that that was a question on which they all might take very different views.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, whether the committee of the Reform Club would be supposed to suspend its operation during the Westminster election?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, no election committee meetings were held at the Reform Club.

Mr. W. H. SMITH desired to point out to the Attorney General the real danger of the proposal he was now making. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) understood it was proposed to exclude a genuine Political Club altogether as a place in which a committee, or a candidate, could hold their meetings. But he thought it was very probable that the members of clubs would form themselves into committees within the club itself, in spite of the candidate. The club room, or a room in the club, would not then be a committee room as far as the candidate, or the agent of the candidate, was concerned. If he (Mr. W. H. Smith) knew anything of the enthusiasm of the members of clubs, in such counties as Lancashire and Yorkshire, he was fully convinced, in his own mind, that there was not a club in those counties which, on the day of an election, would not be practically used as committee rooms, for the meeting of committees which would be most efficient committees for promoting the election of the candidate to which the members of the club attached themselves. Would that be a corrupt or an illegal practice, or would it come within the limit of the clause? There would be a committee room, and it would be in a building in which intoxicating liquor was sold. How could they get over the difficulty? He asked the hon. and learned Attorney General, with no desire to put difficulties in his way, because he thoroughly sympathized with the object the hon. and learned Gentleman had in view, which he understood to be to prevent spurious clubs competing with public-houses.

Mr. GORST said, as the Bill now stood genuine Political Clubs would not be excluded. He supposed a committee could go into the Reform Club for the purpose of opposing or supporting the election of any particular candidate for the City of Westminster according to the rules of the Club; but if the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope's) own proposition was carried, then the genuine clubs would be forbidden to sit in any place in which intoxicating liquors were sold.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER confessed that if those words were retained there would be a remarkable evasion of the law, or else the Political Clubs, especially in the large towns, would be very much interfered with. His experience was that all the ardent Liberal partizans met at a Liberal Club, and he believed that the same was the case in regard to the Conservative partizans. Although the members of the club might not actually form themselves into a committee, yet whenever they happened to meet in a club, at the time of an election, they talked about nothing else but the election. He did not suppose there was a committee in a borough which was so effective for the purpose of promoting any particular election as that formed of the members of the clubs, who generally happened to be active partizans. If the clause remained unaltered, the meetings of members of clubs, on days of election, would be prohibited. There would certainly be a feeling that such a prohibition was hardly fair. Clubs were, for all practical purposes, committee rooms; and, therefore, he (Mr. W. E. Forster) should avail himself of the suggestion of the Attorney General to vote as he pleased; and his vote would certainly be given against the retention of the words.

MR. WHITBREAD said, that no one doubted that the good Political Clubs which existed in many Northern towns would, if the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) were accepted, suffer great inconvenience. On the other hand, the Committee ought to consider that there were many clubs which were really nothing less than very inferior public-houses. Now, what he wanted to put before the Committee was that they were going to close the ordinary avenues to treating by prohibiting the use of public-houses as committee rooms; but, did they not suppose that if they shut the door in that direction, and left it open in another, very soon they would have a fine crop of so-called clubs, which in reality would exist for the purpose of treating at elections? They would be of mushroom growth. It was not necessary that a club should be as old as Brook's or White's, in order to be called a club. He fancied clubs would spring into existence shortly before a General Election, and die very likely as soon as the poll was known. The Committee was engaged in the great endeavour to put down bribery and corruption at elections. Was it not a necessity that any Act of this kind should inflict inconvenience, and very likely unmerited inconvenience, on many good and honest people? They had to look, not at the convenience of the candidate, and not even at the convenience of the voters, but at what they hoped to be the effect upon Parliament in the future, by stopping all the avenues to corruption. He considered that such an object, and such an aim, was one that would justify them in inflicting even greater inconvenience than would be inflicted, by prohibiting the use for committee rooms of all places where refreshments were provided.

MR. TOMLINSON said, the danger referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) was a serious one, and they did not get rid of it by shutting up clubs in pursuance of the Amendment now before them. It was a well-known fact that there were a great many clubs —political and non-political—which had no local habitation of their own. These clubs met at public-houses. Now, if a club, having a room of its own, was able to make itself into an informal committee, was it not equally possible for an informal committee to be formed in a public-house, and thereby bringing about great mischief to the candidate? He feared that they were not protecting themselves by this Amendment.

MR. W. E. FORSTER desired to offer a remark or two upon what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread). The difficulty he felt in the matter was this —that if the views of the Government were carried out they would have to abolish clubs altogether, to shut up their rooms, and not allow people to meet in them, because really their object was political. They were all formed for political purposes; and whenever a meeting of the members took place, they generally considered how they could promote or procure the election of their candidate. What was really required was a definition of what a committee room was; and he did not doubt it was a very difficult thing to arrive at such a definition. He considered it would be rather a mockery to stop committee rooms in one part of the town, and have rooms open in another part in which people met together, and all day long, and considered what steps could be taken for the promoting and procuring the election of a certain candidate. He did not suppose his hon.

Friend (Mr. Whitbread) was prepared to go so far as to say a club should have its doors locked on an election day. His (Mr. Forster's) difficulty was how they could prevent such a state of things.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE ventured to suggest that they, on the Opposition side of the House, had a right to claim the vote of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) in opposition to the clause. If the clause had any effect at all, it was clear that its immediate effect would be of a most pernicious character. The result of the operation of the clause would be that a vast number of institutions would spring up, like mushrooms, at the time of an election, and they would all be utilized for the most flagrant and corrupt purposes. Such was the opinion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), and therefore the Opposition ought to claim his vote on that occasion. The hon. Gentleman could not have used a stronger argument in favour of the statement urged two hours ago from the Opposition Benches—namely, that by the effect of drawing the strings too tightly they would produce a greater evil than that which now existed.

Mr. H. S. NORTHCOTE wished to make one appeal to the Attorney General to consider the case of a strictly Political Club which was also the he adquarters, as the case might be, of the Liberal or the Conservative Party of the borough, for instance, of Exeter. In that borough the secretary to the Conservative Club was also the Conservative registration agent. In his capacity as secretary he had rooms in the club throughout the year, where, no doubt, he kept his registration books and papers, and carried on his work of promoting and procuring the election of certain men. When an election, however, came round, he would have to turn out bag and baggage, with all his books and papers, and probably, for two or three weeks, occupy rooms, it might be, on the other side of the street. Such was certainly one of the effects of this clause.

Mr. RYLANDS said, they were discussing the question as to whether committees should or should not be allowed to be held in Political Clubs. In the first place, they were confronted with the difficulty as to what a committee really was. It might occur that a candidate would say that if there were no lists of voters, or other things usually appertaining to a committee, no committee was being held in any particular room. He (Mr. Rylands) was of opinion that they certainly could not prevent a number of electors meeting in a club, and reporting to each other the names of the different voters who ought to be seen, or about whose political opinion it was desirous to get some information. But whether that was done with the consent of the candidate or not, he (Mr. Rylands) had no doubt it would be asserted that a committee was being held in the club, and the candidate would probably be held to be guilty of an illegal practice. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) had said that if they refused to allow committees in public-houses, but allowed them in clubs, they would have spurious clubs created for the sole purpose of giving drink. It was not necessary to hold committees, in one or other of the clubs, in order to afford facilities for drinking. If they were going to stop treating in public-houses on the day of election, they were going also to stop treating in spurious clubs. Because treating in spurious clubs would be, in no sense, free from the penalty under the Bill. The question really was, did the holding of a committee in a spurious club necessarily lead to corruption? He considered it did; but he was of opinion that if they wanted to stop drinking on the polling day, they ought to pass a law that there should be no sale of drink on that day. He would like very much for the Attorney General to consider for a moment whether he could not meet the Gentlemen who raised objections on this point. Let it be laid down, for instance, in this Act that in those committee rooms held in clubs no drink should be sold or consumed. In fact, let it be made an illegal practice, if drink were sold or consumed. There could not be the slightest reason for inflicting such a serious difficulty on the political Parties of this country, as was now proposed to be inflicted through their clubs. He feared that this really amounted to the striking of a blow at institutions upon which, to a great extent, the political life of this country depended. In the large centres of population clubs did act as great institutions on political subjects. Clubs had their libraries, news rooms, discussions, and addresses delivered by their members; and in other ways political knowledge was disseminated by these institutions. These clubs, too, looked forward to the time of an election in the hope of making use of their promises to promote, or procure, the return of the candidate who held the views espoused by the members. He wished, again, to say that if the Attorney General would so frame his clause that no drink should be consumed or sold in the committee rooms of those clubs, he (Mr. Rylands) certainly would be satisfied.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, there seemed to be a great difference of opinion between the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and the Attorney General upon this point. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley had said that the whole political life of Burnley depended upon its clubs. But when that remark was made a sceptical smile stole over the face of the Attorney General. Did not the Government see how absurd their efforts at securing purity of election were? They refused to allow a committee to be held in a public-house; but they made no effort to prevent a committee room being opened next door. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) admitted the immense inconvenience that would arise to electors if the clause remained in its present state; but the hon. Gentleman said, so great was the case at stake, that it would be worth while to make the electors suffer that inconvenience. The hon. Gentleman evidently did not seem to see what had been strikingly pointed out by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) — namely, that the political life of many constituencies depended upon its clubs. If they were going to pass what would really put a spoke in the wheel of those clubs, could they doubt for a moment they would deal a blow to the clubs, from which it would be scarcely possible for them to survive? ["No, no!"] An hon. Gentleman opposite cried "No, no!" Did he deny that these Political Clubs were called into existence chiefly with the object of conducting elections? [MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I certainly do deny it.] Did the hon. Gentleman deny that those clubs did exercise an immense influence at the time of an election? Did he deny that if they took away the stimulus to those clubs which elections provided that they would strike a blow at the very existence of the institutions? He (Mr. Balfour) could not imagine anyone who knew what these clubs were doubting that proposition for a moment. They were called into existence in order to carry their particular candidates through; and it was ridiculous to suppose that if they were prevented from carrying out their object at elections that a very serious blow would not be dealt them. He trusted the Government would withdraw this clause.

MR. CAUSTON said, he hoped the Attorney General would endeavour to prevent the establishment of sham clubs. He had not the slightest objection to *bonâ fide* Political Clubs, the members of which paid an uniform subscription; but what he did object to was that clubs should receive between elections handsome subscriptions and donations, in order that electors between elections might derive considerable pecuniary benefit, by eating and drinking, at the expense of the rich men of the Party. He trusted the Attorney General would deal with such a case in the Bill. He did not know whether that was the proper clause in which to raise such a point; but the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) just now said that he looked upon these clubs as the proper Party organizations for enlightening the electors on Liberal or Conservative principles. He admitted that Liberals had their clubs as well as Conservatives. It was all very well that they should have; but in some way or other the Committee ought to provide the means to prevent bribery and corruption and unfair treating between elections.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, it was extremely refreshing to hear the words of the hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. Causton), who certainly had had considerable experience in the organization of Liberal clubs. He had no doubt the hon. Gentleman's experience was so great that the observations he had just made would be of great interest in the district to which he belonged. He (Baron Henry de Worms), however, rose to point out the intense absurdity of the position in which the Government had now arrived by this clause. It had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr.

Forster) that if the Government wished to be consistent they ought to put a lock on the door of every club on the day of an election. Now, he (Baron Henry De Worms) wanted to ask the Attorney General whether he did not consider it necessary that he should define what a committee room was, and what a committee meeting was? because he took it that the Government had some extraordinary system of curbing and disturbing freedom of speech in members of a club which met together for the purpose of discussing the election and of promoting, as far as they could, the interests of the candidate. And he feared that if the members of a club constituted themselves into a committee meeting, they would, by their act, render a candidate liable for the loss of his seat. Was it possible for absurdity to go further than this—that the members of the Political Club, be it Liberal or Conservative, should be debarred from meeting together at the time of an election for the purpose of promoting the interests of the candidate — the very purpose for which these clubs were really established? He could not conceive anything more oppressive or more ridiculous. If they carried the principle a little further they might say that agents might not meet in a private house for the purpose of promoting the interests or cause of any particular candidate. Where were the Government going to stop? This was really the worst form of political tyranny that ever was imagined. It was only the outcome of this grandmotherly legislation which, on the one hand, affirmed that the working man had not sufficient political influence, and, on the other, treated him as an overgrown baby.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, it appeared to him that this clause was, in its entirety, an absurdity; and he should, of course, vote against it. But with regard to this particular Amendment, he should like to point out to the Attorney General that in the Division which he had represented for many years the state of things had changed very much since 1859. He first contested an election in 1859, and at that time there was hardly a Liberal or a Conservative Club in existence, and committee rooms were almost invariably taken in some public-houses. But since that time the circumstances had entirely altered in every village in South-East Lancashire; and he believed in every other Division of Lancashire there was a Conservative or a Liberal Club founded upon limited liability principles, and frequented by the most respectable inhabitants of the village. Those were precisely the places which ought to be committee rooms, because they were under the control of the respectable inhabitants of the district. What would happen if these clubs were closed, and not allowed to be used as committee rooms? Rooms would be taken near a public-house, and every facility for surreptitious drinking would be afforded; but if these clubs were allowed to be used as committee rooms—as he thought they ought to be, and for which they were largely intended by their promoters—there would be a certain amount of supervision over them, which would be entirely wanting if the electors were confined within the four corners of this clause. He hoped the Committee would reject the clause altogether.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the only outcome of this matter was that all consumption of drink must be prohibited on the day of election in public-houses and clubs, and also in private houses. It was quite clear that the Attorney General supposed there was a fixed idea that there was treating in public-houses; but, as a matter of fact, there was not; and he challenged the hon. and learned Gentleman to produce a single instance in which, where a committee met in a public-house, there was any amount of treating. Her Majesty's Ministers anticipated that there would be some treating in clubs as well as in public-houses; but would there not be treating in private houses also? If electors were turned out of clubs and public-houses, and took rooms near to a public-house, what was to prevent a large quantity of liquor being carried in and consumed, of course at someone's expense? He did not see how drinking could be stopped, because if people wanted to treat they would treat; and whatever number of Acts of Parliament were passed containing further stringent provisions, if people intended to do such things nobody could prevent them. In order to avoid these pitfalls and this invasion of personal liberty, with which the Bill bristled, he hoped this very ridiculous and stupid clause would be withdrawn.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, a question had been put by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) to which no clear answer had been given. No doubt the number of committee rooms would be limited by the maximum scale; but, of course, there was no limit to committee rooms if only they were not paid for. As his hon. Friend the Member for Wigan (Mr. A. F. Egerton) had said, there was not a village in Lancashire which did not possess a Liberal and a Conservative Club in which the electors met. When there was an election, the people would, of course, meet in these clubs, and many of them were necessarily employed in the conduct of the election. They discussed all the circumstances and arrangements of the election, and practically they used these clubs as committee rooms. If a candidate was seen going about with these people, or going into the clubs, he would be held to have consented to the use of the clubs as committee rooms; and, therefore, he was afraid that candidates would be placed in great danger, even by the legitimate use of club rooms in this way.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had noticed that one or two Members were adopting a view which he had ventured to put forward — namely, that clubs should be closed on the day of election; but he thought it would be a mistake to suppose that any effect this clause might have would be limited to the day of election. It would, he supposed, apply to the whole time.

MR. GORST asked how far this clause would go? In this House there were rooms which were constantly used by people who met to promote and procure the election of candidates. A vacancy hardly ever took place without a meeting between an intended candidate and the leading people of the constituency and the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor), or the hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. Rowland Winn), in a room in the neighbourhood of the House. If such a meeting was a committee meeting, would it not be held in part of premises in which intoxicating liquor was sold? Under such circumstances, would not a candidate at the very outset disqualify himself for election by taking part in a committee meeting for promoting and procuring his election held in part of premises where intoxicating liquors were sold?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not think the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) could be serious in putting his question. The rooms within the House were held at all times, and not at any particular time. With regard to the question asked by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), a distinction could be drawn between committee rooms in clubs, in which the parties were in the habit of meeting generally, and those which were employed at the particular time of an election. He was disposed to look favourably upon the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. The whole effect of the clause was not to upset an election, but simply to impose penalties on certain persons. If persons met in a room in which they had been accustomed to meet, and showed their zeal, perhaps more developed on the election day, that room would not be a committee room for a particular election. He could not conceive it possible that a meeting of persons under these circumstances could be held as a committee room. There was, without doubt, great force in what had fallen from the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) if they could prevent the action of bad clubs; but it was impossible to draw a line. Whatever was the decision of the Committee upon this matter, the Government would accept it.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, hon. Members seemed to be carried away by the idea that by opposing this Amendment they would get rid of spurious clubs. He saw great objection to the existence of such clubs, and felt that they ought to be deal with by law whenever a case arose; but that point did not arise here. The reason why he urged this Amendment was that these clubs were intended to be made centres of political life on one side or the other; and this Bill proposed that they should cease to be the centres of political life.

MR. LEWIS said, the Committee was in great difficulty through having to vote upon this Amendment at all. If they voted for it they would be in this position. They would be doing what he conceived to be an act of Pharisaical injustice to public-houses, on the hypothesis that, as they were centres of corrupt treating, they were to be closed; whilst, on the other hand, some places which were substitutes for the public-houses were to be allowed to remain open. To be consistent, the Government ought to prevent people drinking at all on the day of an election; and he did not think that some of these clauses were more stringent than that proposal. Such a provision would place everybody on an equal footing. He concurred in the view that there ought to be a definition of a committee room. It was all very well to leave that to the Judge; but anyone who had had any experience in these matters might take a totally different view from a Judge, and it would be impossible to say what view any particular Judge would take. The Committee being in this difficulty, and there being a widespread desire among Members to vote against the clause as a whole, he thought the best thing would be to strangle the clause piecemeal; and he should vote for the omission of these words, in the hope that, eventually, the clause would be entirely omitted, it being an additional infringement of the liberty of the subject.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 169; Noes 141: Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 163.)

Mr. ONSLOW proposed an Amendment, with the object of putting all kinds of vendors of refreshment, whether in the shape of food or liquor, on an equality. The Attorney General had stated that what he wanted to do was to prevent the meeting of committees in public-houses. He himself should like to see the same meeting of committees prevented in coffee taverns for the purpose of treating. It appeard to him to be quite as wrong to treat a man to coffee and tea and buns as to a glass of beer; and, therefore, he wished to insert, in page 7, line 7, after the word "intoxicating," the words "or other." That, he presumed, would include the selling of all non-alcoholic liquor—such as aërated water, tea, coffee, and cocoa—and what he desired was to put places where those liquors were sold on the same footing as public-houses. If they eliminated one class of Her Majesty's subjects from having one kind of committee rooms for election purposes, the same principle ought to be applied to all other subjects. He believed that, as the clause stood, grocers, who had licenses for the sale of drinks, would not be able to let their rooms; but, in order to make this clause consistent—obnoxious as it was—they ought to put in some words such as he suggested. He also wished to insert after the word "liquor," the words "or refreshment of any kind, whether as food or drink." That would include butcher's shops. He knew no place where treating could be done better than in butcher's shops. He had heard, on the best authority, that there was an enormous amount of treating when a committee met over a butcher's shop; and, therefore, if purity of election was to be obtained, all places ought to be put on an equality.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 7, after the word "intoxicating," to insert the words "or other."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he should be glad if the hon. Member would not move this Amendment now. He quite admitted the danger of treating in these other places; but, as a matter of principle, there might be treating at temperance hotels as well as elsewhere. He had, however, stated that he would bring up an Amendment, in the proper place, which would apply the clause to places where food or drink was sold for consumption on the premises.

Mr. ONSLOW said, that would go a great way; but, as a rule, chops and steaks were not consumed on the premises. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would also say "on or off the premises," he should be satisfied. If they prohibited drink, they must prohibit food, or refreshment of any kind. He would withdraw his Amenndment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he wished now to move a clause, which he had prepared hastily, to meet the view of the Committee, as expressed, to some extent, by the Division which had just taken place. He thought he ought not to disregard a considerable minority as well as a majority. The Amendment they had been discussing was "any premises where intoxicating liquors are sold." These words would cover the case of clubs of all kinds. The question was raised upon the fact that in a club liquors were not sold, in an ordinary sense of the word, as meant by the Act of Parliament; and, in order to bring the point to a tangible form, he proposed to add after the word "sold," these words—

"Or is supplied to members of a club, society, or association, other than a permanent political club."

The clause would then read—

"Public-house or any premises where any intoxicating liquor is sold, or is supplied to members of a club, society, or association, other than a permanent political club."

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 7, after the word "sold," to insert the words "or is supplied to members of a club, society, or association, other than a permanent political club."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. WHITBREAD said, the words "a permanent political club" presented a difficulty to his mind. It would be a difficult matter for the Judge to decide, and he doubted whether a Judge could decide, what constituted "a permanent political club."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought it was very inconvenient to have to discuss this Amendment within a few minutes of the suspension of the Sitting. It was not so simple a matter as the Attorney General seemed to think. To "supply" was a very different thing from "selling." If a member of a club asked other members to dine with him and supplied them with liquor, that club would at once become premises in which committee rooms might not be taken. The Committee were driving committee rooms into private houses by the Amendment already passed, and now they were going to disqualify private houses from being places where anybody connected with a candidate could take or give refreshment to anybody else. That was a reflection which occurred to him from the word "supply," and he thought it would be wise now to report Progress. The Attorney General had proposed an important Amendment at the last moment, which he might have proposed an hour ago, and expected the Committee to come to a conclusion at once. He would move that Progress be reported, in order that this point might be properly considered, for he had great doubt whether it would not go a great deal further than the Attorney General intended.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he hoped the Committee would not consider the course he had taken unreasonable. He saw no difficulty in considering the permanent clubs. There might be mushroom clubs springing up, and the object of the Amendment was to prevent that.

Mr. GORST said, it appeared to him that the reason given by the noble Lord for reporting Progress was perfectly sound. He had listened attentively to the words of the Amendment as read; but it was impossible to catch them clearly, and he entertained doubts whether they would carry out the intention of the Attorney General.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that it was very usual for the Committee to afford some indulgence to the promoter and conductor of a measure; and bearing in mind that they were not now on the final stage of the Bill, there would be opportunities for considering any objections to this proposal later on. He admitted that what he was now saying was a claim to privilege; but as it was usual to give that indulgence to the conductor of a Bill when he was endeavouring to make a concession, he hoped Progress would not be agreed to.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, under these circumstances, he would withdraw his Motion; but he hoped the Attorney General would give a full opportunity subsequently to discuss the Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment (*The Attorney General*) *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *this day.*

MEDALS BILL.—[BILL 188.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Debate arising.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *this day.*

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 2nd July.*]

[THIRTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Illegal Payment, Employment, or Hiring.

Clause 15 (Use of committee room in house for sale of intoxicating liquor to be illegal hiring).

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 6, after the word "club," inserted by the last Amendment, to insert the words 'or any premises where refreshment of any kind, whether food or drink, is sold for consumption on the premises."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ONSLOW said, the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman only partially carried out the views expressed in his Amendment, and he trusted he would agree to the addition of the words "or off," after the word "on." He pointed out to the Committee that the Amendment referred only to refreshment to be consumed on the premises; but there was every likelihood in some cases that it would not be consumed off as well as on the premises. He would take the case of tea, which would very likely be given to certain voters, or it might be to their wives. That tea, in all probability, would not be consumed on the premises, but consumed off the premises; and, surely, that practice ought to come under the category of illegal practices. Then, again, he pointed out that such food as meat of various descriptions had been, and might be, given again at elections, and that under this Act would be an illegal practice if the meat were consumed on the premises; but there was no possibility of it being consumed on the premises, it would be taken away and consumed off the premises. Therefore, he trusted that the hon. and learned Gentleman would see his way to the acceptance of his Amendment, in order to make the clause symmetrical. There would then be the same law for public-houses as for coffee taverns and shops. Let the Committee suppose that the committee room was over a baker's shop; it would be very easy for the baker to give away bread or flour, which could not possibly be consumed on the premises. He could not see that there could be any objection to this alteration, which, it appeared to him, ran on all fours with the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Amendment proposed, to amend the proposed Amendment by inserting after the word "on," the words "or off."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the suggestion of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) was that the clause should apply to all places where things were sold, so that the purchase of an orange would come under the Amendment which the hon. Member wished to introduce. In this way, the proposed alteration would affect every retail trade. He believed that, on reconsideration, it would be seen that the Government could not accept the Amendment.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought it desirable that this further Amendment should be placed in the same position as that which had preceded it—namely, that it should be brought up for consideration on Report. It was quite true the Amendment proposed to deal with a very minute matter; but he would remind the Committee that a great many minute matters were dealt with in this Bill, and it was an important feature in cases of this kind to consider whether they were carrying out their principles to the proper extent, or tying their own hands so tight as to prevent the attainment of the object they had in view. He would suggest that the Amendment should be brought up on Report.

MR. CALLAN said, he presumed, from certain grumblings which reached his ears, that hon. Members opposite were displeased with his speaking on this question. That was possibly due to a feeling that "coming events cast their shadows before." He would ask whether a Member of that House was not to be allowed to express his opinion when he rose to address the Chair?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must call on the hon. Member to confine himself to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. CALLAN said, he, of course, accepted the ruling of the Chairman. He had risen for the purpose of appealing to the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) to withdraw his Amendment, and to ask the Attorney General to insert in his proposed Amendment the word "ordinarily" before the word "sold," because the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman might be made to operate unjustly against a candidate. Suppose a candidate took a committee room, and that the hostile political party also took another room in the house, and sold there refreshments, under these circumstances it might be held, strictly speaking, to implicate him in an illegal practice. But if the word "ordinarily" were used it would safeguard the proposed Amendment, and, at the same time, make the clause as effectual as the Attorney General wished it to be.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was willing to accept the word "ordinarily" as suggested by the hon. Member.

MR. ONSLOW said, it was with some reluctance that he asked leave to withdraw his Amendment. If it were an hour later, and more hon. Members were in their places on those Benches, he should have felt it his duty to test the feeling of the Committee; but, under the circumstances, he should certainly not trouble hon. Members to go to a Division.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, to amend the proposed Amendment by inserting, after the word "is," the word "ordinarily."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he regretted the minute details which the hon. and learned Gentleman had introduced into this Bill; yet if they did enter into minute details they should endeavour to be perfectly impartial in applying these restrictions. He trusted the Attorney General would accept the Amendment he was about to propose—namely, to add after the words the Committee had already assented to "or any church or any chapel registered or licensed for the performance of public religious worship." They had decided that no houses of physical refreshment should be opened for electoral purposes on the day of election or used as a committee room. He asked that the same rule should be applied to those places which were essentially established for the purposes of spiritual refreshment, and that for election purposes the churches and chapels of England should be closed. He could easily imagine that under the Church Boards Bill proposed by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey) even churches might be used as committee rooms at elections. To the possibility of such a practice he wished to put a stop; he wished to prevent the possibility of scenes of irreverence taking place in buildings which were intended to be used for a wholly different purpose. He would now speak of the chapels of the United Kingdom. These buildings of the Nonconformists were registered, licensed, and established by law; they were, indeed, often in the legal possession of the official Trustee of the Charity Commission, who was a public officer. They could not, therefore, be considered any longer as purely private property, and he said they ought to be protected against the chance of irreverence. The minister or the Governing Body of one of these chapels might have such pressure put upon them at the time of an election contest that they might be almost compelled to place their chapel at the disposal of one of the contending parties, to the utter disgust of many of the congregation. The chapels were licensed for public worship, and he thought it right to say that they should not be used for any purpose except of a kindred nature—that was to say, the teaching of children, or other matters connected with the object for which they were established. It might be said that up to the present time no chapel had been used for a committee room. But it did not follow that they might not be used as such in the future. He believed there was no one on either side of the House who would not regret that the churches and chapels of the Kingdom should be used for electioneering purposes; and, therefore, he asked the Government to place its veto on their being so applied. By adding his Amendment to the clause the Government would not be injuring the Bill, but rather carrying out both its letter and its spirit. There was another aspect of this question to which he would ask the attention of the Committee. Many persons looked upon some of the churches of the country as nothing better than ancient monuments. They were looked upon as ancient monuments; not as religious buildings. That being so, he was right in saying that the feeling of some persons was so strong in the direction of secularizing them that he was justified in moving the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 7, after the word "premises," to insert the words "or any church or any chapel registered or licensed for the performance of public religious service."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was unable to assent to the proposal of the hon. Member for North Shropshire. The Government had declared, over and over again, their wish that this Bill should pass through the House without any Party feeling being excited, and he was quite sure that it would be the wish of the Committee that the discussion should proceed without the importation into it of religious feeling. He thought this was a very objectionable Amendment. Let the hon. Member for one moment consider the nature of the clause, and he would perceive that it was in no way connected with the proposal which he had made. The hon. Gentleman said he objected to churches and chapels being used for election purposes; but that question had nothing whatever to do with the present clause, which applied to committee rooms only.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, his objection was to churches and chapels being used as committee rooms.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, if the hon. Member could give him one single instance of a church or chapel having been used as a committee room he would very much strengthen his argument in support of the Amendment. He had given the Committee a promise that the word committee room in the clause should not include any room used for the purpose of public meetings. Why churches or chapels should be used for committee rooms, as was apprehended by the hon. Member, he was utterly at a loss to conceive. Moreover, the proposal of the hon. Member might be regarded as an invidious attack upon the Roman Catholic as well as the Nonconformist Bodies. He sincerely trusted that the hon. Gentleman would accept his assurance that the clause would not apply to any buildings used for the purpose of public meetings, and that he would not feel it necessary to prolong the discussion of a question which could lead to no practical result.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not assent to the proposition that this clause was simply meant to put down corruption, although no doubt that was its intention in the mind of the Attorney General. Although the clause appeared to be a very simple one it had given rise to considerable differences of opinion, as would appear from the many Amendments of which Notice had been given. They were now dealing with an Amendment on the Paper; but there was one farther on which dealt with Public Elementary Schools, and he hoped that the Attorney General would see his way to accept it when it was reached. He trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman, when they came to that Amendment, would not take the same objection as he had taken to the Amendment now before the Committee, and say that it was not relevant to the clause. Nobody, he was convinced, wished to see churches and chapels used for election purposes. He had a very strong feeling on the subject himself, and he hoped, before the Bill passed into law, this Amendment of his hon. Friend would be incorporated with it. He thought, however, that it would be better to bring it forward as a separate clause, because they had no desire to mix up a subject of this kind with questions relating to public-houses. As he had already said, he felt very strongly against churches and chapels being used for the purpose indicated; and he was bound to say that many things which had taken place in connection with religious buildings during the last General Election had shocked his mind very much. The practice was a growing one, although it might be said to be new, and he should be very sorry to see it extended. In suggesting to his hon. Friend that he should withdraw his Amendment and bring it forward in the shape of a new clause he would point out that if it were withdrawn, it would be in Order that it might become the subject of future discussion. If the Attorney General did not assent to that proposal the present discussion must, as a matter of course, be continued.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he wished to point out that the Bill was intended to apply to the whole of the United Kingdom, and that, so far as Scotland was concerned, they would be placed in rather a peculiar position by the adoption of the hon. Member's proposal. The ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland were not consecrated buildings, as in England, and they were not altogether used for clerical purposes. The Established churches belonged to the heritors, and were frequently used for the purpose of public meetings of every sort. The position of these buildings would be peculiar; because, whilst some of them were used for purposes of public meetings, others were not, and he thought it right to point this out, because he foresaw that the proposal of the hon. Member would lead to great practical difficulties in the case of Scotch churches and chapels.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he was very much obliged for the suggestion made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), that he should withdraw his Amendment, and bring it up on Report in the shape of a new clause. He was quite willing to accede to the right hon. Gentleman's request, provided the Government would promise him their support. In that case the discussion would be postponed, and it would not be necessary for him to take up any further time in Committee. ["Divide!"] Hon. Members opposite seemed somewhat impatient of this subject; but they must not suppose that all the clauses of the Bill would be passed simply because they cried "Divide." He protested against the practice of shouting down hon. Members, and he trusted that some means would be found to check such disorderly interruptions. He hesitated to withdraw his Amendment, seeing that the Attorney General had expressed himself practically in favour of its principle, unless he promised it his support hereafter. If hon. Members opposite were honest in their convictions that churches and chapels would never be applied to election purposes, they could have no possible reason for objecting to such use of them being prohibited by the Bill. He would be glad to hear from the Attorney General what prospect there was for the Government entertaining his Amendment on Report, otherwise he should feel it his duty to proceed to a Division upon a question which involved so deep a principle.

MR. HINDE PALMER said, it seemed to him, however advisable it might be to prohibit the use of sacred edifices for election purposes, that the proposal of the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Leighton) was incongruous with the present clause. He would not say that it might not be well to re-introduce it on Report; but, at the present stage, it was clearly out of place.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he should have been glad if the Attorney General had put down his foot a little more firmly with regard to the absurd Amendment of the hon. Member opposite. Why should places of worship be made the object of the exceptional legislation which the hon. Member intended? The object of the hon. Member in including churches in his Amendment was very clear, his real aim being the Nonconformist places of worship. The hon. Member knew very well that churches were so guarded that they could not be used for any purpose of the kind he had described. But, strangely enough, the Attorney General had said he objected strongly to chapels being used for political purposes. He (Mr. Illingworth) did not know that it was the duty of that House to guard Nonconformist places of worship. Those places of worship were the property of those who built them; and the guardianship of their sacredness in no wise belonged to the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Stanley Leighton) might have some concern about the effect of those chapels on a General Election; but let him (Mr. Illingworth) draw his attention to the fact that National schools were always available to the Conservative Party, and that in no instance that he was aware of had they been used by the opponents of that Party. He hoped that neither now, nor at any other time would such a preposterous proposal as this be accepted.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had an Amendment on the Paper, for the purpose of excluding the schools referred to by the hon. Member.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was anxious that the matter should be fairly and properly discussed.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he would withdraw the Amendment now, and bring it up as a new clause.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ONSLOW said, he had an Amendment to move which, he thought, would be acceptable to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. It was after the words "committee room," in line 8, to insert "as hereinafter defined." He did not wish to renew the discussion they had had this afternoon as to what a committee room was to be. The hon. and learned Gentleman had, no doubt, promised to define what "committee room" was; but surely there could not be any objection to the insertion of these words.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he thought his noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had an Amendment on the Paper which came before that of the hon. Member.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes; that is so.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that in the absence of his noble Friend, he would move the Amendment which was, in line 7, after the word "premises," to insert the words—

"Or the premises of any public elementary school in receipt of an annual Parliamentary grant."

He did not propose to offer any arguments in support of the Amendment, as the subject had been already thoroughly discussed.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 7, after the word "premises," to insert the words "or the premises of any public elementary school in receipt of an annual Parliamentary grant."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that the Amendment, coming as it did from such an authority—namely, the noble Lord who had been connected with the Education Department—no doubt, deserved careful consideration. He had considered the matter, and was of opinion that these school buildings ought not to be used as committee rooms; therefore, he should be prepared to accept the Amendment. He was not quite sure, however, that this was the proper place in which to insert the words, although if the hon. Member thought it right to press them, he would at once assent to them.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, that if the hon. and learned Member would accept the Amendment, he would put it in here; but, if it should be later on found inconvenient, he would agree to its being taken out and put in somewhere else.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, there was another Amendment on the Paper, in the name of an hon. Friend (Mr. Tatton Egerton) which, in the absence of that hon. Friend, he would take upon himself to move. The object of the Amendment was to make the clause clear in regard to clubs. In ordinary cases, good clubs would be lent for the purpose of being used as committee rooms, and would not be let. The Amendment he had to propose would make it clear that the clause did not apply to clubs so lent, but only to those that were let.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 8, to leave out the word "used," and insert the word "let."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the hon. Member probably did not see what would be the effect of this Amendment. If they passed it, the result would be that so long as there was no specific contract for hiring these premises—whether clubs or public-houses—they could be used to any extent. The proprietor of a public-house would be able to say to a candidate—"Come here and use my rooms as much as you like; I will not let, but will lend them to you." It was the use of these rooms, and not the contract that he (the Attorney General) objected to.

MR. TOMLINSON said, the clause contained these words—

> "and if any person hires or uses any such premises or any part thereof for a committee room he shall be guilty of illegal hiring."

Clearly those words, which came later on in the clause, would stop the use of public-houses and clubs. The clause went on to say—

> "and the person letting such premises or part, if he knew it was intended to use the same as a committee room, shall also be guilty of illegal hiring."

How "using" could make "illegal hiring" in the words of the clause, he was at a loss to understand.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the words the hon. Member referred to came later on.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that after the Attorney General's explanation he would not persist in the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. ONSLOW said, he would now move the Amendment to which he had referred.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 8, after the word "room," to insert the words "as hereinafter defined."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that he must again ask his hon. Friend not to press this Amendment. His hon. Friend wished to put him under a bond to define what committee room was; but he was not sure that he would be able to do it. He had promised to say what should not be a committee room—to insert some provision to the effect that the clause should not render illegal the use of these rooms for the purpose of holding meetings at which addresses were delivered to the electors. If he could give a definition in this matter he should be glad to do so. He had not had much time to devote to it—he had been trying to do it, however, although he could not say he had made much progress. It was not to be understood that in saying this he was giving a definite undertaking to furnish a definition.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he certainly thought the hon. and learned Gentleman was right in what he said. It was one thing to define what a certain thing was not, but it was a very different thing to define what it was.

MR. CALLAN said, he thought it would better for the words bringing about the proposed alteration to come in where he had suggested, and that the definition of "committee room" should be left for the Interpretation Clause at the end of the Bill.

MR. ONSLOW said, he saw the force of the hon. and learned Gentleman's objection, and would reserve his Amendment to the Report stage, when it was known how the definition of committee room stood. It seemed to him important to define in the Bill somehow what committee room was; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman did his best he should be perfectly satisfied.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. TOMLINSON said, that in the absence of the hon. Member whose name was next on the Paper (Mr. Tatton Egerton), he would move the next Amendment, which was, in line 10, to leave out the word "uses." When this were omitted something else would be suggested in its place.

MR. CALLAN claimed priority for an Amendment he had handed to the Chairman in writing, and which had reference to line 9.

THE CHAIRMAN wished to know to what the hon. Member was alluding?

MR. CALLAN said, he had handed to the Chairman an Amendment in MS., to come in after the word "election," which came in before the word "uses."

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Gentleman's Amendment should be moved at the end of the clause.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he would move the Amendment to which he had referred. It seemed to him that the construction of this part of the clause was very different to that of the first part. He could understand anyone hiring a room of this kind being liable to a penalty; but he could not understand anyone using one being liable.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 10, to leave out the word "uses." —(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that if the word "uses" were struck out, the use of rooms in public-houses would be entirely unchecked—it would be tantamount to saying "you shall not do a certain thing" without imposing a penalty for doing it. If they had said using should not take place, it was necessary to say what should constitute using.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he wished to move, in the name of his noble Friend the Member for Middlesex, to insert—

> "Provided always, that this section shall not apply where it can be shown that no other suitable premises were available."

There were many county, and even borough, districts where no room could be secured for the purpose of a committee room, except in a public-house. He should like to take the hon. and learned Gentleman into some of the wilder parts of his own constituency. He would there find the houses very thinly scattered about. He would find no sort of public place for the transaction of election business, or the holding of meetings but the inns and taverns; therefore, if the public-houses were not to be used as committee rooms, the candidates for the district would have no rooms whatever which they could use for the purpose. And this was not a solitary instance. He believed there were many parts of the country where — as this Amendment suggested—they would only be able to obtain committee rooms in public-houses. The Amendment did not go so far as to state that in unqualified terms—it only stated that where it could be shown that there was no other suitable place available, a room in a public house might be used.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 7, line 13, to add—"Provided always, that this section shall not apply where it can be shown that no other suitable premises were available."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, they had already fully discussed this matter, therefore it would not be necessary for him to say much about it. He had done what he could to mitigate any inconvenience which would be felt from the absence of committee rooms; and, if he had stated clearly what was in his mind, hon. Members would be aware that he would agree to the Amendment if he could, but that he feared it would be dangerous to those candidates who wished to conduct elections as purely as possible; and whom he was doing all he could to protect. In the interest of the candidate he could not accept the Amendment. It might be that, being under the impression that there were no suitable premises elsewhere, the candidate, or the election agent, might take committee rooms in a public-house, and it might transpire, subsequently, that there were suitable premises elsewhere. Then he would have to judge what was "suitable," and that would be a duty which it would be most objectionable to throw upon a candidate; and the Judge, on a Petition, would have to say not what was a noun substantive, but what was an adverb, or a verb adverb. By the adoption of the Amendment, they would be putting the candidate at the risk of losing his seat. There would always be the fear of the candidate taking one view of the matter and the Judge another—of the candidate supposing certain premises were "unsuitable," and the Judge declaring they were "suitable." In the interest of the candidate the clause should remain as it was, for it would relieve him of all difficulty. He would know he would not be able to go to a public-house for his committee rooms, and he would not go. He would meet the hon. Member (Mr. Stanhope) and those with whom he was associated if he could; but, really, in the interest of those persons he was trying to protect, he could not accept the Amendment.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, there were many constituencies — his own, which was one of the largest in the country, amongst the number—where it would be impossible in certain districts to obtain a room large enough, except in a public-house. No doubt, it would be difficult to decide what was suitable and what was not suitable; but, at the same time, it could not be questioned that the clause would be felt to be objectionable in many districts. If the candidates were not allowed to avail themselves of rooms in public-houses, in many places the only alternative would be to put up tents for the accommodation of the committees. He hoped some modifying words would be agreed to before the clause was agreed to by the Committee.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he quite felt the force of the objection of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, and if he could see any officer to whom the duty of deciding what were and what were not suitable premises could be entrusted, he would press the Amendment strongly. The sheriff would hardly possess the necessary information to enable him to perform the duty—he was, of course, speaking of counties, as the Amendment would not apply to boroughs—and, besides that, the sheriff might be a strong partizan on the one side or the other. Let them take the Northern Division of Lancashire, for instance. In that district — in which he lived, and with which he was, therefore, familiar—there would hardly be a place, except a public-house, which they could get for use as a committee room. This, he was sure, was only one example of a numerous class of cases. As the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) who had put the Amendment on the Paper was not present at this moment, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had consulted with his hon. Friend who had moved it (Mr. Stanhope), and they had decided that the best course would be to withdraw the Amendment, and see whether, before the Bill left Committee, or before the Report, they could not find some authority on the spot to whom they could entrust the task of deciding what were and what were not suitable premises. He was quite sure that if the clause were left as it was at present, great difficulty and inconvenience would be the result. In many places this would happen—a candidate, knowing the advantage he would so secure in a particular district, would seize on the only available place, not a public-house, for his committee rooms, and the other candidate would be left without accommodation of any kind and would be, therefore, at a great disadvantage. He trusted that the discussion of the matter might now be postponed, and that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not shirk the duty of considering it.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would consider the matter with the view, if possible, of carrying out the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion.

Mr. CALLAN complained of the manner in which the Attorney General had treated him in this matter. The hon. and learned Gentleman had certainly been too liberal in assigning a room 10 feet square for a committee room. The candidate who would require a larger one would certainly run a serious risk of having his election annulled, supposing he were elected.

Mr. WARTON said, he wished, before the Amendment was withdrawn, to make one or two observations which might be of utility later on. The Attorney General seemed to assume that in the case of every election there would be a Petition. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed always to have in his mind how far the Judge might consider that something was right or something was wrong. In the present case he might very well have accepted the Amendment, as it was eminently qualified to describe what was meant. He (Mr. Warton) trusted they would not have a Petition after every election under this Bill; but, however that might be, he certainly was of opinion that such an Amendment as this should be passed, in order to prevent candidates being in some cases altogether deprived of committee rooms. To his mind it would have been well if, throughout this Bill, they had been guided by the rules of plain common sense. Here would have been an opportunity for displaying it—here, finding that in some districts it would be impossible to get committee rooms except in public-houses, they should have allowed them to be taken in public-houses under due precautions and safeguards. He would not descend to particulars, as the Attorney General had done; but he earnestly protested against the principle that these matters would in every case be referred to a Judge, as though in every case an Election Petition were imminent. He was afraid that, in too many cases, Election Petitions would follow; but he protested against the assumption that they must follow in every case.

Mr. WIGGIN said, he hoped the Attorney General would endeavour to devise some means of getting them out of this difficulty. In his own county (East Staffordshire) there were several large districts, such as Cannock Chase, where there was no other accommodation for committee rooms, or for holding meetings, than the village taverns. Unless they were allowed to use these places, there would be no places in which they could hold meetings. He did hope the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would do his best to get them out of this difficulty.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, the next Amendment stood in his name—namely, to add at the end of line 13—

> "Provided always, That any club may be used as a committee room, if on the day of polling no intoxicating liquors are sold upon the premises."

He did not propose to move this Amendment, but the next, which stood in the name of his noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), he should move. It was as follows:—

> "Provided, That the section shall not apply where it is the ordinary practice of the owners of such premises to let them, or any part of the same, for chambers or offices."

He did not think he could do better than put to the hon. and learned Gentleman one case to illustrate what the noble Lord had in view in putting the Amendment on the Paper. Let them take the case of the Westminster Palace Hotel. That was, undoubtedly, an hotel where intoxicating liquors were sold; but, on the other hand, a considerable part of it was used as private chambers, committee rooms, places for holding meetings, and the like. His noble Friend was of opinion that where rooms in the hotel were used as private chambers and had separate entrances, they should not come under the provisions of this clause. If the Amendment was not acceptable, he was sure his noble Friend would be willing to go farther, and to agree to a modification requiring the rooms to be altogether shut off from the rest of the hotel. He would agree to add the words, "with separate entrances" to the Amendment. He did not think he could put a case that was stronger than that of the Westminster Palace Hotel, which, as they all knew, was used very largely for committee rooms and similar purposes. Surely, if the part used for these purposes was distinct from that used for an hotel, there could be no objection to exempting it from the clause. He begged to move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 7, line 13, add, "Provided, That the section shall not apply where it is the ordinary practice of the owners of such premises to let them, or any part of the same, for chambers or offices with separate entrances."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, as the Amendment originally stood on the Paper, it was very different from its present form, and he had several reasons for objecting to it. These objections did not apply to the Amendment as it now stood. He had no objection to the addition of the words, seeing that these chambers or offices were to have separate entrances. All he could say was, if the hon. Member would allow him to take up the position, he should like to consider the matter, and if nothing occurred to alter his opinion in the meantime to bring up the Amendment on Report.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the Westminster Conservative Association possessed offices in a building belonging to the Westminster Palace Hotel. Directly the present tenancy expired, that portion of the building might be thrown into the hotel. This was a case in point. The words as to separate entrance had been put in at his suggestion, because, as they originally stood, there was strong doubt about them. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would accept the present Amendment in principle, and wait until the Report for making any alteration that he might consider necessary, the arrangement would be one which would be satisfactory to a great many hon. Members.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES) said, he thought this proposal a very reasonable one, and he was quite ready to accede to it. He could hardly put the words down at the present moment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he would suggest that the hon. and learned Gentleman should, in any Amendment he might bring forward, except every portion of an hotel *bona fide* let off.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought the Attorney General should also put in words providing that the use of public-houses for the holding of public meetings should not be illegal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would consider that matter with the other.

COLONEL MAKINS said, there were many other places besides the Westminster Palace Hotel which would be affected by the clause if it were not amended, the Guildhall Tavern, for instance, where, no doubt, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had sat on arbitrations.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he should call attention to this subject again on Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CALLAN said, he would now move his Proviso.

Amendment proposed,

At end of the clause to add, "Provided, however, That nothing in this clause shall render illegal the use of any such part of any such premises for the holding of meetings or the addressing of electors."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would give as distinct a promise as he could to consider this Proviso, and would endeavour to see whether he could not give way so far as to allow a room to be provided in a public-house for candidates. He would also consider how far concession could be made, if it could be made at all, in the matter of using public-houses for committee rooms.

MR. CALLAN said, he would prefer having the point he was dealing with settled at once by the insertion of this Amendment. If, subsequently, anything should make it appear that his (Mr. Callan's) interpretation of the clause and the Amendment was not correct the clause could be again amended, The hon. and learned Gentleman had no objection to the Proviso, and he (Mr. Callan) could not, therefore, see why he could not accept it; it was no use waiting for the Report when they could settle the matter at once.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if the hon. Member would strike out the word "however" he would agree to the Amendment, reserving to himself the right of considering the whole matter later on. It appeared to him that for the purpose of saving time, the best course would be to accept the Amendment.

Original Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To add, at the end of the clause, "Provided, That nothing in this clause shall render illegal the use of any such part of any such premises for the holding of meetings and the addressing of electors."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. ONSLOW said, that, as a matter of convenience, it would be satisfactory if the Chairman would read out the clause as amended to the Committee. Most of the Amendments which had been made had not been put upon the Paper, and many hon. Members, he thought, were rather in the dark as to what the clause really was.

THE CHAIRMAN read the clause as amended.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he thought the clause before it became a part of the Bill, ought to be corrected in its grammar.

MR. LEWIS said, that if anyone had felt a desire to move the omission of the clause before it was read from the Chair that desire must have been intensified by the reading. Whether he looked at it from a grammatical point of view, or from the point of common sense, his love for it did not increase by the operation which had just been gone through. He would not go into trivial matters; but would deal with the clause in its entire and general aspect. It had been greatly amended—he did not think there was a clause in the whole Bill which had been more altered during the process of incubation. It had been tightened here and loosened there, and it was a most ghastly instrument now that they had finished with it. For his own part, he maintained the opinion which he originally entertained—namely, that it was one of the most tyrannical, unnecessary, and opprobrious clauses in the Bill; and, at the risk of being charged with repeating arguments, after what he had heard of the present structure of the clause from the lips of the Chairman just now, he was constrained to ask where were the members of a candidate's committee to meet in the future? At a coffee shop? No; for under the benign influence of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) that had been closed to them, as well as the butcher's. The pastrycook's and the baker's had been closed up, and, under the influence of an ex-Vice President of the Council, the school-board premises, he believed, had also been closed up, and there was a hybrid sort of arrangement by which some clubs were omitted from the clause and some were not—it was a kind of clubable conundrum they would have to go through at every election as to what would, in the opinion of the Judge, be a club within the clauses, or a club without the clauses. And they had got finally, to this great height of purity of election—that a candidate must not have a committee in his own hotel. "What," it was said, "do you want to stop in an hotel for for the purposes of elections?" They were not to have meetings for the purposes of elections in their own hotels. Here were 638 Members—English, Irish, and Scotch—sitting down to manufacture these fetters for themselves, and imagining they were doing business which was worthy of the attention of the Legislature of the United Kingdom. It was one of the most marvellous things which could have happened in this 19th century. Anything more contemptible than this clause in all its aspects—in its general aspect, in its limited aspect, in all the details that had been introduced into it, either in the way of tightening or loosening, had never been passed by the British Legislature. Was it not contemptible, when they remembered that they had been since 2 o'clock that afternoon occupied in this way, knowing all the time that there were real solid matters of legislation awaiting disposal. But it had pleased Members—many of them, no doubt, because they thought they were saving some amount of expenditure at elections—to set to work to endeavour to improve this miserable clause. He should vote against the clause, mainly for the reason that it was opposed to the primary object the Government claimed to have in view in proposing the clause—namely, the diminution of expenditure. The effect of the clause must be to increase expenditure. It could have no other result. Under the genial influence of the friend of the publican sitting near him (Mr. Onslow), it narrowed the opportunity of all candidates of obtaining rooms for committees. In the counties some candidates would be at their wits' ends when occasion came, to know how practically to work the clause. He saw an hon. Gentleman opposite who, during the early discussions on this Bill, was considerably troubled in his mind to know how he was to manage his own social hospitality. The hon. Member had appealed to the Attorney General for advice as to how he was to get out of the difficulties which beset him in this matter; but with all his pleasantry and genial manner, the hon. Member for East Staffordshire (Mr. Wiggin) would experience great difficulty in obtaining a committee room in his county when this clause became law. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General managed to get majorities in the Lobby with him; but how many of the hon. Members who came in to vote for these tyrannical clauses really believed in them? How many who would presently attend to the summons of the Division Bell, in the exercise of their superficial and glossy purity really pretended that they believed in these stringent provisions, which, after all, were the mere display of tyranny? He did not believe there was any clause in the Bill which was more obnoxious to common sense and practical experience, and more defiant of the actual necessities of the case than this. Hon. Members had, over and over again, invited those who supported the clause to give them some intimation as to the class of buildings which would be open to them in many parts of their constituencies for the purpose of conducting the necessary business of an election. No answer was vouchsafed them. They were told, of course, that the chief object was to prevent any possible treating in the committee rooms; but, without any guidance from the hon. and learned Attorney General, they were in darkness as to what the committee room was after all; and he had no doubt that when this clause was passed—as it would be—it would be found to be one of those Parliamentary conundrums and pitfalls studding this magnificent measure, which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) seemed to think one of the greatest achievements of any Ministry.

Colonel MAKINS said, that if a Division were taken he should vote against the clause. What had been said by hon. Members as to the difficulties which would result from the adoption of this clause was perfectly true; and he had in his mind a place where there was nothing whatever except a railway station, public-houses, a small shop or two, and a few farmers' houses scattered about a distance of two and a-half miles from the station. He should like the Attorney General to inform him where, in the future, they were to hold their committee meetings—where, save on the platform of the railway station?

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished also to raise a protest against the clause. This proposal of the Government seemed to him one of the most gross cases of interference with the liberty of the subject which this Bill displayed. It was evident that in many large districts of the country—especially in county constituencies—there were no other places available for committee rooms than public-houses. The definitions of the Bill would present almost insurmountable difficulties on a trial. The question, what was a permanent political club, and what was not a permanent political club, was one which would raise infinite difficulties with the Judges in these trials. This clause, as had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen)—and he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) only regretted that the hon. Member had not gone into the subject more fully—was a ridiculous specimen of bad grammar; it was a most wonderful confusion and involution of sentences as read from the Chair. Surely, it would have been better for the Government to have postponed it. It was a very strange thing, indeed, that the Liberal Party, with all their anxiety for the liberty of the subject, should be introducing at this time clauses of such a character. He had heard a foreigner of great intelligence, speaking to day of a debate which he had heard in the House on this Bill, and he used this expression—"In no other country in the world would such interference with the liberty of the subject be tolerated." He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) believed that to be absolutely true. The Government were now carrying through a Bill which would be practically unworkable, and which would, so far as it had any result at all, have the effect of victimizing a few innocent Members—perhaps many. In the end, there would be a universal outcry and a revulsion of feeling against the Bill; all the time they had spent upon it would be wasted, for they would find it would be necessary, either to repeal, or so amend it, as to deprive it of its present characteristics. To his mind, it was extremely unsatisfactory that they should be wasting their time in this manner whilst there was so many questions of far greater importance demanding the attention of the House and the country. He cordially agreed with those who proposed the rejection of this clause.

Mr. GREGORY said, as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was aware, he, for one, had not given any opposition to this Bill; but, on the contrary, he had endeavoured to assist the Government as far as he could. This clause, however, was really of a different character to those they had previously considered; and he could not help thinking that it was open to very grave and serious objections, not only as a matter of convenience, but also as a matter of principle. There could be no doubt that it was excessively restrictive in its character; and, as had been pointed out, might lead to very serious difficulty in its operation. He could not help thinking that for a clause of this kind some really valid ground should be shown, and he had failed to find anything of that kind during the discussion that had taken place upon it. As he understood, the only ground for the proposal of such a stringent and restrictive clause was that the presence of a committee sitting in a public-house might lead to an undue consumption of liquor. Well, the Attorney General in making this suggestion, he would point out, had not done credit to his own Bill. He (Mr. Gregory) could not help thinking that, under the provisions of the Bill, such a thing as that could not take place, because, if it went on to any extent, it would be a ground for voiding an election; and the members of a candidate's committee setting in a public-house, if they did not do their best to restrict the drinking that might be going on, would be each liable to serious penalties. This argument seemed to him altogether to meet the ground alleged for the introduction of this clause. The section, as it stood, was open really to so much objection in its language, and in the Amendments that had been accepted, that it was now almost rendered grotesque. There was an Amendment introduced by the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) to the effect that no committee should sit in a house where refreshments of any kind, whether food or drink, were sold and might be consumed on the premises. That Amendment would effectually put a stop to the use, not only of a public-house, but of the village grocer's, or the pastry cook's, or the baker's. The committee would be shut out from any shop where provisions were sold in a village, and he supposed would have to hold their meetings in the street. In a great many places they would have no place at all for their meetings. When one came to read the clause, as it stood, it was obviously open to misconstruction, and it could only lead to difficulty. No solid reason had been alleged for retaining it in the Bill, and great inconvenience had been pointed out which had not been met on the other side of the House. It would be unnecessary and unjust, and he, therefore, trusted the Government would consent to its omission.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that, though, of course, he should not expect the Attorney General to pay much attention to anything that fell from him, still he thought that the hon. and learned Gentleman could not have done less than give some little heed to the words of the hon. Gentleman who last spoke, who was recognized on all sides to be one of the oldest and most respected Members of the House, and also one who had very extensive experience in election matters, and whose object in addressing the Committee could not have been other than a worthy one. When such an hon. Member was addressing the Committee it did appear to him (Lord Randolph Churchill) that the hon. and learned Gentleman might have done something else than lay almost at full length on the Treasury Bench, ostentatiously paying no attention whatever to the speech that was being delivered. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Question!"] Well, he was only stating the fact. ["Order!"] He was not out of Order. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had not put himself to the trouble of even listening to the weighty argument that fell from the hon. Member (Mr. Gregory), who did not often address the Committee. Anyone would have thought that what fell from the hon. Member would have had, at any rate, some little weight with the Attorney General; but not only had the hon. and learned Member ostentatiously refused to listen to what had fallen from the hon. Member for East Sussex; but he committed a much more unpardonable crime, because he had paid no attention whatever to what had fallen from the Prime Minister this afternoon. The Prime Minister had deeply regretted his inability to provide more time for the discussion of important Business than that which the ordinary laws of nature allotted to them, and he had urged in the House the necessity of economizing the time they had to the last moment. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) had no hesitation in saying—and he would signalize to the House and the public the fact—that the Attorney General of England, who had been entrusted by the Prime Minister with the charge of this Bill, had wasted the whole afternoon, and two hours, minus a quarter, of the Evening Sitting, in passing a clause—["No, no!"]—well, in endeavouring to pass a clause which literally was not worth the paper upon which it was set down. The clause was absurd; it was ludicrous; it was utterly futile in its aims; it was unintelligible in its language; and it would prove so unworkable that no Judge in the land would ever think of making an effort even to arrive at what was the intention of Parliament with regard to it. The hon. Member who had just sat down had talked about the only refuge for election committees being the streets, and, curiously enough, that had reminded him of a speech that the Attorney General made at Bristol a little while ago—he thought about two years ago—when the hon. and learned Gentleman denominated certain of his opponents as "gutter boys." It appeared to him that the Attorney General had been anxious in this clause to bring his taunt into an Act of Parliament, and to reduce, not only his opponents, but also his supporters, to the level of "gutter boys." He wished to ask the Attorney General — though he had not condescended to answer anything that had fallen from the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), or the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and it was, therefore, hardly to be supposed that he would answer anything that fell from him (Lord Randolph Churchill)—if he would give the Committee a specimen of his great legal ingenuity by explaining, not what was his own aim, but what was the aim of the Government in inserting this clause in the Bill? What had the Government done? They had got out of the House of Commons a tremendous advantage in their method of conducting an election; they had obtained two tremendously strong guarantees for the purity of election. They had limited the number of committee rooms, and then had gone further —or, rather, they were about to go further—and limit the amount of a candidate's expenses, so that by no possibility, if the Bill was fairly carried out, could corrupt or illegal practices, or undue influence, be exercised. These things could not take place if they stuck at their two principles of limiting the number of committee rooms and the amount of a candidate's expenses. What could be the object of the Government in going beyond that and seeking to place the maximum of inconvenience upon the candidate? He wished to know whether the difficulties of Parliamentary elections were not great enough already—before this new law was passed? To hon. Members who wished to conduct elections with tolerable purity, and to save their seats in the House, was it not difficult enough to conduct elections now? Would the difficulties not be great enough even if the Bill stopped here and went no further—would the difficulties of conducting an election not be 10 times greater than they were if the Bill passed into law and obtained the Royal Assent now? Would the hon. and learned Gentleman tell them what was the object of the Government in endeavouring to surround the return to Parliament of a candidate by so many insupportable and impossible obstacles as they found here? The Committee was agreeing to a clause of which the structure was not on paper before it. It was only in their mind in a most hazy form—he did not believe the Attorney General himself knew exactly how it stood, and he was perfectly certain that no other Member of the Committee had the slightest idea how it stood. The Attorney General in one of his speeches —and he had made a great many that afternoon—said he wished to put down the evil of drinking in committee rooms, and that if they did not insert this clause there would be a great deal of drinking in public-houses during elections. [An hon. MEMBER: Treating.] Yes, of course, treating by someone or other at public-houses as this clause was at present. In the course of the afternoon he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had read the clause over and over again, and he had come to the conclusion that they might leave it out of the Bill, or put it into the Bill, and they would produce no effect whatever, either more or less, on the amount of drinking that would take place at a Parliamentary election. The hon. and learned Gentleman said they were not to take committee rooms in public-houses, but they might take committee rooms next door to a public-house, so that members of a committee might step out of the one house into the other. By the fact of the committee room, which was not a public-house, being in such close proximity to the public-house, all the friends of the candidate, who wanted to drink, might go from the one to the other, and any amount of drinking could take place; in fact, committee rooms would be sought for in proximity to public-houses, and all the work they had done that afternoon, in spite of the Prime Minister's adjuration to economize the time of Parliament, would be entirely thrown away. All their efforts would have been useless, because of those absurd regulations, which, after all, were only handicapping and endeavouring to keep out of Parliament the candidates who, in all probability, they would like to see come into it. He could assure the Attorney General that he was in all sincerity putting these objections before him. As a general rule, he and those who thought with him had encouraged the disciples of right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench by generally voting with the Attorney General; and it was, therefore, from no hostility to the Bill that he made these observations. He hoped elections would be as pure as possible; but as for the Bill, it would make very little difference to him as far as the constituency he represented (Woodstock) was concerned. He might be said to take a most impartial view of the matter. He believed these clauses, if they passed as they were, would add to the growing unpopularity of the Liberal Party; therefore, there was nothing more disinterested than his attitude in this matter. It occurred to him also that the Attorney General might have considered that which did not seem to have come before his usually highly imaginative mind, that the Bill, as it was drawn, was a Bill for promoting the decaying prosperity of the Bar, and for bringing the sands of Pactolus into the pockets of the senior, or of the dead or dying junior Bar, through the amount of Petitions the Bill would inevitably give rise to. The Attorney General might have considered that, when he was filling his Bill with every imaginable pitfall and trap, such as that committee rooms were not to be taken in public-houses. If the Bill passed in its present shape, no candidate in his senses would think of having a committee room during the progress of his election. It would be madness for any candidate to have anything approaching the nature of a committee room, except, perhaps, at a University election. If he had anyone to assist him, other than his authorized agent, he would be offering himself up to the Attorney General and his satellites, who, like vultures, gathered together from all quarters of the horizon when they smelt the wretched blood of the candidates. That was the whole object of the Bill. He proclaimed this—that the Attorney General had wasted seven or eight hours of public time in passing a clause which in its nature was so intolerable, and so utterly against all the ideas of liberty which, in spite of Parliament, were maintained in the Courts of Law, that no Judge would ever put it in force.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, he did not wish to follow the noble Lord upon the points he had raised. They had discussed these clauses in detail, and it was scarcely necessary to go over the same ground again; but he agreed with the noble Lord that the section was too severe to be operative. But, at any rate, it was the decision of the Committee. He regretted that the noble Lord should have made any animadversions on the conduct of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. He (Mr. Cowen) had watched this Bill very closely, and was bound to say that the hon. and learned Gentleman had displayed very great ability and extreme tact and good temper in his conduct of it. The hon. and learned Gentleman had been troubled with Amendments on many occasions. He (Mr. Cowen) himself had had to bring before him suggestions which had not been acceptable to him, and invariably the hon. and learned Gentleman had received these proposals with great consideration. On reflection, no doubt, the noble Lord would admit that was the case, and would agree that it was an extremely difficult task to conduct through the House of Commons a Bill of this character, and that there had been great demands made upon the Attorney General's temper and patience. He thought it only fair that some consideration should be shown to the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he could not agree with some things that had been said as to the Attorney General's conduct of the Bill. He believed that the hon. and learned Gentleman had been hardly used, because it was manifest throughout the discussion of the clause that he had, to a very large extent, accepted Amendments that had been moved on this (the Conservative) side of the House. The clauses were greatly benefited by the additions that had been made to it. Personally, he (Mr. Whitley) was one of those who should be glad to see no public-houses used at elections. He believed they had been the source of a great deal of corruption in the past. The clause, as originally drawn, bore hardly upon one section of the community—

namely, the publicans, whom he believed to be as honourable a class of men as any other, and whom he should be sorry to see stamped as being specially responsible for the treating which had taken place at elections. He looked with great approval upon the Amendment which the Attorney General had consented to, to apply the clause to refreshment houses, and in that matter did not agree with the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory). He did not believe that the clause would touch the general shopkeeper; but understood it to refer only to refreshment houses, where food and drink might be used for purposes of corruption. As amended, the clause was now a great improvement upon the original proposal of the Government, and he, personally, felt very much obliged to the Attorney General for the way in which he had met the proposals which had come from the Conservative side of the House. After the hon. and learned Gentleman had accepted proposals emanating from this side of the House, it certainly was rather hard that he should now be taunted with having done so. If he (Mr. Whitley) voted against the clause, it would be on the ground stated by several hon. Members, even by some on the Ministerial side of the House—namely, that in country districts there would be great difficulty in finding rooms for committees if they were debarred from using public-houses.

MR. WARTON said, he was not going to make any ill-natured observations in regard to the Attorney General, whose goodnature and kindness of heart they were all so well acquainted with. But, with all his kindness of heart and goodnature, the hon. and learned Gentleman could not reconcile the Committee—and it was to be hoped would not be able to reconcile the Committee—to the adoption of this very singular clause. It was necessary for him briefly to recapitulate the history of the discussion on this clause. As it came before them originally it was simply an attack upon the Licensed Victuallers—it was simply a declaration that these men were a kind of pariahs, who were always acting improperly. When the Attorney General came to this strange proposition, however, he, to a certain extent, relented, and in his desire—and this he (Mr. Warton) said without the slightest reflection on the hon. and learned Member—to do justice to the Licensed Victualler, he still further restricted the number of possible committee rooms. The effect of all the Amendments assented to was this—that, practically, candidates would be left without any choice of rooms at all—that was what it came to. He was not, for one moment, blaming the Attorney General, whose good-tempered tact and kindness everybody was aware of; all knew he wished, if possible, to please everybody, but the result—as was the case in the old fable, to which he had not time to make more detailed reference—was that it ended in his pleasing nobody. The effect of all the hon. and learned Gentleman's attempt at conciliation was this—that in endeavouring to please one class and another, candidates at elections would be left without any committee rooms at all. He did ask the hon. and learned Gentleman most earnestly to consider what would be the effect of the clause as it now stood. Would it not be this—to increase very largely the expenses of elections? A candidate would not be able to have a public-house committee room; he would not be able to have a room in a house in which drink was sold; he would not be able to have one in an elementary school; and he was left in the position of being unable, in a country constituency, to obtain anything in the nature of a committee room at all. At the same time, the Committee were not told what a committee room was. They were left entirely in the dark in this matter; and it seemed to him that if they adopted the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) as to suitable premises, it would have been a great improvement. One of the great evils they were met with throughout this Bill, was the constant reference to the Judge. They were told that the Judge would take this view, and the Judge would take that view; whereas hon. Members who had been candidates at elections hoped that these matters would never come before a Judge at all. He had said before, and he would say again—he would prophecy—that the result of this Bill would be innumerable Petitions and innumerable unseatings of candidates for trifling and trumpery offences. Hon. Members had suffered great inconvenience from the manner in which the issue had been put before them. When the Amendment was brought forward by the hon. Member for Mid-Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope), by which it was proposed to omit the words "or any premises where intoxicating liquor is sold," there was a sort of tacit understanding that the question of clubs was connected with that. He (Mr. Warton) had been compelled to vote with the Government, as many Conservatives had done, in the narrow Division that took place; because, as a lawyer, he could not help looking at the words narrowly, and thinking that the words did not apply to clubs. It had been held, on the highest authority, that liquor was not to be sold at a club; the members had to pay for their liquor as they paid for their dinners; but in the eye of the law that was not "paying;" it was something in the nature of a transaction amongst themselves, a sharing of common property. Many Conservatives had been obliged to vote according to their consciences, because these words, in accordance with the law, did not convey the result which was supposed to be conveyed to the Committee. Nothing in the whole course of the discussion on this clause had struck him with more amazement than the way in which, at a quarter to 7 o'clock, the Chairman put this Question; and it had been passed, without anybody saying a word on the subject. He had no doubt this Amendment of the Attorney General would lead, in the end, to very considerable discussion. There would be the greatest difficulty in deciding what a permanent club was—whether permanence meant a club that had stood for a long time, or whether the description would apply to a house newly erected or newly acquired. That was a point which he (Mr. Warton) could not deal with—it was a question for the Judges. The clause was now left in such a state of hopeless entanglement, that when the Judges came to interpret it they would be very much puzzled to say what was a permanent political club and what was not, and would find it very difficult to draw a distinction between those good clubs and those bad clubs, of which much had been heard. He was always anxious to speak of the law as he understood it; and as he gave his vote for the Government on the question of law he, therefore, hoped they would give him the credit of speaking for the law honestly. If anyone pretended to say what the law was, he was bound to disregard Party considerations altogether; and it was as a lawyer, and not as a Party man, that he maintained that the Amendments of the Attorney General left this clause in a state of hopeless confusion. To say that these difficulties that had arisen were to be solved by the Judge was a terrible thing. He hoped these cases would not go before a Judge; but it was because he thought that the section was left in such a hopeless state of entanglement that he, for one, should vote against it. He must say he believed the section was one of the most muddling, interfering, troublesome, sections in the whole Bill; but he did think that the Attorney General, in his anxiety to save the time of the Committee, would have done much better to have withdrawn the clause. Feeling, as he did, the necessity, in point of time, for their making progress with measures of importance, he could not help urging on the Government to cut out this provision, which was confusing, and which would lead to expense, not to the Legal Profession, but to the unhappy candidates, who would be entrapped into all sorts of difficulties.

Colonel ALEXANDER wished to ask whether, under this clause, it would be permissible to use churches and chapels for electioneering purposes? In Scotland it was the constant practice to use churches and chapels for the purpose of holding meetings. He himself had preached from a Presbyterian pulpit; and he had no doubt that the Prime Minister, who was also a Scotch Member, had performed a similar feat. The people of Scotland would be deeply grieved and disappointed if they were precluded in the future from using their churches and chapels for this purpose, as they felt that such use added very much to their sanctity; and if they were deprived of it, he was certain there would be considerable difficulty in many places in finding places equally suitable for the holding of meetings.

Mr. GORST said, that when the clause was originally proposed it was a very bad one, and one the Committee would have done well to reject; but he had no hesitation in saying that it had been made infinitely worse by the Amendments introduced into it, and if it was desirable to oppose the clause originally, it was imperative on the

Committee to do so now. It had become a trap for unsophisticated and uningenuous candidates. In the first place, no one knew, and no one had been able to tell them yet, what a committee room was. The Attorney General had been appealed to, over and over again, to tell them how the Judges were to define these words—to define what a committee room was, what it was that made a room into a committee room. The Attorney General did not know, and the Judges would not know, what a committee room was; but the Judges would have to find out. The candidate, he supposed, would have to have a committee room—not many, because where many were employed numbers of them were useless. Where, however, was the candidate to hold his committee meetings? He was shut out of the public-houses; he was shut out of all the places where intoxicating liquor or other kinds of refreshments were sold—indeed, he was not sure that the candidate was not shut out of the butcher's shop or the grocer's. [An hon. MEMBER: Oh! yes.] It was clear he was shut out of his hotel. The man who had the imprudence, during an election, to reside at an hotel would, no doubt, have to take extreme good care in everything he did, that the hotel did not accidentally become a committee room. Since the Committee adjourned for the dinner hour, candidates had been shut out of all schools, he was told. He did not know whether they were shut out of all churches and chapels. It seemed to him that if they only knew what a committee room was they would find that no committee room could be held except in the street. The candidate was shut out of private houses where he had the imprudence to give anything to eat or drink; and the whole effect of the clause was that the candidate would, first of all, have to wonder what it was that made a committee room, and, if he was clever enough to find that out, he would have to take precious good care that he did not make any house in the borough which he desired to represent into a committee room. But, then, by this extraordinary trap for the man who might wish to conduct his election purely, there was the most perfect licence to use any room he liked in a public-house, school, church, or chapel, or refreshment room, for purposes of election, so long as it was not a committee room; and he could not conceive anything more likely to promote illegal practices and extravagant expenditure during an election than this unlimited means of hiring rooms all over a borough or county, except in public-houses. This clause was originally aimed against Licensed Victuallers specially. Now, as amended, it appeared to have been turned into a most ingenious trap to catch unwary candidates, and into a most ingenious arrangement for allowing the most extensive corruption to prevail. The only class whom he supposed the Attorney General desired to benefit were the lawyers, because this certainly was a clause that would encourage Petitions. If the Attorney General had brought in the clause with the view of assisting members of his Profession who were not Members of the House, and to put a little honest money into their pockets by promoting Election Petitions, it was an admirable clause; but, if it was intended to promote purity of election, it was a very bad clause indeed, and he hoped the Committee would reject it.

MR. GRANTHAM said, it was quite clear this was a clause aimed solely against public-houses. When the clause was originally proposed, it was seen to be unfair to treat public-houses invidiously; but now, as amended, it was one of the most useless and absurd clauses ever introduced into a Bill of this nature. Why, in the name of fortune, they could not have a committee room in a house in which food was sold passed his comprehension. Those who had any experience whatever in electioneering matters knew quite well how difficult it was to get rooms at all for the use of committees. He should certainly vote against the clause, and he hoped, by so doing, a protest might be entered which would have some effect on the Bill.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE desired to say, in a very few words, the reason why he should support the elimination of this clause. As his hon. and learned Friend who had just sat down had pointed out, as first drawn the clause appeared to be aimed at public-houses. The Attorney General had altered it because, as he had pointed out in an early period of the debate, he did not wish to make any invidious distinction between licensed houses and other houses; he had, therefore, accepted an Amendment bringing coffee-houses and other refreshment houses in the same category, and he showed to the Committee that the sole purpose of drawing up the Amendment was to prevent candidates, and those who were likely to support candidates, from being led into temptation. It was evidently the opinion of a great many hon. Members that this clause, as it now stood, was thoroughly unworkable. Personally, he considered it absolutely unnecessary; because, if hon. Members would look at the 1st clause of the Bill, they would find that treating in any way whatever was to be regarded as a corrupt practice, and anyone who indulged in such a practice would be liable to the loss of his election, and possibly to a prohibition to sit for the constituency which he had been wooing again, at all events for the then Parliament. If candidates were so idiotic as to use public-houses for purposes of treating, he did not think it was at all necessary for the Committee to pass a clause that should save them from their own folly. This clause was absolutely unnecessary, it being provided in the 1st and 41st clauses that these things should not be done under pain of heavy penalties; therefore, he should vote against the retention of the clause.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON supposed that, after what his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Alexander) had said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would see that he was quite mistaken when he told the Committee that churches and chapels were not used for election purposes. Why, the Prime Minister himself had desecrated churches and chapels by utilizing them for some beggarly electioneering work in Scotland. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General proposed, he believed, to provide in the clause that schools should not be used for committee rooms; *à fortiori*, chapels should be included in the prohibition. He appealed to the Attorney General to either accept his Amendment, or to put aside the clause altogether.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he had considerable sympathy with the object the Attorney General had in view in not allowing committee rooms in public-houses. Looking, however, at the subsequent part of the Bill, and at the very stringent regulations that were made as regarded expense, he did not see how it was possible for them to work the Schedules of the Bill unless they were to have committee rooms in public-houses. As he pointed out in the few words he addressed to the Committee earlier in the afternoon, the expense of committee rooms would be very much increased by the clause as it now stood. Candidates could get committee rooms in public-houses at a very much less cost than they could get them in other houses. Under the circumstances, he should find himself reluctantly obliged to vote against the clause.

Mr. RITCHIE wished to defend the Prime Minister from the charge of sacrilege which had been brought against him. In Scotland it was not considered a sacrilege to address meetings in churches and chapels. As a matter of fact, it was a very common practice; and therefore the right hon. Gentleman could not be open to the charge made against him by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley Leighton). Such was not the case in this country, and he (Mr. Ritchie) thought it would be an invidious thing if candidates were allowed to address the electors in churches and chapels in England. It was perfectly certain that members of the Church of England would regard it as a sacrilege to address meetings in their churches, although it might not be considered so by those who attended chapels—["Question!"]. It was the Question; the question was raised by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He (Mr. Ritchie) desired to say that he should certainly vote against the clause. The clause, as he understood it, had been proposed in the interest of the reduction of expense, and also in the interest of purity of elections. So far from the clause reducing the expenditure of candidates, he believed it would really increase their expenditure. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) had shown that he, at any rate, would be placed at a great disadvantage in consequence of not being able to employ the houses of Licensed Victuallers, because he would have to pay very much larger sums for houses other than those of Licensed Victuallers. But apart from this, the hon. and learned Gentleman had told the Committee that in addition to the committee rooms, which would be allowed under the Bill, candidates would be allowed to engage public-houses for the purpose of addressing meetings. If this clause did not exist a candidate could engage the large room of a public-house for a committee room, and he could also use it for the purpose of addressing meetings. According to this clause a candidate would be obliged to engage a room for his committee in a house other than a public-house, and he would be obliged to engage a room in a public-house for addressing meetings. He would, therefore, be put to two costs instead of one. With the object of promoting purity of election, he understood the Attorney General to advocate the limitation of the number of committee rooms. It was contended that it was a very common mode of corruption to pay a large sum for the purpose of engaging a large number of committee rooms, and that was one of the grounds on which the Attorney General had advocated the limitation of committee rooms. He (Mr. Ritchie) wanted to know how they could support the present proposition on the ground of purity of election, if a candidate was to be at liberty to engage a large number of rooms in public-houses for the purpose of addressing meetings? If it was a means of corruption to pay large sums of money for the purpose of engaging committee rooms, it surely was an equal means of corruption to engage rooms for the purpose of addressing meetings. He could not conceive how, either on the ground of purity of election or the reduction of expenditure, this clause could possibly be supported. Believing, as he did, that the clause would neither tend to the purity of election nor the reduction of expenditure, and believing also that it amounted to the casting of an unnecessary slur on a large and respectable body of tradesmen, he should vote against it.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, there had been so many alterations made in the clause that he did not think half the hon. Members in the House knew how the clause now really stood. Perhaps the Chairman would be good enough to read the clause again?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) rose to a point of Order. The hon. Member was not present, some time ago, when a similar request was complied with. It would be inexpedient to establish a precedent by requiring the Chairman to read the clause, whenever a request was made by Members who had been absent, when it had been once read. He trusted the Committee would not establish a bad precedent by requiring the Chairman to read the clause.

MR. RAIKES entirely agreed with what had been said by the Attorney General as to the irregularity of appealing to the Chair to read a clause again which was before the Committee; but, having said that, he was bound to say he did not think the Attorney General had done much to shorten the discussion by laying such stress on that point, because, no doubt, a great many Members of the Committee had come into the House since important Amendments had been introduced into the clause. Might he suggest that there would be no impropriety in the Attorney General himself reading the clause? He understood that the Attorney General had consented to insert words in the clause which would make it competent for any candidate to address his constituency in any public-house. In short, that the same Government which prohibited the holding of committee meetings in public-houses was actually about to introduce words to legalize the practice of candidates addressing their constituencies in public-houses. He was bound to say, if that was a fact, they had reached the consummation of the *ne plus ultra* of hypocrisy. Years ago he remembered having seen meetings held in public-houses on behalf of Parliamentary candidates. When he was an Undergraduate at Cambridge he attended some of the meetings of the Liberal candidate, which were invariably held in a public-house; and he remembered pretty well the scandalous system of drinking and treating which always ensued at those meetings. Was he to understand that this clause, which proposed to tighten and to strengthen the law with regard to the admitted irregularities which might arise in case committee meetings were held in public-houses—was he to understand that the same Cabinet which was proposing to tighten and strengthen that law, was actually about to introduce words which would perpetuate one of the most absolute forms of corruption at the present time?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had charged the Government with hypocrisy. Why, as a matter of fact, the provision as to the holding of meetings in public-houses was inserted in the clause at the suggestion of the very Friends of the right hon. Gentleman himself. They had asked that meetings should be allowed in the large rooms of the public-houses, on the ground that it very often happened that large rooms could only be found in public-houses. Having yielded to that change, which came from an hon. Member opposite — he presumed the right hon. Gentleman at the time the concession was made was absent—the right hon. Gentleman now came forward and accused them of hypocrisy. Under the circumstances, he did not think that the Government need take the words of the right hon. Gentleman very much to heart.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, and the Government in general, liked to pose as martyrs because they considered they were doing their duty. If the Government, however, had been here a long time to-day, they themselves were responsible for taking up the time of the Committee, and they must not regard hon. Members as their vassals and slaves. When an hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) asked that the clause should be read, instead of his request being complied with, the Attorney General got up and read the Committee a lecture. If the hon. and learned Gentleman had not committed that great mistake, which certainly was not usual in him, they would not have the shameful altercation and disturbance which was likely to ensue. He maintained that they had a right to have the clause read; and, although the Attorney General might desire it, they did not intend to vote in the dark. They had a right to understand the clause as it stood. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that they had pressed upon him certain Amendments to this very ridiculous clause; but, having pressed upon him those Amendments, they desired, before they voted on the Question that this clause should stand part of the Bill, to have the whole clause read. He would, therefore, ask the Chairman very respectfully to be good enough to read the clause, and not allow the Committee to be dictated to by the Attorney General. Certainly, unless they had the clause read again, he should move that the Chairman do now report Progress.

MR. ONSLOW said, that he, with great deference, asked the Chairman once before to read the clause; but at the time there were very few Gentlemen indeed in the House. The Attorney General must remember that an immense number of Amendments to the clause had been accepted, most of which had not been on the Notice Paper at all, and that scarcely one of the Amendments, as they stood on the Paper, had been agreed to. The Attorney General had met hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House with the greatest frankness and the greatest good temper, and he could readily understand the position of the hon. and learned Gentleman in wishing to pass the Bill as soon as possible. This clause, however, was one of the most important clauses of the Bill. Some most important Amendments had been made in the clause, such as had not been made in any other clause of the Bill. He did not wish to detain the Committee more than a few moments. Indeed, he only rose to appeal to the Prime Minister, even if it was a little irregular, to say one kind word in order that the clause might be read from the Chair, so that hon. Gentlemen who were not in the House when the clause was read some time ago might know exactly how the clause stood.

MR. PELL said, he could imagine nothing more inconvenient than that the Chairman should be required to read different clauses of the Bill. Considering, however, the importance of the present clause, he thought that, as so many Amendments had been made to it, an exception might be made in this case. If it were, however, read from the Chair, he hoped the Committee would not take this as a precedent for their future guidance.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he hoped that this novel request for the renewed reading of the clause from the Chair would not be pressed. It would be a complete innovation. Indeed, he did not believe that on more than three or four times in the last 50 years, over which his Parliamentary experience extended, had a clause, as amended, been read from the Chair. He asked the Committee to consider the request in all its bearings. It was a dangerous request to be made at all; and certainly it was a request which came with very little grace—he did not now refer to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland)—from a Gentleman who had absented himself from the House during the greater part of the discussion, but who, having just arrived, made a peremptory demand from the Chair, and threatened that unless the demand was conceded he would report Progress. It was not that he (Mr. Gladstone) begrudged the few moments that would be occupied in reading the clause that induced him to appeal to the hon. Gentleman not to press a demand to which the Government could be no party. A very evil precedent would be established if, in the course of a particular discussion, any Gentleman could ask that the clause should be read from the Chair. Besides that, it was not a very easy matter for the Chairman to read the clause as amended. It was very difficult, indeed, to incorporate the marginal alterations made by the Chairman in a manner perfectly sufficient for his own purposes, but not for the purposes of others. He did entreat the Committee to recollect how dangerous a precedent would be established in this matter.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he did not think that would be regarded as a precedent at all. He had asked the same thing himself on a previous occasion when the Speaker was in the Chair, and the right hon. Gentleman at once complied with the request.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL rose to Order. With the object of saving the time of the Committee, he thought, instead of listening to long lectures from the Attorney General and the Prime Minister, they ought, upon this matter, to appeal to the supreme authority of the Chair, and to ask the Chairman whether a *bonâ fide* appeal had not been made to him, and whether that appeal was not within the right of a Member of the Committee? He respectfully asked the ruling of the Chair upon this point?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he must—[*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Chair!"] If hon. Gentlemen would only restrain their impatience they would find there was nothing disorderly at all in what he was going to say. He begged to say there was no question before them, as he apprehended, of Order involved in this matter. He had never asserted that it was irregular for this clause to be read from the Chair; nay, more, he believed that if 50 hon. Members, one after the other, were to get up in immediate succession, and to demand that for 50 times the clause should be read from the Chair, there would be nothing disorderly or nothing irregular in their so doing. There would, however, be extreme inconvenience if the case were carried to absurd lengths.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he had asked the Chairman for a ruling on the point, and he would again most respectfully ask the opinion of the Chair upon the matter?

The CHAIRMAN: I cannot say there is any point of Order involved in the question. It may, however, shorten matters if I state exactly what took place. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) had an Amendment on the Paper, and that Amendment was accepted, or partly accepted, by the Attorney General. The hon. Member (Mr. Onslow) then asked me, as a point of Order, if I would read the clause as it then stood amended. I informed him there was no point of Order at all, but I said I had no objection to reading the clause; but I did find some difficulty in reading the clause, owing to the various Amendments that had been made; and I did not read it in such a manner as I could have wished. Having read it already twice, at the request of hon. Gentlemen, I think it can hardly be necessary, or perhaps hardly proper, that I should read it a third time.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER entirely agreed with the opinion that had been expressed, that there was nothing irregular in an appeal to the Chair to have a clause—the character of which was doubtful to the Committee—read; but, when an appeal was made to the Chair, and the Chair did not respond in the affirmative, it was a distinct declaration, on the part of the Chair, that the Chair was not prepared to read the clause. What he (Mr. O'Connor Power) objected to was that hon. Gentlemen, in that (the Opposition) part of the House, should take the authority of the Chair into their own hands, and should not only determine what the Committee should think, but what the Chair was to think, as to the performance of the Chairman's duties. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) concluded his speech with a threat, for he said—"Sir Arthur Otway, I ask you to read the clause, and if you do not, I shall move to report Progress." [Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF at this point rose, but was met with loud shouts of "Order, order!"] He (Mr. O'Connor Power) was sitting quite close to the hon. Gentleman, and he (Mr. O'Connor Power) was now in the hearing of the Committee, and what he ventured to say was this—that neither the Chairman nor the Committee would stand such a slight for two seconds if it was made by an Irish Member.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF rose to Order. He distinctly said—[*Cries of* "Order, order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. O'Connor Power is in possession of the Committee.

MR. RITCHIE rose to a question of Order. He wished to ask the Chairman whether, if an hon. Gentleman, in the course of the address of another hon. Gentleman, rose to Order, he was not entitled to be heard?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) was speaking to a point of Order. ["No, no!"] The Question before the Committee is that this Clause 15 stand part of the Bill.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL rose to Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question before the Committee is that Clause 15 stand part of the Bill. Do I understand that the hon. and learned Member for Mayo is not speaking to a point of Order?

MR. O'CONNOR POWER trusted that if he should, by accident, become out of Order, the Chairman would not fail to give him the usual intimation; and he hoped he should not be swayed by the example of hon. Gentlemen near him in disregarding the Chairman's ruling. As the question of Order seemed to be disposed of, he wished to address himself to the point at issue, whether it was necessary, in order to enable the Committee to arrive at a decision, that the whole clause should be read from the Chair? He respectfully submitted there was no such necessity, and that hon. Gentlemen who had recently arrived would be inflicting a great hardship upon those who were in possession of the facts of the case if they were to insist upon any such reading; but, at the same time, he wished to avail himself of this opportunity of protesting against the license, which some hon. Gentlemen permitted themselves, in discussions in that House, and he wished to say that hon. Gentlemen below him ought not to imagine that, because they had not the misfortune to represent Irish constituencies, they had a right to do what they liked.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, they had got into rather a heated discussion upon a somewhat unimportant question. As he understood the matter, before they divided many hon. Members were anxious to know how the clause stood, and with that object the Chairman was requested to read the clause. The Prime Minister considered that that would be an evil precedent to set. Might he (Mr. Balfour) suggest that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, who was in charge of the Bill, should read the clause as amended instead of the Chairman; and might he also remind the Prime Minister of this fact—that before they separated at 7 o'clock an appeal was made to his noble Friend (Lord Randolph Churchill) not to press his Motion for Adjournment, though his noble Friend pointed out that as they had not the words of the Amendment of the Attorney General on the Paper, it was very difficult for them to give a decision upon their import? His noble Friend yielded to the appeal of the Prime Minister. Would it, therefore, be too much to ask the Government to yield to the reasonable request, and read to the Committee the clause on which it was now expected to vote?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) asked that he might be permitted to mention what had really occurred. When they re-assembled that evening they had arrived at a certain stage of the clause. The Chairman yielded to a request to read the clause; and after other Amendments had been made, and other Provisoes added to the clause, the clause was put from the Chair, and then the Chairman was again asked, as a matter of courtesy, to read the whole clause as amended. He did so, and when a few other hon. Members arrived at the House it was asked that the clause should be read a third time.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It was read to the Committee about a quarter past 9 o'clock.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was first read immediately after they re-assembled at 9 o'clock, and it was read a second time immediately when the Question was put that the clause be added to the Bill. It stood to reason that if every hon. Member, when he came to the House, could insist upon the clause being re-read, considerable inconvenience would ensue. It was a precedent that could not be allowed for a moment.

MR. RAIKES said, he thought it would be almost impertinent, after what had fallen from the Prime Minister, for him to add anything as to the extreme inadvisability of endeavouring to provoke from the Chair a further source of discussion. The Chairman could exercise his own discretion as to whether he complied with the request of any hon. Member to read the clause, and he would only do so if it were desirable in order to facilitate the deliberations of the Committee. He (Mr. Raikes) thought it would be a matter of extreme misfortune if any questions of this sort were precipitated in order to disturb their Business, which was already sufficiently confused. He (Mr. Raikes) should not have been sorry if the Attorney General had given them some hint as to some of the words he had added; but, after the course taken by some Members of the Committee, perhaps he was exercising a wise discretion in the course he was pursuing, although he (Mr. Raikes) was not a little surprised to find himself in accord with the hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), whom he remembered was not always the most disposed to support the Chair. He was, however, very glad to be fortified with the hon. and learned Gentleman's support on this occasion; and he did appeal to the Committee whether it was worth their while to continue to waste the very precious moments at their command on a matter of this kind?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) represented a constituency where there were no committee rooms, and where even the candidates themselves were not allowed to show themselves during an election. But the result of the Attorney General's refusal of a very courteous request on the part of the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) had been a very great waste of time. Whether hon. Gentlemen were right or wrong in making such a request, the hon. and learned Gentleman might courteously have acceded to it, and then the Committee would have known what it was they were asked to vote upon. He (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) would not have troubled the Committee again, had it not been for the long jeremiad of the Prime Minister, in which the right hon. Gentleman had referred to him. He (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) only wished hon. Members to know what it was they were to vote upon; and if the information had been given at once, without that remarkable outburst from the Attorney General, they would have been in the Division Lobby long ago. In order to enable the Government to give the information now he would move that the Chairman be directed to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff.*)

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, that as there seemed to be some dispute about the time when this clause, as amended, was read from the Chair, he might mention that he noted the time when the incident occurred. The clause was read quite distinctly from the Chair at about five minutes past 10 o'clock, and therefore there could be no necessity whatever for reading it again now.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he hoped they might now be allowed to come to a decision upon the clause. It was a great misfortune, after the clause had occupied the attention of the Committee for so long a time, that a decision should not be arrived at? He had not taken any part in the discussion with regard to the question of reading the clause over again; but difficulties did sometimes arise from the House being more full at one time than at another, and from Gentlemen who had not heard what had passed being unacquainted with the particular matters under discussion. But it was, he thought, a question of expediency and discretion as to what were the occasions on which a clause should or should not be read again; and, under the present circumstances, he hoped his hon. Friend would not persist in his Motion. He fancied that most hon. Members in the House had their minds pretty well filled on the subject, and were in a position to come to a decision upon it.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had not altogether gathered the exact position in which his hon. Friend (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) stood with respect to this clause. The right hon. Gentleman could not be aware that the claim, or the request—for, after all, it was nothing more than a request, and a reasonable one—[*Interruption.*] The Junior Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), who presumed — [*Interruption.*] The Junior Lord of the Treasury was not in the House when the question was originally raised, and seemed to have been brought in for the purpose of cheering the Prime Minister. [*Interruption.*] If the Junior Lord of the Treasury would kindly allow him (Lord Randolph Churchill) to proceed, and would not imitate the extremely evil example of some hon. Members, with whom the Prime Minister had often to remonstrate —[*Interruption.*]

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The noble Lord must address himself to the Chair.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he had been led into these remarks on account of the prominent part that was taken rather unusually by the Junior Lord of the Treasury. What he wished to do was to point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition that the Motion for reporting Progress —on which he rather hoped his hon. Friend would take a Division — was brought about by the request—the most courteous request—of the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) to the Chair being abruptly and with great brusqueness suppressed by the Attorney General, and declared to be irregular. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition would not think them wanting in any way in respect to him, if, in spite of the words which had fallen from that right hon. Gentleman, and which certainly, on ordinary occasions, would have very considerable weight, they on that side of the House were determined to show to Her Majesty's Government that when a minority, even though it might be a small minority, made a reasonable request it ought to be respected. They were a minority who had on no single occasion obstructed or interfered with the progress of the Bill. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Question!"] He challenged any hon. Member who sat on the Ministerial Benches—[*Cries of* "Question!"] That was the Question. He was supporting a Motion to report Progress—a Motion which he said they were entitled to make because they had not opposed the passing of this Bill through the House. He repeated, that a reasonable request was made for information, and that the Attorney General, presuming on the forces which were behind the Government, and on the singular state of excitement which had been developed among those forces to-night, endeavoured brusquely to suppress that request. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) was sure that if the Leader of the Opposition were in possession of all the circumstances of the case he would be inclined to take a favourable view of the position in which those hon. Gentlemen who supported the Motion were placed. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) certainly hoped that his hon. Friend would go to a Division.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he was unable to follow the noble Lord in the view that his right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition had been unable to grasp the situation; but, however that might be, he did not think the noble Lord was in a very much better position himself. The noble Lord had stated just now that the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) made a claim and a reasonable request to the Government. Now, unless his (Mr. Chaplin's) ears had altogether deceived him, it was neither a claim nor a request, but a threat, and a threat which had been put into practice by the Motion to report Progress. He wished to ask hon. Gentlemen on that (the Opposition) side of the House in whose interest it was that the claim, or request, or threat, had been made? He apprehended that those who had been attending to their duties in the House—who had sat throughout the discussion—were perfectly well informed at that moment as to the nature of the clause under discussion; and, if so, it followed that the claim was made entirely on behalf of those who, like himself—and he acknowledged that he was to blame for not having been present—had absented themselves from the House throughout the evening. But he did not think, because he had chosen to absent himself throughout the evening, that he should come forward at that late hour of the night (12.10), and call upon the Chairman of Committees, under a threat, to read the clause, the nature of which he ought to have instructed himself upon. He should think himself guilty of a most impertinent act if he did such a thing. He hoped that, under the circumstances, his hon. Friend would think better than to go to a Division on a Motion which could not be justified.

MR. GORST said, he did not know how long the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) might have been in the House; but it was clear that he had entirely failed to acquaint himself with the situation. It was not the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), but the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), who made the request to the Government, and that hon. Member had been attending in his place throughout the discussion. What was asked of the Government was, he (Mr. Gorst) was bound to say, a fair request, which ought to have been conceded in common courtesy; because the Prime Minister could not have forgotton that at 7 o'clock that evening the Committee accepted certain words proposed by the Attorney General which were not then on the Paper, and which they might have waited to have seen put down on the Paper for the Evening Sitting. On the request—the very courteous request—of the Prime Minister, all opposition to those words was withdrawn, and the words were allowed to be added to the Bill; and he (Mr. Gorst) thought that courtesy ought to be returned for courtesy, and that when a request was made, after dinner, by a Member like the hon. Member for Evesham, who certainly was not a vigorous opponent of the Bill, that request ought to have been granted. It appeared to be the desire of the Government, and, so far as he could judge, it also apppeared to be the desire of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, that the Committee should divide upon the clause without knowing what it was; for he would venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that not only did the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) not know what it was, but there was not a single Member on the Front Opposition Bench who knew what it was, and he was perfectly certain that very few of those who sat opposite on the Ministerial side of the House knew what it was. Indeed, he was not quite sure that even the Prime Minister himself knew exactly how it stood. Of course, if it was the desire of the Committee to come to a conclusion upon the clause when no Member of the Committee, or when only a very small minority indeed, knew what they were voting about, let them do so—let them reduce the Parliamentary procedure of that House to the absurdity of passing such things in such a manner. But it really was the fact that these proceedings in Committee on these Bills were pushed to an absurdity, the Government relying, not upon the votes of intelligence, but upon brute force. [*Interruption.*] He was sorry to see that certain hon. Members were trying to usurp the functions of the Chair by calling him to Order. It was absurd for these matters to be decided by Members who had not heard the arguments.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Motion before the Committee was that Progress should be reported.

MR. GORST said, he was trying, as well as the disorderly interruptions of hon. Members opposite would permit him, to address himself to that question, and he was endeavouring to give reasons why they should not insist on the Committee voting upon a clause with the terms of which they were not acquainted; but he was much hindered by the disorderly interruptions of hon. Members opposite. He was saying that the Government ought to rely upon the votes of persons who had heard the discussions, and who were acquainted with the clause upon which they were going to vote, and that they ought not to rely upon the ignorant votes which they could summon in from the Library and the Smoking Room to overbear those who had been endeavouring to support them in passing this Bill, and who were simply animated by an honest desire to know what it was they were voting about.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he was in his place at 7 o'clock when Progress was reported, and a few minutes after 10 he merely asked that the clause might be read, so that he might not be in ignorance of what it was he was called on to vote upon. If the Attorney General had simply appealed to him, and asked him not to press his request, he would at once have given way, as he wished to show every courtesy to the Government, All he had asked for was for honest information, and he was very sorry that any debate had been raised upon the matter, as he had no desire to see the time of the Committee wasted. He merely wished to know where they were.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF merely wished to say one word with regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who had accused him of having been guilty of a great act of impertinence. He (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) had not made a threat to the Government. The hon. Gentleman had declared that the request made to the Government was not a courteous request, but a threat; and in saying that he entirely misunderstood the subject. The hon. Gentleman was not here himself at the time, or he would have known that the request he had referred to as not a courteous request was that of the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), and had nothing to do with anything that he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) had had to say. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire had come up from Newmarket, not having assisted in any of the debates that day, and he was perfectly unaware that a short time before 7 o'clock the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), simply at the request of the Prime Minister—a request which, no doubt, was most courteously made—had withdrawn a Notice to report Progress. Now, all that was asked for at the present moment was that hon. Members might be allowed to know the terms of the clause upon which they were asked to vote—it would not take two minutes to give the desired information. ["Question!"] What he was saying was the Question. If Progress should now be reported, hon. Members would have the text of the clause upon the Paper to-morrow, and then they would know what it really was; but at the present moment they were asked to vote upon it without knowing what were its terms. He, therefore, respectfully put it to the Prime Minister to let them know exactly what they were going to vote upon, for, surely, the right hon. Gentleman did not wish them to vote without knowing what was the Question before them.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put.

The CHAIRMAN: The "Ayes" have it.

Mr. LEWIS: Sir Arthur Otway——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is too late; the Question has been decided.

Mr. GORST: I beg to say that the hon. Member for Londonderry rose before the Question was put.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I heard the hon. Member for Londonderry most distinctly challenge your ruling.

Mr. ONSLOW: I rise to a point of Order. If the hon. Member for Londonderry had not got up, I should have got up myself some considerable time ago.

The CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member for Londonderry had risen before I put the Question, certainly I should have no desire to interfere with him.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER rose to Order. When the Chairman of Committees gave a decision the other evening, although the right hon. Gentleman admitted that that decision was made by mistake, the whole Conservative Party protested against any alteration, and that decision had to stand. Now, he (Mr. O'Connor Power) was prepared to be guided by one rule applicable to all sections of the House; but he was not prepared, as a Member of the Committee or of the House, to have one rule applied to the Conservative Party, and another rule applied to Irish Members; and he maintained that as the decision of the other evening was allowed to stand, notwithstanding the mistake of the Chairman, the decision of this evening ought to remain, notwithstanding the mistake which affected the hon. Member for Londonderry.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lewis.

MR. LEWIS said, he would not detain the Committee for more than a very few minutes, simply for the purpose of informing hon. Members who desired to have the clause read, but who had not been able to get it read, what he understood to be its present condition. He thought it was a matter of great importance that there should be a clear understanding as to what was the present condition of the clause. He did not wish to enter into any discussion as to whether it was reasonable or not to ask to have the clause read again, seeing that it was read by the Chairman at about five or ten minutes past 10 o'clock; but it was, perhaps, unfortunate that the clause should have been altered in so complicated a way that even the Attorney General had not in his possession an actual record of its present condition, or he was sure the hon. and learned Gentleman would have read it to the Committee. Many alterations had been made in the clause. In the first place —and he begged to call the attention of hon. Members to this fact—an alteration had been made so as not to exclude the use as committee rooms of clubs of a permanent character. On the other hand, a committee room of a candidate could not be hired in any house in which refreshment of any kind, whether meat or drink, was sold upon the premises. He need not say that that was a most extraordinary and extreme alteration to make, and it would have the effect of excluding every room in every house of a baker, butcher, or grocer, or any class of traders who sold refreshment of any kind, whether liquid or solid. Another important alteration which had been made in the clause was that committees were not to be held in any school room under a school board. But a far more serious and important alteration than any he had yet mentioned was one at the end of the clause which enabled meetings to be held by candidates at licensed houses of every description, though they could not have committee rooms there. He asked the Committee to vote against the clause as it stood; and he maintained that they ought to do so just because they had no accurate record of it, if for no other reason. He was not going in the least degree to join in the dispute as to the propriety or the inconvenience of asking the Chairman to read the clause again; but as no Member of the Government had before him an accurate record of the condition in which the clause now stood, that was an abounding reason why Progress should be reported to enable them to see the clause in print.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 146; Noes 111: Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 164.)

Clause 16 (Punishment of illegal payment, employment, or hiring).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. LEWIS moved that Progress be reported, it being now 1 o'clock, and the House having been sitting since 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the Committee would sit a little while longer, as it was now earlier than the hour at which Progress was usually reported. He thought he could meet the views of hon. Members with regard to Sub-section 2, by agreeing to the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), which was to strike out all the words from "hiring" to "shall" in line 20. That would have the effect of narrowing the clause very much, and if the Committee would consent to deal with that matter, he would then consent to report Progress.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked whether the Attorney General would make any concession with regard to the amount of fine? The hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) proposed to reduce the fine to £5; and he thought if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General could see his way to reducing it to that amount, that would give satisfaction.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the two hon. Members who had Amendments down with a view of reducing the fine had been called, but had not risen.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he thought that that did not preclude an

Amendment being moved, and he should move to reduce the fine.

MR. LEWIS said, he had not factiously opposed the Bill, and he should not be so discourteous to the Government as not to accede to the appeal, although personally he reserved to himself the right to move the omission of the sub-section.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. KENNY said, he wished to move the omission of the words "one hundred," and insert "fifty." His object was to make the clause more workable, believing that all offences of illegal payment would be quite met by a fine of £50, instead of £100. He was of opinion that extreme punishments were calculated to prevent the effective working of the Act, and that if the Committee agreed to this Amendment the working of the Act would be very much simplified.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 16, to leave out "one hundred," and insert "fifty."—(*Mr. Kenny.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought the Committee would realize that he had yielded as far as he could. He must point out that this section imposed no imprisonment, but simply a money fine, and even that fine might be reduced within the discretion of the tribunal. This was a matter of very small importance, and he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

MR. LEAMY asked whether there was to be an appeal in every case? Because he did not think it would be right to enable magistrates to impose a fine of £50 without an appeal. If this was to be a matter for summary conviction, the right of appeal would be given under the Summary Jurisdiction Acts; but it would never do to allow magistrates to impose a fine of £50 upon a man with whose political opinions they differed. He would ask the Attorney General for Ireland whether conviction under this section would come under the Petty Sessions Act in Ireland? If that were so, he should see no objection to the section standing.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he believed there could be no doubt that this matter would come under the provisions of the Petty Sessions Act, and that, therefore, there would be an appeal.

MR. WARTON said, that he was not anxious as to whether the amount was £50 or £100; but there was a far more important question arising here than that. The Attorney General had stoutly resisted an Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) with a view to the summary punishment of election improprieties during an election. There was nothing in the clause just passed, or in this clause, to prevent instant action being taken for illegal payment, employment, or hiring, while the election was proceeding; and he wished to point out the importance of considering the practicability of the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. He hoped the Attorney General would consider whether he could carry out that Amendment with regard to treating and other crimes which had been passed by for the present, for it seemed to him that the only practical way of putting down all kinds of election crimes was by dealing with them on the spot. He thought they might fully trust the magistrates not to be led away by political feelings, or to turn a case one way or another by reason of political considerations, but to act entirely on the evidence before them. The Attorney General had been strangely inconsistent in rejecting the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, and then allowing certain crimes to be punished, as they could be under this section, while an election was actually proceeding. The Attorney General had rejected the Amendment because he chose to assume that magistrates would not do their duty in consequence of his allowing them to act while an election was proceeding in cases of illegal payment, employment, or hiring. If there was any sincerity in the Government in wishing to put down bribery, the only effective way to do that was to have a tribunal on the spot to punish crimes as they were committed.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. and learned Member to speak more to the Question before the Committee. There is not a word about tribunal in this clause.

MR. WARTON said, the words "summary conviction" were in the clause, and if the Government took objection upon that ground it would be the duty of the Committee to scrutinize every line very closely; and the next time that occurred he should move an Amendment to draw attention to the thorough inconsistency and hypocrisy of the Government.

MR. GORST said, he thought that the statement just made by the Attorney General, in reply to the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), was calculated to mislead the Committee. The Attorney General for Ireland had said that in Ireland there would be an appeal. That might be so; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman rather implied that there would also be an appeal in England. Was it not the fact that in England there would be no appeal at all? He wished to ask the Attorney General to state distinctly whether, under this clause, imposing a fine without imprisonment, in England there would be any appeal whatever? Would it not come under Section 19 of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, which gave an appeal only when there was imprisonment?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland had stated that there would be an appeal under the Petty Sessions Act in Ireland. Under the English Act an appeal only lay when there was imprisonment, and therefore under this clause there would be no appeal. This question of tribunal and appeal would come under consideration upon Clause 29, or it could be dealt with under Clause 51.

MR. WARTON protested against the habit of the Attorney General of referring the Committee to subsequent clauses. It was important they should enter on a discussion of this point. The Attorney General allowed the magistrates to summarily convict in some cases, but not in others.

MR. RAIKES said, he should like to have a little more information upon this clause. He thought it was desirable that the Attorney General should take steps to gather whether an appeal could be allowed in such cases. He remembered a case in a recent election where an enormous amount of damage was done in a borough—several thousand pounds' worth of injury to property—and in respect to which parties were summoned before the magistrates. There was a whip-up of magistrates, the Mayor was there on the Bench, and he was scheduled afterwards by the Commission, and he was assisted by other magistrates, whose names were also subsequently scheduled, and by the casting vote of the Mayor they succeeded in rejecting the claims of those persons whose property had been damaged. Having this instance in his mind, he thought that a more unfortunate tribunal than borough magistrates for deciding matters of this kind could not be imagined. He hoped, therefore, some form of appeal would be provided.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, the hon. Member who moved the Amendment could not have looked at Clause 51. If he referred to that clause he would find that, as the Bill stood, a person feeling himself aggrieved might appeal to Quarter Sessions. He hoped the Attorney General would consider, in relation to that provision, whether he could give the same tribunal jurisdiction in the direction as to which the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was so anxious. But, as the Bill stood, the Amendment was open to all the objections the Attorney General pointed out. He did not entertain distrust of the magistrates; there might be some bad, but he did not believe there were grounds for any general distrust; but for the sake of the magistrates, and the possibility of there being any such distrust, it was very undesirable to trust to them entirely. He only rose to point out that there was an appeal under the Bill, and in the discussion of that clause there would be a more proper opportunity for entertaining this proposal.

MR. KENNY said, under the circumstances, and as Clause 51 provided for an appeal for any person aggrieved under Section 16, it was not necessary to press the Amendment, and he would, with permission, withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 17, after the word "is," to insert the word "personally."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 18, to leave out from after the word "hiring" to the word "shall" in line 20.—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, the Amendment he had to propose had reference to the clause as it originally stood; but the object was one in which the Attorney General participated. There was nothing in the Bill to punish any Association, the agent of which had been guilty of illegal practices; it merely punished the agent, merely subjecting him to a penalty of £100; but if the Association were also punished, and a certain stigma placed upon it, gentlemen who were asked to subscribe to the Association would naturally be somewhat chary of associating with a body which had been punished for illegal practices. He was informed by legal friends that the Amendment, as it stood, was inadmissible, for it was not possible to fine an Association—some individuals must be made liable; and he would, therefore, propose to insert before the word "Association" the words "the committee or directing authority of." The Attorney General would see the object he desired to gain; and if he preferred other words, or would undertake to insert words to meet the object, he (Lord George Hamilton) would leave the matter to him.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 20, add the following sub-section:—"(3.) If the agent of any Association shall be guilty of the offence of illegal payment, employment, or hiring, or shall aid, abet, or, by the payment of money, or in any other manner, confirm any such offence, the committee or directing authority of such Association shall be guilty of an illegal practice, and be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds."—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he hoped the noble Lord did not think he gave any promise to accept any particular Amendment; he had only given a general opinion as to the undue intervention of an outside Association. The Amendment would go a good deal further than was intended, for under it any Association, the agent of which was guilty of any illegal practice during an election, would be liable to a fine of £100. Thus an Assurance Office in London might have a person acting as its agent in a distant town, and this agent might be proved guilty of an illegal practice at an election with which the Company had no concern, and yet under the Amendment the Directors would be liable to a fine of £100. There was evidently a miscarriage of words in the Amendment in giving expression to the idea intended to be conveyed. He would suggest that the noble Lord should withdraw his Amendment, and raise the point in a more substantial manner later on.

Mr. WARTON submitted that the noble Lord might, by the introduction of one word, make all clear. If the word "political" were introduced before the word "Association" in the first line in the Amendment, then it would have no effect on other Associations.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he was afraid the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member would not meet what he proposed, for it need not necessarily be the action of a political Association; there were many non-political Societies that might materially interfere in an election. But he could see that the drafting of the Amendment would not do. He would take the advice of the Attorney General, withdraw the Amendment, consult with his legal friends, and see if, on Report, he could raise the Amendment in some other shape.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he would move to report Progress, and for this reason. In reply to the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) the Attorney General intimated that the Bill would not be proceeded with beyond the Amendment standing in the name of that hon. Member, the omission of Clause 16, and it was to be assumed the hon. Member so understood the Attorney General, for he had left the House. It was only fair, therefore, in his absence, that the clause should not be passed, and that the hon. Member should have an opportunity of urging his objections on the morrow to this particular clause.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there was some little misunderstanding on the part of the hon. Member for Cavan. He had stated distinctly what he proposed to do with the clause, and the hon. Member for Londonderry, knowing what the Amendments were, and knowing that the clause would be taken, had left with the understanding that the clause would be taken, and what he objected to would be taken out.

MR. BIGGAR said, his hon. Friend the Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) corroborated him in the impression he gathered from the undertaking given by the Attorney General; and he certainly did think it would not be acting in good faith towards the hon. Member for Londonderry to pass the clause. It could really make no material difference, for if there was no objection raised to the clause, it would pass at once at the next Sitting without discussion.

The Committee proceeded to a Division:—

The Chairman stated he thought the Noes had it; and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Ayes to stand up in their places, and Five Members only having stood up, the Chairman declared the Noes had it.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LEAMY said, he understood that while the hon. Member for Londonderry was in the House he proposed to move the rejection of Sub-section 2; and the Attorney General said if the 1st section of Clause 16 were allowed to pass, and certain other Amendments were accepted, it would still be in the power of the hon. Member for Londonderry to move the rejection of Sub-section 2. The hon. Member for Londonderry, it seemed to him, had gone away under the impression that it was possible for him to move the rejection of Sub-section 2; and, in the absence of the hon. Member, he was willing to make that Motion.

MR. CALLAN said, he was in the House when the hon. Member for Londonderry spoke, and his belief was that it was understood that if the Amendment to leave out certain words were accepted, the first question to-morrow would be that Clause 16 stand part of the Bill; and he arranged with the hon. Member to attend punctually at 12 to discuss the retention of the clause, and the hon. Member left the House under that impression.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would not take advantage of any mistake, if mistake there was; but there really was none. It was impossible that the hon. Member for Londonderry could misunderstand. He informed the hon. Member that he was going to accept the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and that of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst); and thus the clause was rendered quite different to that which the hon. Member for Londonderry had proposed to strike out; and thereupon that hon. Gentleman left the House, willing to accept the clause, and he did so immediately he knew what he (the Attorney General) was going to do.

MR. LEAMY said, that, after this statement, he would not press his objection.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

MEDICAL ACT (1858) AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 205.]

(*Dr. Lyons.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Dr. Lyons.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the hon. Member when he proposed to take the Committee stage? He believed this was a Bill very generally accepted, and that there was no opposition to its principle; but he, in common with many hon. Members, had received a number of papers, which seemed to indicate that to one clause in the Bill much exception was taken.

DR. LYONS said, this was not the Bill to which the hon. Gentleman referred—this was not the Bill affecting medical men. It was a Bill for a special purpose—for giving the Royal University of Ireland power to do that which its predecessor, the Queen's University, did—to nominate to the Medical Council. It was a very simple Bill of one clause.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 4th July, 1883.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 4th July, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered—First Reading* — Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [254].

Second Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) [224]; Companies Acts Amendment * [246].

Committee — Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Fourteenth Night*] —R.P.

Committee—Report—Medical Act (1858) Amendment * [205].

Withdrawn—Copyhold Enfranchisement * [50].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 5) BILL.—[BILL 224.]

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. John Holms.*)

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN said, that, before the Bill was read a second time, he wished to ask his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. J. Holms) what the intention of the Board of Trade was in regard to this and other Bills which involved the establishment of the principle of electric lighting? He understood that there was considerable opposition to the present Bill, and that Petitions had been lodged against it. If that were so, and he believed he was correctly informed in the matter, the Bill would appear to come under the 2nd and 3rd sub-sections of the 4th clause of the Electric Lighting Act of last year; and he would, therefore, ask his hon. Friend if it was the intention of the Board of Trade, under those circumstances, to move that the Bill be referred to a Hybrid Committee?

MR. J. HOLMS said, that, in reply to the hon. Baronet the Member for Glamorganshire, he had to state that this was a somewhat novel undertaking, and that it was one of the first Provisional Order Bills which had come before the House since the passing of the Electric Lighting Act which proposed to remit them to the consideration of the House of Commons. It was therefore, perhaps, desirable that the matter should be more fully considered than would probably be necessary under ordinary circumstances. In a matter of this kind it was of great importance that the regulations should at the beginning be completely brought under the cognizance of the House. Therefore, in the nomination of the Committee to inquire into the merits of the Bill, the Government would be open to consider any suggestion to refer the measure to a Hybrid Committee.

MR. E. STANHOPE only desired to make one remark upon what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade. If this particular Bill contained principles of novelty and importance, the nature of the Committee to which it was to be sent was well worth consideration; but it would be of no use to call upon any Select Committee to consider the Bill unless there was somebody appointed to bring before such Committee any substantial points of objection. If the Bill were not opposed at all, it appeared to him that it would be absolutely useless to send it to a Select Committee.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had ascertained at the Vote Office that there were at the present moment a number of Electric Lighting Bills before the House involving all sorts of complications; and, if they were going to make a new departure on the subject, it was most undesirable that Bills of this kind should be run through the House without being thoroughly examined by a competent Committee, and that every provision should be carefully scrutinized before it was passed. It seemed to him that these Bills, to a certain extent, sinned against the principle which he certainly should have thought the President of the Board of Trade and Member for Birmingham would have insisted upon—namely, the principle of local authority and local self government. If the principle of local self government was worth anything at all it ought to apply to a matter of this kind, which was purely a matter for local government. He thought it was the duty of Parliament to exercise great care before it thrust a speculative Company upon the local authorities with power to provide electric lighting and to tear up the streets without the consent of such local authorities. In the Strand district, which was affected by the present Bill, he understood that the local authority was strongly opposed to the provisions of the Bill, and it was most undesirable that an opposed Bill of this kind should be run through the House without a thorough and competent examination.

MR. STEVENSON said, that these Bills, although unopposed, had undergone a careful examination before their provisions had come before the House; and it was no part of the functions of the House to facilitate an opposition to unopposed Bills. It was quite true that the Electric Lighting Act of last year was passed without exciting much attention at the hands of the House; but the Act was the result of an able Committee that gave a long time to its consideration last year. Under that Act these Electric Lighting Provisional Orders had been prepared, and every person interested in the matter had an opportunity of being fully heard before the Board of Trade, and bringing forward any objection. It was not desirable, he thought, to afford an opportunity for opposition now, where hitherto there had been no opposition. An unopposed Bill must necessarily go before some Committee, in order that the clauses contained in it might be settled; but it was a very different thing to give facilities for opposition, when no opposition had been offered at the right time.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY) said, he could not help thinking that the course proposed by the Secretary to the Board of Trade was one which would best commend itself to the House, because it afforded an opportunity to the House, if it were so minded, of referring the Bill to a Hybrid Committee, instead of the ordinary Select Committee. His hon. Friend had not prescribed any particular course, but said he would afford an opportunity to the House, on a future occasion, of expressing and giving effect to its opinion on the matter. For his own part, he (Sir Arthur Otway) was rather inclined, seeing the importance of the interests involved in the matter, to support the appointment of a Hybrid Committee; but he was perfectly open to be convinced by the arguments which might be used on the other side. In regard to unopposed Bills, the operation which took place was of a different character from that which was generally supposed. Unopposed Bills often required a very careful examination, and a great deal of responsibility was thrown on those to whom the duty of examining them was intrusted. He must say, speaking for himself, that he considered an unopposed Electric Lighting Bill just the Bill that should be examined as carefully by the Committee before whom it was sent as an unopposed Bill. He advised the House to concur in the course recommended by the Secretary to the Board of Trade, and to reserve its decision as to the tribunal before whom the Bill should go when the nomination of the Committee was proposed. It would then be for the House to determine whether they would refer the whole of these Bills to a Hybrid Committee or to an ordinary Select Committee.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 3rd July.*]

[FOURTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Illegal Payment, Employment, or Hiring.

[*Fourteenth Night.*]

Clause 17 (Power of High Court and election court to except innocent act from being illegal practice, &c.).

Mr. WARTON said, he had an Amendment before that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson), which he was sorry he had not had an opportunity of placing on the Paper. It was, in line 24, after the word "election," to add the words "or the Court of Election Commissioners." They had, in this Bill, re-established and strengthened the Court of Election Commissioners appointed under the Act of 1852; and it was quite possible that in the course of the inquiry made before that Court some allegation might be made as to one of those illegal acts which were not to be tried on Petition, and some candidate or agent might suddenly find his character affected on some point not raised during the trial of an Election Petition. As this was an Equity Clause, he was quite sure the Attorney General would view his Amendment favourably. The principle of Equity should apply whether the Court was an Election Petition Court or a Court of Election Commissioners—the latter Court being carefully preserved by the 10th clause of this Bill, which they had passed. It seemed to him that it would be advisable to leave it open to the last moment for some accusation to be made of some of these illegal practices that they had been dealing with during the past day or so against either a candidate or an agent, or some other person—some accusation that might only come out during the evidence, and might occur to the surprise of the person or persons interested. If it was not troubling the Attorney General too much, he would urge him to agree to these words.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 24, after the words "Election Court," to insert the words "or a Court of Election Commissioners."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was sorry to be obliged to say "No" to this Amendment, which had taken him by surprise. He did not wish to give this power to the Election Commissioners. The object of the clause was to prevent the extreme penalty, which was the loss of a seat, being inflicted on a candidate in consequence of some act of inadvertence, or from accidental miscalculation committed. The Commissioners would only come into play after an Election Petition had been determined; and he did not wish to delegate such duties as these to the three gentlemen who might sit as Commissioners. The powers ought to be exercised by Judges; and he, therefore, hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. GIBSON said, he had an Amendment to slightly extend the clause and remedy an omission in drafting. He did not propose to go at any length into the matter, and would merely suggest that after the second "agent," the words "or person" should be inserted.

Amendment proposed, in page 7, line 26, after the second "agent," to insert "or person."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he thought the insertion of these words would be an improvement. Therefore, he would agree to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. BIGGAR said, that as the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) was not in his place, he would move one of the Amendments standing in the hon. Member's name—namely, in line 32, to leave out "payment, employment, or hiring." It seemed to him that if a candidate deliberately acted in this way by an illegal "payment, employment, or hiring," he had a right to suffer the penalty.

[After a pause, the hon. Member resumed his seat, remarking that he would not move the Amendment.]

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that, in the absence of the right hon. Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke), he would move the Amendment which stood in his name—namely, that after the word "arose," to leave out these words—

"From inadvertence, or from accidental miscalculation, or from some other reasonable cause of a like nature," and insert "from some reasonable cause."

During his own last election some wickedly-intentioned person placarded Liverpool with a statement to the effect that he had retired in order to contest Mid Cheshire, and he was obliged to placard the town denying the statement. Everybody in the House would know that the statement was perfectly untrue. Nevertheless, increased expenditure on his part was rendered necessary by the placard; and if this Act had been in force the result might have been that the maximum amount of expense might have had to be over-stepped at the last moment. The Amendment would cover a difficulty of that kind.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could not accept the words proposed. He was willing to accept an Amendment which stood in the name of the right hon. and learned Gentleman tne Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), to make such an act as that complained of an offence under the Act. He had carefully considered the question whether he could be more elastic than he had been; and though he could not say that it would be unconstitutional to give such powers as those mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to the Judges, nevertheless it would be a very great power to confer upon them. A candidate might expend a large sum of money from what he might consider some reasonable cause; but the Judge might take a different view of the reasonableness of the cause. A candidate might look upon anything as reasonable —such, for instance, as taking some thousands of people for a house-to-house canvass; but the Judge might think that it was a distinctly illegal practice. The candidate might say—"But I could not have a house-to-house canvass without employing a large number of persons; therefore, in order to carry on my election I found it necessary to spend a very large sum of money." He (the Attorney General) wished he could accept the Amendment; but he thought the Committee would look at the object the Government had in view, and would agree with them that the law should be such that, when it was framed, it should compel obedience to it. It seemed to him that the words—

"From inadvertence or from accidental miscalculation, or from some other cause,"

were sufficient to cover any substantial difficulty which might arise. At any rate, if these words were found to be insufficient, at a later stage he would promise to introduce words to obviate any difficulty.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that during the discussion on the previous clause he had been under the impression that the Attorney General placed great reliance in the common sense of the Judges. Some very important questions had been left to their common sense; and, that being so, he could not for the life of him see why they should not leave it to their common sense also to say whether the excuse given for a payment was a "reasonable" one or not. Surely, the power ought to be left with them of saying that the candidate ought not to be mulcted in a very heavy penalty for some expenditure that he might feel himself bound to incur. If they were to rely at all upon the Judges, they might, at least, leave them to say whether a reasonable cause existed for an expenditure. He did not suppose any Judge would look upon such an expenditure as the payment of thousands of persons for the purpose of a house-to-house canvass as a reasonable expenditure; and that was the only point the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General raised as a reason why he could not accept the Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he should like to see the words the Attorney General proposed to accept, on the Motion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), to make acts such as had been referred to offences under the measure. He should like to know what the Attorney General proposed to do, so that on Report he might suggest some other words to meet the case he had in his mind, if the suggestion of the Government was not sufficient.

MR. WARTON looked upon these words as very satisfactory, with the exception of those "of a like nature," which would tend too much to limit the discretion of the Judge. What acts could be committed which would be "of a like nature" to "inadvertence or accidental miscalculation?" It seemed to him that the clause would be much more satisfactory if these words were omitted.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if he struck out the words "of a like nature," he should be practically accepting the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross). As to circumstances of a like nature, it seemed to him that, supposing a candidate was deceived by the statement of some person who came to him for money, and who said that he had been employed, when, as a matter of fact, he had not, such a circumstance as that would apply. Again, a candidate, or an agent, might be misled in making an appointment, or he might be misled into asserting that he had had a certain clerk in his employment, when, as a matter of fact, he had not.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. WARTON submitted that the words in Sub-section (*c*)—

> "That such notice of the application has been given in the county or borough for which the election was held as to the Court seems fit"—

would not render the provision more satisfactory. This was an unnecessary provision, and if the Attorney General would omit all unnecessary provisions from his Bill he would get the measure through much more rapidly. If a man considered himself entitled to relief from the penalties of the Bill he would be sure to make application, and to give notice of it. Therefore, it was quite unnecessary to retain these words. The Committee had had several of these absurdities before, and it was quite time they had done with them, if they were to make progress with the Bill. He would move the omission of Sub-section (*c*).

Amendment proposed, to leave out Sub-section (*c*).—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought the sub-section ought to remain. [Mr. WARTON: Why?] It should be retained for this reason—that the error to be provided against arose out of a public transaction—namely, the election. The constituency were interested in the question of the relief claimed, and might object to its being afforded. Therefore, in order that the matter should not be decided behind the backs of the constituency, provision should be made for advising them of what was going to take place. The sub-section would provide for this notice, which would give the constituency an opportunity of making themselves heard, if necessary.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GIBSON said, he would now move the Amendment which stood in his name, and which was consequential upon the Amendment which had been already accepted. It was in page 8, line 2, after "agent," insert "or person."

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 2, after the word "agent," to insert the words "or person."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. WARTON said, he would submit whether it would not be better to say "such person?" The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would see that the words "such person" would identify, without the possibility of mistake, the person intended. They had used the words "such candidate;" and he thought that to be accurate, and to be in keeping with the provisions they had adopted, they should here employ the word "such." If they did not adopt this Amendment they would not be able to say who the person was.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would consent to the insertion of the words "or person" after the word "agent," in line 8 of page 8, striking out the word "or," in line 7.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 7, to leave out the second "or."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 8, after the word "agent," insert the words "or person."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Election Expenses.

Clause 18 (Nomination of election agent).

Mr. ONSLOW said, he wished to propose, in page 8, line 12, to insert after the word "person," the words "not himself." He had personal knowledge of two hon. Members who sat in that House, and who were their own election agents; and he therefore thought it quite reasonable that this Amendment should be adopted. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] He quite understood that it was "agreed;" but he should like to ask the Attorney General what he meant by the words "so far as circumstances admit" in the Amendment which he was about to move? The hon. and learned Gentleman had said that, if a man was his own agent, why should these words be put in at all? But, surely, for all practical purposes, if a candidate managed his own election he took the part of an agent under the Act; and all the pains and penalties attaching to offences by agents under the Act should attach to him.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he thought he had explained this matter already to the Committee.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would now move an Amendment which had been suggested by the hon. Member who had just sat down. He had received a great many communications, both in public and private, that there were many purposes for which the candidate might wish to be his own agent. He did not think it would occur very often. Still, he could not deny that if a candidate chose to be his own agent he should be allowed to undertake the duties.

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 14, after the word "agent," insert as a new sub-section—"A candidate may name himself as an election agent, and thereupon shall, so far as circumstances admit, be subject to the provisions of this Act both as a candidate and as an election agent; and any reference in this Act to an election agent shall be construed to refer to the candidate acting in his capacity of election agent."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. WARTON said, he really thought that if the hon. and learned Gentleman would study these words carefully he would come to the conclusion that they would have a most injurious—he might say a most tremendous—result. He (Mr. Warton) intended to formally move the rejection of all the words after the word "agent," in line 3 of the clause, for the reason that they were not sufficiently limited. The hon. and learned Gentleman said by his Amendment that any reference in this Act to an election agent might refer to the candidate. The words were far too wide.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Warton) would, perhaps, allow him to interrupt him. The whole of the sub-section was covered by the words "and thereupon," which provided that until the man chose to occupy the two positions of candidate and agent the difficulties in question would not occur.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he saw the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) had an Amendment on the Paper, to leave out Sub-section 3, which said—

"One election agent only shall be appointed for each candidate; but the appointment may be revoked, and in the event of such revocation or his death, whether such an event is before, during, or after the election, then forthwith another election agent shall be appointed, and his name and address declared in writing to the returning officer, who shall forthwith give public notice of the same."

He wished to ask a question about this sub-section. What did it mean? What would follow it? Would all acts done by the former agent—for instance, the appointment of the sub-agents—cease to hold good the moment the agent ceased to hold his position? Supposing an agent was appointed, and for certain reasons it was necessary to revoke his appointment, would all those whom he had appointed cease to occupy an official capacity?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that that was not his intention. He had not had his attention called to the matter; but when he looked into it, if he found that it was necessary to provide that the people appointed by the agent should continue at their posts he would introduce words to effect that object.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Dr. LYONS said, he wished to call attention to an Irish Act of *Geo.* IV., c. 58. It appeared that the general principle of this Act was to diminish the expense of candidates to the sum therein mentioned. In Schedule B the candidate was to pay a sum not exceeding £100 to the agent. This measure, he believed, still remained; and as he did not find it mentioned in the Schedule of this Bill, he wished to draw the attention of the Attorney General to this—that if that measure continued in operation, it would entail a charge of £100 on the candidate in addition to the other expenses. He did not think that this was contemplated by the Legislature in this matter. The object of the Bill, he understood, was to minimize the expenditure.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the Act referred to by the hon. Member (Dr. Lyons) was an Irish one; but the present was a general measure, which probably would override the provisions of that Act. He would, however, look into the point. But he would clear up what the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said. If he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would look at Clause 19, Sub-section 4, he would find these words—

> "The appointment of a sub-agent shall not be vacated by the election agent who appointed him ceasing to be an election agent, but may be revoked by the election agent for the time being of the candidate, and in the event of such revocation, or of the death of a sub-agent, another sub-agent may be appointed, and his name and address."

The right hon. Gentleman would find the point he had raised answered in those words.

Dr. LYONS said, he was not aware that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had put the Act to which he had drawn attention in the Schedule.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) promised to consider the point.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he should like to suggest to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General whether it would not be desirable, in a Bill of this sort, to make a Schedule of fees for the unavoidable expenses at elections of such persons as polling clerks, personation agents, and so on. In the Ballot Act there was a Schedule; but it was more or less indefinite, because many of these people pretended they had performed other duties for which they were not at all appointed, and in that way endeavoured to extort more than their regular fees from the candidate. He would suggest to the hon. and learned Gentleman whether it would not be desirable, so far as possible, in the Schedule attached to the Bill, to lay down what should be the fees? As to the election agents, they knew very well, by the measure quoted by the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons), that £100 was a legal fee in Ireland; but in many cases in that country the agents contrived to get much larger sums. Sometimes it happened that agents who were employed, and who were not conducting agents, insisted on much higher fees than the election agent would be entitled to under the Bill. He had heard of a case, during the Election of 1874, in an Irish county, where an assistant solicitor claimed a fee of 150 guineas from one of the candidates. The ground of his claim was not that he had given services which had occupied certain time, but that his political influence was worth a considerable amount, and that, therefore, he should be paid the large fee he claimed. He (Mr. Biggar) considered that these charges were great evils, and that in a Bill of this sort, to prevent a candidate from controversy or annoyance of discussion with solicitors and others, there should be a Schedule of fees attached to the Bill. Such a Schedule would be a ready answer to any fraudulent claim. He would urge upon the Attorney General the desirability of accepting this suggestion. He should be very glad if the Attorney General would give him his attention. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to be discussing some other matter with his Colleagues, while he (Mr. Biggar) was speaking. Under the circumstances, there was nothing for him to do but to repeat what he had said before.

[The hon. Member proceeded to repeat his observations.]

The CHAIRMAN: I must call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that he is repeating every word he has just addressed to the Committee.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the Chairman was perfectly right. The reason, as he had explained, why he repeated his statement, was simply this—during the time he had been addressing the Committee the Attorney General had been in conversation with his Colleagues. He (Mr. Biggar) had wished to elicit a reply; but, seeing that the hon. and learned Member was conversing all the time with the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, he had had no opportunity of knowing what had been said.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, his attention had not been diverted from the substance of the hon. Member's remarks. Now, this question of extortion was of peculiar interest to the county of Cavan, and to the hon. Member (Mr. Biggar), who seemed to have been unfortunate in that county, seeing that so strong a man had been unable to prevent overcharge. But the charges the hon. Member had alluded to for polling clerks, personation agents, and others were regulated by the Act of 1875. Probably the hon. Member would study that Act a little more, and if he did, he would find that beyond a certain sum the candidate was not bound to pay one single farthing. However, there ought to be no fear of any clashing between this and any Irish Act of Parliament; and if it were found that inconvenience arose in this way he would promise to obviate that later on.

MR. GIBSON said, he thought the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons) had done good service by calling attention to this Irish Act. All through this Bill he saw that the position of the conducting agents was left in a state of studied ambiguity. He was at a loss to discover what was intended by the Attorney General with regard to these conducting agents. What did the hon. and learned Member propose that they should receive in future—was it £100, £150, £200, or more? Was it intended to allow a large payment to be made, not for any corrupt purpose, but to secure the best class of men to do the work? If they prevented candidates employing first-class men who were accustomed to work of this kind, they necessarily drove them to the employment of a lower stamp of men, who would do the business of an election, perhaps, in a way which probably was not contemplated by the Bill. If they compelled the candidates to go to a low and inferior class of agents, they might only be able probably to secure the services of those who had become parties to practices which the Bill condemned. He (Mr. Gibson) had not been able to put any meaning upon the words in Clause 25, which said—

> "So far as circumstances admit, this Act shall apply to a claim for his remuneration by an election agent, and to the payment thereof in like manner as if he were any other creditor, and if any difference arises respecting the amount of such claim," &c.

The Committee would there note the fact, "so far as circumstances admit." What was the meaning of those words? He (Mr. Gibson) had the honour to represent a constituency (the University of Dublin) where any question of this kind was not likely to arise; but he had very carefully considered the point, and he did not think that the Government could have any distinct or definite view present to their minds as to whether this Bill was intended to apply to the claim of conducting agents; and if it was intended to apply to them, whether it was with the view of keeping them down or the reverse. He would not, however, at the present moment, press the Attorney General for an answer as to the meaning of those words.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would give the answer at once. The words quoted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman would apply to the claim of a conducting agent, as it would apply to the claim of any other creditor. They meant that the claim must be sent in to the Returning Officer, and it did not in any way affect the question of amount. This question had been discussed already, and it had been asked—"Can you get good agents for the payment of £100?" Well, in his own experience he had found that, as a rule, the better the election agents were the less money they wanted; in fact, the best agents he had ever known had been those who had refused to take a farthing remuneration. They worked not for money, but for their Party.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Would the hon. and learned Member give me the address of some of these agents?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the noble Lord would not require the address of these gentlemen, as there were other influences at work upon which he could rely. These agents did what they could —they did their best—for their Party, and felt in doing it that they were performing the highest duty of citizenship. Personally, he had no fear in regard to this matter. The hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had acquiesced in his view of the matter. He could not define the amount an agent was to have, and the agent must take his chance with other persons. As he had said, it was very often more advisable to appeal to the political views of these gentlemen than to discuss the amount of remuneration they were to have.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he himself entertained very strong opinions as to the class of agents which should be employed, and as to the maximum remuneration to be fixed in the Bill; and he thought it might be fairly considered whether that remuneration might not be dealt with in the Schedule, apart from this other expenditure. They must, of course, have election agents.

Mr. WARTON remarked, that this was a question of very great importance, and was not to be shirked in this way by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. It was all very well to talk about men working for nothing. The hon. and learned Gentleman might be able to get some people to work for him for nothing; but that fact would be entirely owing to his position. The people might expect to get something through the hon. and learned Gentleman's influence, seeing the position he held in connection with the Government, and might be willing to conduct his election for the sake of the interest they took in the success of the Party. But the ordinary agent exercised his functions from a business point of view, and expected to be properly remunerated. In nine cases out of ten the election agents expected to be paid, and they would not get a respectable and able election agent unless they gave him a respectable fee. One of the reasons why he should move the rejection of the Bill, when the proper time came, was because there was no provision in it for the payment of respectable agents. ["Oh!"] It was all very well for hon. Members to say "Oh!" This was a question which had to be faced. They had a provision in the Bill for the employment of one agent, and no more, and the 4th part of the 1st Schedule dealt with the expenses of all the people employed—in fact, all the election expenses were lumped together in what was a most absurdly small sum. There was no provision for the employment of a decent agent, and all that could be given to him would be as much as would be squeezed out of the ridiculously small maximum. A respectable agent required to be paid 100, 200, or 300 guineas. Under any circumstances, they would have the option of being able to work for nothing, or not. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General could point out whether there was any provision for the payment of a respectable agent, he (Mr. Warton) should withdraw a great deal of his opposition to the measure. The great majority of these agents were men of business, and knew their value, and they should be paid a fair price; and if they were not in the rare position that the Attorney General himself might be in of being able to secure agents without payment, they would have to resort to disreputable means, and the result would be that elections would be disreputably conducted. If there was one thing more necessary for the proper application of this measure than another, it was that candidates should have the power of employing respectable agents. In this matter the Attorney General seemed to have a supreme contempt for the interest of his followers.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he did not propose to trespass at any length upon the patience of the Committee. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members seemed to be impatient; but he could assure them that he was not going to prolong the discussion upon this or upon any other clause. What he merely wished to suggest was that hon. Gentlemen who, in the future, intended to be candidates at elections need not trouble themselves about this Clause 18, or any of the succeeding clauses, because he could not conceive the possibility of any candidate escaping under the clauses which preceded Clause 18. He did not believe, for a moment, that if Election Judges began at Clause 1, in trying Election Petitions, that any candidate in the world, whoever he might be, would ever succeed in reaching Clause 18. He did not intend to repeat the arguments which they had so frequently heard about pitfalls and man-traps, and things of that kind; but he was satisfied that no candidate would ever be able to wriggle through all the meshes of the clause if Election Judges were left the option of interpreting the Act according to their lights. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had refused to give a discretion to the Judges in dealing with these cases. The hon. and learned Gentleman had been most candid. He had admitted, as to the grounds upon which he (the Attorney General) urged the acceptance of this Bill, that the evil of bribery was so great—[*Cries of* "Question!"] This certainly seemed to him to be the Question. He did not wish to waste the time of the Committee. He very seldom took up its time, and he could say to hon. Gentlemen opposite that they were only wasting time by interrupting him. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had said that he believed himself, under this Bill, innocent candidates might be convicted and punished; but that the evils they wished to put a stop to were so great that it was necessary, for the sake of purity of election, that here and there an innocent person should suffer. It amounted, therefore, to this—picking pockets in a crowd was an illegal practice, and, therefore, those who collected crowds took part in that practice. Gentlemen who addressed meetings collected crowds, and, therefore, were guilty of illegal practices. When an observation to the effect that the train was going too fast was made, the reply was—"Oh! but there is a brakesman at the end." The Schedule was the brakesman which was to put everything right.

MR. BIGGAR said, he wished to say just one word in reply to the Attorney General in an observation he had made. He (Mr. Biggar) had not specially referred to the County of Cavan. He had seen much greater extortion elsewhere than he had ever known practised in Cavan. Candidates were put to a great deal of annoyance by some people—no doubt, in many cases, through blundering—endeavouring to extort more than they were entitled to. The hon. Member for the County of Londonderry (Sir Thomas M'Clure) could give instances of wholesale claims of this kind. The Government had declared that their primary object in introducing this Bill was to make elections as pure as possible. Well, he (Mr. Biggar) wished to further that object; and, therefore, he would suggest, in order to lower expenses generally, and to have an election carried on as purely as possible, there should be a power to employ respectable agents. He, for one, should be highly satisfied to see elections purified and election expenses reduced.

MR. HICKS said, that having, in nearly every Division on this Bill, supported Her Majesty's Government, he took this occasion to urge upon the hon. and learned Gentleman the absolute necessity of having some scale of fees for the payment of agents. He was perfectly aware that in some counties and boroughs agents had conducted elections without any remuneration whatever; but, because that had been done in some cases, it did not at all follow that either those persons would do it again, or that any other agents would desire to do it. Because some gentlemen had worked for nothing, it did not follow that when their places had to be filled by others, those successors would be willing to give candidates the benefit of their opinions and hard work on the same terms. When they were, under this Bill, to have a maximum sum for expenses, it appeared to him highly desirable that they should have a clear and distinct scale for the payment of election agents, seeing how important it was, not only in the interest which this Bill was professedly brought forward to serve, but in the interest of candidates. He wished to see their elections conducted as purely as possible. Candidates should be given an opportunity of employing the best election agents that were to be had, and to pay them not what were exorbitant, but what were reasonable sums. He, therefore, trusted that the hon. and learned Gentleman would see his way to meet the reasonable wishes expressed in so many parts of the House in regard to the preparation of a scale of fees.

MR. FINDLATER said, several hon. Gentlemen seemed very much afraid of being overcharged by solicitors; but, so far as his experience went, there were other people beside solicitors who made exorbitant charges. In fact, he did not see how solicitors could overcharge, as their fees were settled by law, and they could not enforce more. When, however, they came to settle a question of this kind, it was highly objectionable that they should have nothing to guide them. He thought that an officer should be appointed to tax the charges, not only of solicitors, but of all the persons employed.

Mr. TOMLINSON protested against the idea that it was possible to conduct elections by means of agents who were unpaid for their services. If Members of the Committee only considered for a moment what the duties of election agents were, and what a disturbance the acceptance of such a post entailed in the business of a solicitor's office, they would see at once that they would never be able to employ the best men unless they paid them properly for their services. An election agent had to work night and day, to leave all his ordinary clients unattended to, and to perform various duties, many of them of a most disagreeable character. He had to come in contact with people who might some day or other be possible clients, and run the risk of incurring unpopularity with them by having to decline their services. Nothing would be worse, in a case of this kind, than to drive candidates to the employment of solicitors of inferior standing in the Profession. He did not believe that in all parts of the country they could find a class of men who were ready to undertake all the labours and inconveniences of election agency without receiving due reward for their professional services.

Mr. GORST said, he had listened attentively to the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson), who, he was aware, had had a great deal of experience in election matters. However, he (Mr. Gorst) could only corroborate what had fallen from the Attorney General. In his experience a great number of gentlemen, both barristers and solicitors, had acted as election agents, conducting important, difficult, and intricate elections, and at the end had declined to receive any remuneration whatever.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER said, he could also corroborate what had fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham. Some of the most influential solicitors in the West of England had given their services to candidates during elections without payment.

Mr. HICKS (who was received with cries of "Divide!") protested against the interruptions in which some hon. Members greeted those who wished to take part in the legitimate discussion of the clauses of the Bill. He believed it was perfectly open to any hon. Member—indeed, it was his privilege—to point out as distinctly, and, under any circumstances, as shortly as he could, the views he entertained upon the question before the Committee; and he thought the interruptions with which hon. Members on the opposite side of the House very often met the statements of hon. Gentlemen were more than likely to prolong the debate than shorten it. He wished to say a word or two in answer to the remark that had fallen from hon. Members opposite, that candidates were fearful of being overcharged by solicitors. He (Mr. Hicks) had not entertained any such idea. The object he had in rising was to point out how desirable it was that clients should have an opportunity of paying their agents a reasonable sum, and not that those agents should be left to perform their difficult duties, and receive in payment simply what remained of the maximum sum at their disposal for the conduct of the election. He thought it was desirable that they should have the remuneration of the election agents placed clearly and distinctly as the first charge on the expenses of the election. He wished to repudiate any idea of casting a reflection on so honourable a body of men as the solicitors who interested themselves in election matters; on the contrary, he was desirous of their receiving full remuneration for their trouble.

Mr. NEWZAM NICHOLSON pointed out to the Attorney General that the man who got his election agent for nothing was able to spend a great deal more on other matters than those who had to pay their election agents. It would be advisable that they should have in the Schedule a certain sum to be paid to election agents, and another sum to be paid for the ordinary election expenses.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Nomination of deputy election agent as sub-agent).

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, that before they came to the Amendments on the Paper, he wished to put a question to the Attorney General about the sub-agents. He viewed with great apprehension the appointment of these agents, as it would be necessary to have a large number of them, one being necessary in each polling place. He would suggest to the Attorney General whether he would not deal with these Gentlemen specifically in the clause, seeing that the conditions in regard to this matter in counties differed very essentially from those in boroughs. The clause, as it stood, did not convey a sufficiently specific idea on the subject to his mind; and as the employment of these agents was open to possible abuse, he thought it was desirable that they should have the matter specifically dealt with.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that if the hon. Gentleman would read the clause he would find that it referred to the 1st Schedule, which satisfactorily dealt with this question. Some boroughs would always be regarded in the nature of counties.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he wished to move an Amendment. After all they had done in Clause 16 it was clear that this clause should be arranged to suit it. They had stated in Clause 16 that "illegal payment, employment, or hiring," was an illegal practice; and he would call attention to Sub-section 4 of the present clause, which said that—

> "The appointment of a sub-agent shall not be vacated by the election agent who appointed him ceasing to be election agent, but may be revoked by the election agent for the time being of the candidate."

The hon. and learned Gentleman had alluded to that as answering an objection he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had taken earlier on. All that would have to be done would be to put in words to extend the provisions of Sub-section 4 of this clause to all appointments made by the agent. His present Amendment was to leave out, in page 8, line 39, to the end of clause after the word "accordingly." These words provided that the candidate should suffer the penalties imposed by the Bill as if an illegal act had been the act or default of the election agent, and not the sub-agent.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 39, after the word "accordingly," to leave out to end of Clause.—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had stated, over and over again, that he was anxious to do whatever he could to prevent one man bearing the burden of another man's folly; but he could not accept the present Amendment. The candidate must be liable for certain acts of his election agent—the agent who represented him and was properly appointed. When the Bill was originally framed there was only one election agent allowed; but, as it had been pointed out that in large constituencies no one could perform the whole of the work, this provision had been altered. They might have many cases where the agent was obliged to appoint three or four sub-agents, each of whom would stand in the place of one person in the district to which he was appointed. Of course, it was not necessary to have more than one agent; but probably the work would be better carried out if they had this number. If they struck out these words the candidate might say—"I require more than one agent." Sub-agents might, therefore, be appointed, and as there would then be no penalty attached to improper acts on the part of these sub-agents they might employ, say, as many canvassers as they liked, and yet the seat could be maintained. A complaint that the sub-agent had been breaking the law would not affect the candidate, because it would be held that it was not the principal agent. The sub-agent must be taken for better or worse. The sub-agents would sometimes become instruments of corruption if the candidates were not liable for their misdeeds.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the candidate would surely be responsible, even if these words were struck out, to the extent of illegal practices. His Amendment only affected illegal payments.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought that the general words, "for the purposes of this Act," would cover the obligation imposed by Clause 16.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that, if there was any doubt about the matter, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. A. PEASE asked for an explanation of the words "done to."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, an election agent was the recipient of certain matters. He admitted the words were very general; but it was difficult to find other more suitable words. The meaning of the words was really that the agent should be passive, and that he should be the recipient of certain things.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ONSLOW proposed to insert at the end of the clause—

> "And under this Act no person shall be deemed a sub-agent unless appointed as such by the election agent of the candidate."

He was not quite sure that these were the proper words to insert in order to attain the object he had in view. What he wished to define, in some direct sense, was the question of agency; a candidate, of course, was liable for the election agent whom he appointed; but he (Mr. Onslow) thought it was rather hard that a candidate should be held liable for the acts of persons appointed by the election agent—namely, for the acts of sub-agents. What he desired to do was to limit the liability of the candidate to these particular individuals. He was of opinion that if some such words as he proposed were added to the sub-section, it would be a good guide to the Election Judges. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General knew perfectly well that the term "agency" was a very elastic one, and that some Judges had laid it down very strictly indeed, while others had been somewhat more lax in what they had done. Supposing, for instance, a candidate was put up for election who belonged to a Political Association, and to that Association he subscribed——

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) asked the hon. Gentleman to forgive him for one monent. He (the Attorney General) was quite at one with the hon. Gentleman. The words were already in the clause. The first words of Clause 19 were as follows:—

> "In the case of the elections specified in that behalf in the 1st Schedule to this Act an election agent of a candidate may appoint the number of deputies therein mentioned (which deputies are in this Act referred to as sub-agents), to act within different polling districts;"

and if the hon. Gentleman would turn to his own Amendment, he would find that this was a provision which he himself wished to make. If the wording of the clause was not sufficient, he should be glad to make it more clear.

Mr. ONSLOW asked whether those were the only persons in a borough or in a county who would be considered by the Judges as agents of the candidate?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not think the hon. Gentleman quite valued the importance of his Amendment, for in that Amendment he said—

> "No person shall be deemed a sub-agent unless appointed as such by the election agent of the candidate."

A sub-agent was really an election agent. The question was altogether apart from the agent at Common Law.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he then understood from the hon. and learned Gentleman that the agent in this case was different from the agent at Common Law?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) admitted that an election sub-agent was certainly different from a sub-agent at Common Law.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that at this point of the Bill he wished to submit to the Attorney General that this clause might, with great advantage, be omitted. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) should like to see the hon. and learned Gentleman take up to-day the attitude he (Lord Randolph Churchill) so much deprecated in him last night. The hon. and learned Gentleman had provided a maximum of expenditure for counties and for boroughs, and he ought to do all in his power to economize that maximum. If they allowed claims to be made, candidates would have to meet them, whether they liked it or not. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) was particularly interested in this clause, because, although he did not represent a county, he would like the Attorney General to put Woodstock in the County Schedule. The professed object of the Bill was to discourage extravagant expenditure at election times; but he feared that if this section were allowed to stand as now framed the candidate would find himself beset with people who wished to be appointed sub-agents. People would come to him and say—"I see you have power to appoint a sub-agent in my district. Will you appoint me? If you do not, you will regret it." It would be of great service to the candidate if he could say—"Yes; a sub-agent in your district would be very convenient, and I should like to appoint a sub-agent there; but it is not allowed." All these provisions were made for the case of honest candidates; but where they had dishonest candidates, they might depend upon it that those sub-agents were loop-holes for illegal payments. He hoped the Attorney General would give good reason for this clause before it was passed.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if, in counties, they only allowed one election agent, it would be simply impossible for him to perform all the duties required of him. In many counties there were so many districts that it was essentially necessary that there should be a certain amount of sub-agents. District boroughs might be taken out of this section if it was thought necessary. This was a general section dealing with counties altogether, and he thought that if they did not allow for sub-agents great inconvenience would ensue.

MR. BRINTON sympathized with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) very strongly on this point, for he felt that candidates would often be asked to allow the performance of perfectly unnecessary services. He (Mr. Brinton) should be glad if the Attorney General would define between the unnecessary retention of sub-agents in boroughs, even if he allowed a certain number of sub-agents in counties.

MR. RYLANDS said, his hon. Friend the Member for Kidderminster (Mr. Brinton) was under a little mistake. The present clause did not apply to boroughs. As he (Mr. Rylands) understood the Attorney General, the appointment of sub-agents was provided for in this clause, in consequence of the pressure put upon the Government by county Members generally. He (Mr. Rylands) had not heard, however, a single county Member say that he wished to have this clause. As he read the clause, a sub-agent might be appointed for each polling district. Would the Attorney General, who might be taken as an authority upon the subject, say whether he had ever found, in his Parliamentary electioneering experience, that men were so willing or anxious to assist a candidate for love of their Party that the candidate, entering upon the career of a contested election, did not find a difficulty in resisting the pressure of persons who desired to become paid sub-agents? He (Mr. Rylands) believed it would be found that sub-agents mostly would not be necessarily solicitors. In many cases the sub-agents appointed would be the most active partizans in the different polling districts, and they would expect to be paid for their services. They might possibly get some volunteers; but, as a rule, in counties partizans wished to render assistance in return for some consideration or other. County Members under this clause would receive applications from each of the polling districts that a sub-agent should be appointed with a fee, it might be an attorney, or it might be a very different class of person who would seek employment under this provision. It appeared to him (Mr. Rylands) that it was not at all necessary to have sub-agents in each polling district. It might be necessary to have two or three in a large constituency; but under the Attorney General's clause pressure would, undoubtedly, be put upon candidates to appoint a very much larger number of sub-agents than were absolutely required; and, in his opinion, if there could be some check placed upon this measure, county Members would find it of great advantage.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had made suggestions which, if acted upon, would indefinitely delay the progress of the Bill, for he had insisted that those who were in favour of the Bill should speak on all clauses, as well as those who opposed it. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and he presumed many other county Members, had held their tongues, because they had been satisfied, because they believed it was absolutely necessary for the proper conduct and management of county elections—counties which were larger than Woodstock—that there should be a provision made for the appointment of sub-agents in the different centres of population, and possibly in every polling district. He should be sorry to undertake a contested election, unless he had the power to appoint a sub-agent in every polling district. Without such agents, there would be, in his opinion, great mismanagement, and a great danger of practices which would bring one within the penal provisions of the Bill. He hoped the Attorney General would adhere to the clause.

Mr. O'KELLY said, he did not see how, if they were to have sub-agents at all, they could avoid having one in each polling district. He, however, thought it would be very desirable if some provision were inserted in the Bill fixing the remuneration of sub-agents, making the remuneration as low as possible, because every county Member would be exposed to very severe black mail, unless there was some such provision. The Government ought to give some assurance to the Committee that some provision of the kind would be made.

Colonel NOLAN asked for a declaration of opinion from the hon. and learned Attorney General that the polling agent would not be a sub-agent.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it was clear a polling agent would not be a sub-agent.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked, that this question was one chiefly for county Members themselves, and they were responsible for this clause. He did not think that Members who represented borough constituencies had much interest in the clause. It was with that view that he called the Attorney General's attention to the clause before the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was considered. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) was sure that this clause, as it stood, would entail upon candidates very serious responsibilities, and that the subject which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had raised was worthy of consideration.

Mr. GORST reminded the Committee that the places in which district agents might be appointed included all the Welsh boroughs and Scotch boroughs, except the few which were not district boroughs.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that if there was any question as to whether this power of appointing sub-agents should apply to district boroughs it would be easy to provide a different Schedule, so as to include or exclude such boroughs. They could easily say—"For the purposes of this 19th section, such and such Schedule shall not apply."

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, there was one point which he thought might be very conveniently noticed on this clause. It was one to which he called the attention of the Attorney General last year, and it was that there was no definition of the clause to constitute a polling district in a county. It was an important point, for this reason. The number of polling districts in a county were to be regulated by the magistrates, and the number of sub-agents were to be according to the number of the polling places; therefore, the magistrates of a county would really have the power to decide how many sub-agents a candidate might or might not have. He (Lord George Hamilton) thought that some directions should be given to the magistrates, so that when they came to divide a county into polling districts they might know what the wish of the Legislature was—that, in fact, they might give a polling place to so many thousands of electors. As it stood at present, they would find the local authorities in different places arriving at the most conflicting conclusions. In some counties it would happen that there would be more than sufficient sub-agents; while in other counties candidates had not as many sub-agents as they really required. He (Lord George Hamilton) hoped the Attorney General would consider the matter.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that the point raised by the noble Lord would be more properly raised on the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill. This was not quite a question for a Corrupt Practices Bill, though it did indirectly arise on this clause. He (the Attorney General) might point out that a sub-agent could only act within the particular district for which he was appointed; and he thought they might take it for granted that polling districts were only created where a certain number of electors were congregated. They must trust to the magistrates, to some extent, as to the selection of the areas which should have polling stations. He was sure that his right hon. Friend the

President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) would do all he could to consider the point when the Ballot Bill was brought on for consideration.

MR. MAPPIN asked if it was intended to include the boroughs named in the First Schedule—namely, East Retford, Shoreham, Cricklade, Much Wenlock, and Aylesbury in the clause?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had just addressed the Committee in respect of those typical boroughs, and he had said that if it was the view of the Committee that they should have a separate subsection he would provide for it.

MR. MAPPIN understood that the Members who represented those boroughs did not wish to have a separate section.

MR. BIGGAR said, there was another point to which he would like the Attorney General to turn his attention. His hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne) had an Amendment on the Paper to insert, after the word "day," in line 1, page 9, the words "following the day." The object of his hon. Friend in this Amendment would seem to be that, supposing a contest was not expected in a borough until the eve of the nomination day, it would be inconvenient for a candidate off-hand to give the names of his sub-agents. The suggestion of the hon. Gentleman was that in a case of that sort a candidate should be allowed the succeeding day on which he could give notice to the Returning Officer. It was a heavy job to drive over a whole county, and to make the appointment of sub-agents. He (Mr. Biggar) would like to know from the Attorney General whether it would not be desirable, at a future stage of the Bill, to increase the time beyond the day of nomination during which notice could be given to the Returning Officer of the names of the sub-agents; and he would also like the hon. and learned Gentleman to give a reply to the question asked by the hon. Member for Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly)—namely, as to the desirability of a provision fixing the maximum remuneration to be paid to sub-agents and other persons employed under the Bill.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that, in respect of the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne), he had, of course, considered it. In the first place, the day of nomination was always a certain number of days after the issuing of the Writ; and if they agreed to this Amendment it was possible that an election agent need not be appointed until the polling was over. As to the fixing of remuneration of agents, it stood to reason that the payment must be in accordance with the amount of work done, and in consideration of the person who did it. He (the Attorney General) hardly thought it would be right to lay down a hard-and-fast line of payment without considering who the agents were, and what the work was they had to do.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Office of election agent and sub-agent) *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Making of contracts through election agents).

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he did not see the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General present, and as he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had an Amendment on the Paper to this clause, which no one could answer except the hon. and learned Gentleman himself, he had no other course to pursue than to move to report Progress.

MR. R. N. FOWLER, rising to Order, asked if it was in accordance with the usual practice of the House for a right hon. Gentleman to apply to remarks made by another right hon. Gentleman such words as "rubbish, stuff?"

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, perhaps he might be allowed to ask, as a private conversation had been overheard and attention had been called to it, if it was in Order for a right hon. Gentleman to say, in the presence of the Solicitor General, that no one could answer a legal point but the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General?

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that what he had stated was that no one could answer the Amendment he was about to propose except the hon. and learned Gentleman in charge of the Bill. He heard the remarks which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board; and he thought that if the right hon. Gentleman could offer no better argument than was conveyed in such words he had better hold his peace. With regard to this Amendment, which was, to a certain extent, consequential upon one which was not moved last night owing to exceptional circumstances, he had to say that it enabled him to call the Attorney General's attention to a very important matter; and he was now anxious to ascertain whether the hon. and learned Gentleman would not, on Report, consent to introduce words which would carry out the principle which he had ventured to adopt in his Amendment? It would be observed that at the present moment the election agent of a candidate was the only person who could, by himself or by his sub-agent, hire a committee room; the clause, in fact, ran thus—

> "The election agent of a candidate by himself or by his sub-agent shall appoint every polling agent, clerk, and messenger employed for payment on behalf of the candidate at an election, and hire every committee room hired on behalf of the candidate."

They knew very well that there was a long discussion yesterday upon the question as to whether or not a committee room could be engaged in a certain place; and he was not going for one moment to revive that discussion, or refer to any of the reasons which were given for pressing the question upon the attention of the Government. As the Attorney General, however, had shown himself very conciliatory in conducting this Bill through Committee, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) desired to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he would undertake hereafter, if he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) withdrew the Amendment which now stood in his name, to vest power in the Returning Officer to allow committee rooms in public-houses under certain circumstances? That was the sole question he now wished to place before the hon. and learned Gentleman; because, having had a long experience himself in electioneering matters, not only in boroughs, but in counties, it seemed to him desirable, not only in the interest of the candidates, but in the interest of the cheapness of elections, that there might be power vested in the highest authority—namely, the Returning Officer — to say what rooms in some of the prohibited places might, under proper supervision, and under circumstances which, by no reasonable man, would be considered objectionable, might be used as committee rooms? He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did not intend to carry his Amendment to a Division; indeed, after the Attorney General had given his reply, he should ask leave to withdraw it. He would now, however, formally move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 9, line 28, after the word "election," to insert the words "the choice and hiring of committee rooms shall rest with or require the approval of the Returning Officer, the only premises legally disqualified being those specified in Section forty-six." — (*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he hoped his right hon. and learned Friend would not think it disrespectful to him if he (the Solicitor General) answered the question. He (Sir Farrer Herschell) and his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had consulted about this clause, and, therefore, he was quite prepared to deal with the Amendment. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would remember that this question was somewhat dealt with by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) last night on the point, for he referred to the possibility of no other rooms, except those in public-houses, being available for committee rooms; and the Government then stated that they would consider whether it was possible to invest power in some responsible person. It was pointed out that the Returning Officer was an objectionable person to leave such a matter to, because he was sometimes a partizan. ["Oh!"] At all events, objection was taken to the Returning Officer dealing with such matters, as he could not always be regarded as an impartial person. The Returning Officer might be suspected of partiality, and that was the reason why they could not accept the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire. He (Sir Farrer Herschell) was afraid that the proper person to entrust with such power had not yet been suggested; at all events, he thought the right hon. Gentleman himself would, on reflection, conclude that the Returning Officer could not have such power placed in his hand.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he hoped the Government would give their best consideration to this subject, because obviously there were many points which might be settled if an impartial person could only be found to deal with them. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) dared say the Government were right in thinking that the Mayor of the borough was not the proper person; because, as the Solicitor General had just pointed out, a Mayor frequently was a partizan. If an impartial person could only be found it would be of the greatest possible advantage.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he understood the Solicitor General to say that the principle of the Amendment which he had placed upon the Paper was under the consideration of the Government. He had previously understood the Government to say that, although the Returning Officer was not a suitable person in their opinion, if an authority in whom to invest the proposed power was not found, they would consider whether they could not find some authority, or some person, whose functions might not expose him to objection.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, what he had stated was, that if the right hon. Gentleman opposite would endeavour to find such a person, and make the proposal with regard to the matter when they came to a subsequent part of the Bill, the Government would be very pleased to consider it.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that, as far as at present advised, the hon. and learned Gentleman intended to oppose such a proposal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that when they knew what the proposal was, of course they would consider it. They could not oppose it until they knew what it was.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had understood the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to say he would oppose the application of any room in a public-house or hotel for the purposes of the committee.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said that he would see if he could not find some suitable person in whom the authority could be placed; and he (the Attorney General), on behalf of the Government, had promised to consider the subject when it was re-introduced. He hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would allow him to wait until the proposition was made in a proper form.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. MACFARLANE said, that, in the absence of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), he would move the Amendment which stood in his name—namely, in page 9, line 31, after the first "or," to leave out "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of." [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) nodded assent.] He inferred from the action of the Attorney General that he meant to accept the Amendment; and, therefore, he would not trouble the Committee with any further remarks.

Amendment proposed,

In page 9, line 31, after the first "or," to leave out "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of."—(*Mr. Macfarlane.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he accepted the Amendment; in fact, it was necessary, in consequence of previous Amendments. Indeed, he wished to go further—namely, to strike out the words "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of."

MR. MACFARLANE asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 9, line 31, after the first "or," to leave out "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 22 (Payment of expenses through election agent).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that this Amendment was consequential upon an Amendment he previously moved. The object of that Amendment really was to see what could be done for those persons who were outside the constituency. He moved that Amendment formally when they were discussing an earlier clause on the 2nd of this month. He would now move his Amendment formally, with the object of ascertaining what proposition the Government had upon the point. The Government had said that upon Clause 22 they would bring up words to meet the view he had taken.

Amendment proposed, in page 9, line 41, after "candidate," insert "or any other person."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Amendment which the right hon. Gentleman moved upon a previous occasion was to meet the practice of sending down to boroughs irresponsible persons for the sole purpose of corrupting the constituencies. He (the Attorney General) entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman's views. On the 2nd of July he (the Attorney General) said he would see what could be done to meet the right hon. Gentleman's views to the extent he had placed them before the Committee. After having considered the subject, he had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to find better words to carry the right hon. Gentleman's object into effect than the words of the right hon. Gentleman himself. They might by simple means accomplish a great object; and, although those words were short and simple, he (the Attorney General) really could find no better words to express the meaning intended. They would bring within the net—within which they wished to bring any of those irresponsible persons sent down with the sole object of corrupting constituencies—they would bring such persons within the operation of the clause.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) reverted to the Amendment which, though standing in the name of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), was moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane). The same words occurred in page 10, lines 1 and 2. He (the Attorney General) presumed they must follow the same words. He had, therefore, to move to strike out, in lines 1 and 2, "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct and management of."

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, lines 1 and 2, to leave out the words "in connection with or incidental to," and insert the words "in respect of the conduct and management of."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. MACFARLANE pointed out that the same words occurred in line 8.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 8, to leave out the words "in connection with or incidental to," and insert the words "in respect of the conduct and management of."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) called the attention of the Committee, and especially the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), to a consequential Amendment which was necessary upon the insertion of the words, "or any other person," because those words would include the Returning Officer. It appeared, therefore, to him (the Attorney General) that they ought in line 11 to say—

"Provided that this section shall not be deemed to apply to any payment made by the Returning Officer or to any."

Amendment proposed, in page 10, line 11, after the word "apply," insert "to any payment made by the Returning Officer or."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, there was just one other point he wished to bring under the notice of the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General); but it was an important point. Assuming that an outside Association had certain persons in its employ to whom it paid a salary, say, of £100 or £200 a-year, those were the people who might be sent down to corrupt constituencies. Here was payment made to them on account of the election; because, whatever they might do at an election, though it might be illegal, they would be compensated in the ordinary salary they got as the agents of an Association elsewhere. Although he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was satisfied that the words he had proposed would meet the case of a person who was specially sent down to an election, and specially paid for any service he rendered at the election, he was not at all clear that they would meet the case he now instanced. If the Attorney General desired it, however, he was quite content to leave the matter for further consideration.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not think that the words previously adopted would meet such a case now cited by the right hon. Gentleman; and in his (the Attorney General's) opinion it would be difficult to find words to cover such a case. If, however, a man, no matter from wherever he came from, committed an illegal practice, they must deal with him as they found him. The thing seemed a difficulty of substance more than of drafting. He should be pleased to discuss the matter with the right hon. Gentleman in any way he chose.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he would bring up a new clause on the subject.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had guarded against a collusive intrusion from outside; but let them take the case, for instance, of the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) himself. The hon. and learned Gentleman was an avowed opponent of Women's Suffrage. Supposing he stood for Taunton again, and a candidate stood against him who was a supporter of Women's Suffrage, the maximum amount which his hon. and learned Friend could spend was specified in the Bill. The maximum amount that his opponent could spend was also specified in the Bill; but there was nothing whatever to prevent the Women's Suffrage Committee sending down a person which should hold meetings and should placard the town, advising the people to vote for Brown, Jones, or Robinson, as against the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. Now, under such circumstances as those, it was perfectly certain that the Attorney General would suffer great damage, most improperly and most unfairly, whilst his opponent would have the unlimited resources of the Society for the support of Women's Suffrage, and he would also be allowed to spend the maximum allowed under the Bill. That appeared to him (Mr. W. H. Smith) a course which ought not to be adopted under the Bill; but, so far as he could see, it was perfectly open for anybody to take that course. He ventured to say, on a former occasion, that there would be sent down to constituencies, in times of an election, the representatives of any number of Associations and Societies to promote their own particular objects; and, unless a candidate could accept them all, and swallow them all, he would be in great danger of being opposed by them—opposed by a candidate who would have the support of the Associations and Societies in question. He thought the Attorney General himself ought to find some means of dealing with cases of that kind.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the very pleasing reference he had made to him. If he could deal with the case as the right hon. Gentleman had suggested, he should be glad to do so. In his election, in 1873, all that the right hon. Gentleman had described really occurred. The Women's Suffrage Committee opposed him in every way they could; but he thought that the consequence of their act ought not to fall upon his opponent. ["Oh, oh!"] In his opinion, it would be very hard that all the money the Women's Suffrage Committee spent should be treated as part of the candidate's expenditure. Personally, he (the Attorney General) was treated as a very objectionable person by the ladies composing the Committee; and he had no doubt that they would try to keep him out of Parliament for any constituency whatever. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had, however, not contemplated such a case as that. He had dealt with the case of men who received a stated salary from Associations, and who got no actual money for any particular services rendered at an election. He should like, if he could, to stop all that expenditure going into election warfare, from whatever direction it came; but he doubted very much whether such an object could be accomplished.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the more the subject was discussed the more necessary it was that the matter should be met. The Amendment which he had put down on the Paper to this clause, and which had been accepted, was to the effect that any person employed by or in receipt of a salary from a political or other Association outside a constituency in which the election took place, should be considered as engaged or employed for payment if he acted under such employment for the purpose of promoting, or procuring, or opposing the election of a particular candidate. He was not prepared to say whether the payment should be considered as payment by the candidate, because it would be difficult to trace it to the candidate; but it ought to be an illegal practice, no matter by whom the payment was made. They were hampering the hands of a candidate in every way, and prohibiting him expending beyond a certain sum of money. What a candidate had only to do if he wished to evade the section was to write up to some Association and get that Association to work his election. It would thus be seen that they were handicapping an honest candidate to an extent of which they had no conception. It must be remembered that they were not passing a law for good men, but for bad men; and the moment that Act became law, it would be taken up by some people in the country to see how they could get out of it. The first thing they would do would be to see how a candidate should spend nothing, and how some Association in Birmingham, or London, or Manchester, could go down, spend money, and work the election for them. That was really the thing they had to meet. It was a matter of vital importance to the Bill; and although he thought the words which the Attorney General had accepted met the case to a certain extent, so far as direct payment went, they would not meet the case of people who were not directly paid. He should, therefore, raise the question by a new clause. He hoped the Attorney General realized the force of the observations he had made, and that when the Committee came to consider the new clauses they would be fully prepared to deal with this matter.

The Attorney General

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he fully saw the importance of the matter. They, however, could not help people who took an interest in national questions raising their voices in any particular constituency. As the right hon. Gentleman was going to bring up the question in the form of a new clause, would it not be well to have only one discussion upon it?

MR. ONSLOW said, this was a serious matter, and the Attorney General had given them no definite promise that he would bring up a clause himself on the subject. He (Mr. Onslow) did not think the question ought to be slighted in this way. There was an Association which many Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House thought ought not to be formed. He believed many hon. Gentlemen opposite had nothing to do with the Association, and certainly they on the Opposition side of the House had the greatest repugnance to it—he meant the Birmingham Caucus. Now, the Birmingham Caucus was a rich Association, and it might send down its representatives to any borough at the time of an election and simply flood it with money. [The SOLICITOR GENERAL dissented.] The Solicitor General shook his head; but not a penny of the money sent down by the Caucus would be included in the expenses of the candidate—it would not be paid by himself or by his agent, but by the Central Association. He (Mr. Onslow) would take another case. He himself would, no doubt, be opposed strongly at the next Election by the Anti-Liquor Association, and that Association was, as everyone knew, exceedingly rich; there were thousands and thousands of pounds coming into the coffers of that Association, and he believed it would be considered worth while to send to every constituency gentlemen to speak on public platforms against any particular individual who held views different to theirs. No doubt, in support of a candidate who approved of its views, the Association would send down their men and their money; and, unless there was some safeguard to prevent such a thing being done, there would be an enormous amount of money spent by particular individuals of whom the Associations, Liberal or Conservative, in the constituency knew nothing. A constituency would be flooded with money, and therefore there would be any amount of bribery committed by the Association, and yet there would be no means of preventing it. It seemed ludicrous that such a state of things should be allowed. The Attorney General had said—"I will see if I can bring up another clause." They must press this matter on the Attorney General, because they did not intend to be flooded by Birmingham Caucuses. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said he would bring forward some clause to that effect. Let them see what this clause was. ["Hear, hear!"] It was all very well for the Attorney General to say "Hear, hear!" but the Committee ought, on this occasion, to insist upon the Attorney General meeting them fairly upon this point. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would give the Committee a more definite promise than he had done that he would bring up a clause.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he was afraid that the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) was not aware of the alteration which had been made in the clause by the acceptance of the Amendment of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). The clause would now meet all cases, whether connected with the Birmingham Caucus or anything else; but the case which the hon. Gentleman desired to meet was that of salaried officers, for whom no payment was made in respect of an election, and who made no payments themselves, being sent into the constituencies by the Caucus or other Associations. That was a much more limited question, and the last objection was already met by the Amendment which had been accepted.

MR. ONSLOW remarked, that the practice now was to send down a man two or three days before the election, who went Heaven knew where and committed all sorts of illegal practices.

MR. W. H. JAMES said, he thought it was not necessary to prolong the discussion of the clause by raising questions with regard to the Birmingham Caucus. He would, however, take advantage of the discussion to draw the attention of his hon. and learned Friend to another point. There were a great many persons who had a close connection with the Press of the Metropolis, and of the different centres of England. It was quite possible for certain statements to be made by means of the Press which caluminated and misrepresented the acts of a candidate, and such statements would go through the whole of the borough. It was altogether impossible for the candidate to contradict such statements, unless he used placards, or took some course of a similar nature. The candidate would desire that the true state of the facts should be placed before the electors; but it might be reported to him by his agent that he was not able to spend any money in sending out placards or handbills without exceeding the maximum expenditure specified in the Schedule.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, that was a question which would not come under this provision at all. The present clause provided only that all payments should be made through the election agent.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS remarked, that what the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. James) had said was pure nonsense, and the hon. Member could not have been attending to the debates which had taken place. The Committee would remember that when they were discussing the 7th clause he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had submitted an Amendment which he withdrew at the time, for the express purpose of raising it again on the 22nd clause. An Amendment on the 14th clause was also withdrawn on the same understanding; and now, when they had reached Clause 22, to say that the Committee must not discuss it was a proposition he, for one, would not stand, and he would not permit such a statement as that which the hon. Member for Gateshead had made to go forth without resenting it.

MR. WARTON said, he was of opinion that if the Committee wished to get through this Bill in reasonable time it was not desirable that the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. James) should convert himself into a sort of censor, and dictate how many times every hon. Member was to speak. He (Mr. Warton) should certainly express his opinions without any regard to the feeling of the hon. Member for Gateshead, or anybody else. The question now before the Committee was a very important one, and it was closely connected with another important matter to which, in all probability, the Government proposed by-and-bye to give the go bye—namely, the Amendment which appeared on the Paper in the name of the right hon. Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) to try all these illegal practices on the spot. If they really desired to put a stop to illegal practices on the part of agents, they could only do it by inflicting severe punishment then and there. These two questions were of great importance; and if the Government wished to be practical, and were sincere in their desire to put down bribery and corruption, the only way to do it was to have a tribunal on the spot, which should punish at once all persons who could be proved to have engaged in acts of corruption. He felt deeply the able manner in which the Attorney General had conducted the consideration of the Bill; but he thought that those who aspired to be statesmen should have adequate means of carrying out what they desired to enact. It was a somewhat undignified position for the hon. and learned Gentleman to be compelled to get up day after day and say that there were provisions which he would like to pass, but he was utterly unable to know how to pass them. It was the duty of the hon. and learned Gentleman to find out a way, and the first thing he ought to do was to constitute a tribunal which would have power to prevent this kind of action, and to punish all illegal practices on the spot. In his (Mr. Warton's) opinion, one of the great evils of the present day was the existence of any political Associations at all. There were Associations established in connection with every possible "fad" or fancy; and the object of all the little bands of fanatics which existed throughout the Kingdom, whether women or temperance people, was to obtain for their opinions unfair weight. They tried unjustly to turn the scale, and to make their petty "fads" and fancies rule the election. That was their object, and in endeavouring to carry it out they stuck at nothing. They sent out hired agitation all over the country to misrepresent their opponents; and his own opinion was that any person who was not a candidate, or an elector, or an agent, ought not to be permitted to take part in an election at all. It was these outsiders who came into a constituency and put tyrannical pressure upon the candidate. When he (Mr. Warton) was a candidate he received all kinds of letters to know whether he would vote for this object or the other, but he thought it due to the respect he owed towards himself not to answer any one of them. He treated all of them with the contempt they deserved, and he regretted that so many hon. Members were weak-minded enough to pay attention to them. He thought that strangers ought not to be allowed to interfere with the progress of any election, and he should like to see these hireling lecturers sent to prison as misdemeanants.

MR. BIGGAR asked if a candidate could be his own agent for election expenses, or if it was absolutely necessary that payment should be made through a third person?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Committee had already inserted an Amendment in Clause 17, which allowed every candidate to be his own agent for the election expenses.

MR. BIGGAR said, that was what he understood; but he wanted to make the matter perfectly sure.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 23 (Period for sending in claims and making payments for election expenses).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was prepared to accept an Amendment in line 21 of this clause—namely, to leave out the words "in connection with or incidental to an election," in order to substitute the words "in respect of the conduct or the management of an election."

Question, "That the words, 'in connection with or incidental to' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*"

Question "That the words 'in respect of the conduct or management of' be inserted after the word 'or,'" put, and *agreed to.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that on behalf of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) he would move the Amendment which stood on the Paper in his hon. Friend's name, the object of which was to omit from the clause the words "except when less than twenty shillings." It was impossible during the hurry of an election to get a bill or receipt made out for accounts of less than 20*s.*

Amendment proposed, in page 10, line 22, to leave out "except when less than twenty shillings."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the Amendment was part of a series of Amendments, and these words would have to go out of the clause if the Attorney General accepted the Amendment as a whole.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he fully understood the object of the Amendment; but he thought the Committee might be embarrassed by accepting it now. He was willing to accept an Amendment to the 1st sub-section, which would have the effect of raising the amount required to be vouched in respect of any expense incurred by an election agent from 20*s.* to 40*s.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that, in that case, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Question proposed, "That the Amendment, by leave, be withdrawn."

MR. BIGGAR asked what position a candidate would be in who received a cheque? Would he have to go to the party who sent the cheque and get a receipt; and if a Post Office order was sent instead of a cheque, how would the candidate be situated?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not quite understand the point raised by the hon. Member. The receipt attached to Post Office orders would be the voucher. Anything that showed that the money had been paid would be sufficient, and if a receipt was not forthcoming the Judge would receive evidence that the money had been paid. He did not think that any practical danger was to be apprehended.

MR. BIGGAR said, the difficulty arose in this way. Persons might be employed to make payments, and hon. Members knew very well that all sorts of people put in claims on the pretence that they had made payments. And then, again, it was possible that persons would receive money and give no receipt of any sort in the expectation of extorting more money out of the candidate. He thought these were matters which the Bill ought to remedy.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) moved, in line 22, to leave out the word "twenty," in order to insert the word "forty."

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had next to propose, in lines 25 and 26, to strike out the words "in connection with or incidental to," in order to insert the words "in respect of the conduct or management of."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that before that Amendment was put, he wished to object to Sub-section 2 altogether. What occurred to him was that this was one of those enactments which might be easily evaded. The sub-section said—

> "Every claim against a candidate at an election or his election agent in respect of any expenses incurred on account of or in connection with or incidental to such election which is not sent in to the election agent within the time limited by this Act shall be barred and shall not be paid, and an election agent who pays a claim in contravention of this enactment shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

He did not see much use in putting those words into an Act of Parliament, because the candidate would have to make a declaration at the end which ought to cover all these things. If a man sought to evade the Act, of course he would not be debarred by the declaration. What, then, was the use of putting in a clause of that kind, when it was impossible to detect whether there had been payments made after the proper time or not? Such claims would afterwards be settled in a way that no person could possibly detect. It also struck him that the sub-section might work somewhat unjustly, because there might be cases in which ignorant people would be put to a great disadvantage if the Act said their claims should be barred and should not be paid, or that if they were paid the candidate or election agent, who paid them in contravention of the Act, should be guilty of an illegal practice.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not quite understand the objection of the noble Lord to the claim being barred and the debt not being paid. The object of the sub-section was to prevent claims from coming in after the election. It was constantly found that applications for services rendered during an election contest were sent in long after the election was over; and it was just as well to enable the candidate or his agent to reply to such claims—"I cannot pay them because they are barred." The noble Lord said that might be an injustice. He (the Attorney General) quite admitted that there might be cases where there would be a *bonâ fide* claim, and he had drawn Sub-section 9 of the clause in order to meet such cases. That sub-section was as follows:—

> "On cause shown to the satisfaction of the High Court, such Court, on application by the claimant or by the candidate or his election agent, may by order give leave for the payment of the said sum, or the issue of the said execution, and further may by order give leave for the payment by a candidate or his election agent of a disputed claim, or of a claim for any such expenses as aforesaid, although sent in after the time in this section mentioned for sending in claims, or although the same was sent in to the candidate and not to the election agent."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that a creditor whose account was only 5*s.* might not think it worth while to send it in within the time specified by the Act.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it would make people more careful to send in their claims within a reasonable time. If they did not choose to do so, then they must put up with the consequences. If the sum was small the loss would be small, and would not be worth fighting for.

Mr. T. C. THOMPSON asked if the clause meant something stronger than the present Statute of Limitations? Would a man who felt that a claim was just and due, and considered himself bound to pay it, come within the operation of the clause? He remembered cases in which claims were barred by law; but, notwithstanding, they were paid because they were considered to be just. If a candidate considered he was under a moral obligation to satisfy a claim, was he to be prevented by this clause from paying such claim?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that if a candidate was of opinion that he was under a moral obligation to pay a claim, all he had to do under Sub-section 9 was to make an application to the High Court; and on cause being shown to the satisfaction of the High Court, on application by the claimant, or by the candidate, or his election agent, an order might be given for leave to satisfy the claim.

The CHAIRMAN: I must remind the Committee that there is no Question before the House.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) moved, in lines 25 and 26, to leave out the words "in connection with or incidental to," in order to insert the words "in respect of the conduct or management of."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he had an Amendment upon the Paper, which he thought would come next. He proposed, in line 29, to leave out the words "be guilty of an illegal practice," in order to insert the words "on summary conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds." He presumed that that was an Amendment which the Attorney General would accept, because there was an obvious oversight in the clause. It was enacted that—

> "Every claim against a candidate at an election or his election agent in respect of any expenses incurred on account of or in connection with or incidental to such election, which is not sent in to the election agent within the time limited by this Act, shall be barred and shall not be paid, and an election agent who pays a claim in contravention of this enactment shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

What would be the result if a candidate had a difference with the election agent, and the two came to loggerheads? All the agent would have to do would be to spend a little more money after the time fixed by the Act, and then the candidate might be unseated. It could not possibly be the intention of the Government that such a penalty should be embodied in an Act of Parliament, and therefore he proposed to leave out the words "be guilty of an illegal practice," and to simply render the agent subject to the penalty which ran all through the Bill—namely, that on summary conviction he should pay a fine not exceeding £100.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 29, leave out from "be," to end of sub-section, and insert "on summary conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds."—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought he had already met the proposal of the noble Lord by providing in Clause 9 what the punishment should be on a conviction for an illegal practice. He thought he had met every suggestion the noble Lord made in regard to the clause. He had also dealt with it in Clauses 26 and 27, which were intended to meet this very case. In Sub-section 5 of Clause 26, it was provided—

> "If, without such authorised excuse as in this Act mentioned, a candidate or an election agent fail to comply with the requirements of this section, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice. Provided that such failure on the part of the election agent without the knowledge and consent of the candidate shall not render the candidate liable to any greater incapacity than that to which he is liable for an illegal practice committed by his agent without his knowledge and consent."

He had further provided in Sub-section 6—

> "That a false declaration by the election agent, without the knowledge and consent of the candidate, shall not render the candidate liable to any other incapacity than that of his election being void."

Still further, in Clause 27, there was this provision—

> "If the candidate applies to the High Court, and shows that the failure to transmit such return and declarations, or any of them, or any part thereof, or any error therein, has arisen by reason of his illness, or of the absence, death, illness, or misconduct of his election agent, or sub-agent, or of any clerk or officer of such agent, or by reason of inadvertence or of any reasonable cause of a like nature, and not by reason of any want of good faith on the part of the applicant, &c."

He thought that these two clauses, taken together, would give sufficient protection to the candidate. If he accepted the Amendment of the noble Lord, the election agent might set the whole of the law at defiance, and might break it with the deliberate intention of breaking it. If they made the election agent a person who was to be selected by the candidate himself, of course he was under the immediate command of the candidate, who was bound to exercise proper discretion in the selection he made; but, having made a selection, he must see that the law was carried out, and must be answerable for the due performance of all his duties by his agent. If the Amendment were adopted the position would be this. If the election agent spent £5,000, instead of £500, there would be a means of evading the law by holding over the payment until after the date fixed in the Act; and by the Amendment they would be simply giving a licence to the election agent to exceed the legitimate expenditure. For this reason he could not accept the Amendment of the noble Lord; but he would put it to the Committee whether it was not a sufficient remedy to provide that if the candidate was able to show that there had been misconduct upon the part of the agent, the penalty should not rest upon him, nor would the penalty attach to him for the acts of a traitor?

MR. GORST understood the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) to object to the last words of the section, which made the agent who paid a claim in contravention of the Act guilty of an illegal practice. He further understood the noble Lord to wish to substitute a fine of £100. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said that was so.] He desired to point out to the noble Lord that an Amendment of that nature was scarcely necessary. No doubt, the proposal contained in it was a very proper one; but it had already been provided, by Clause 9, that a person guilty of an illegal practice should be liable to a fine on summary conviction not exceeding £100.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he proposed to strike out the words "an illegal practice."

MR. GORST said, he was perfectly aware of that; but the noble Lord practically left the clause one to provide that the agent paying any claim that was barred should be guilty of an illegal practice; and if he looked back to Clause 9, he would see that everybody who was guilty of an illegal practice was liable to pay a fine of £100. Clause 22 said that if an election agent paid a claim in contravention of the Act he was guilty of an illegal practice, and Clause 9 provided that every person who was guilty of an illegal practice should be liable to a fine not exceeding £100.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS wished to remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that the Amendment proposed to strike out the words "an illegal practice."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL suggested that words might be inserted in the Bill to determine that after the time fixed for the payment of claims the services of the election agent should cease. That would at once keep the matter distinct, because the person who paid the claim would have ceased to be the agent for the election, and if he was no longer the election agent his acts could not affect the candidate.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the important point in the Amendment of the noble Lord was that it would leave this loophole open—that an agent guilty of an illegal practice would have nothing to do but to pay a fine of £100.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, the clause, as it stood, placed it in the power of an election agent to present a Petition against the candidate.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the noble Lord would see that it was in the power of every agent to present a Petition.

Mr. GIBSON said, that although he was inclined, on the whole, to be satisfied with the explanation of the Attorney General as to the object of the Amendment, he thought the proposal of his noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) a reasonable one. What was the Amendment of his noble Friend, which was presented very concisely to the Committee? It applied to the election agent who paid a claim in contravention of the Act—that was outside the time required, but it might be within the limit allowed for the payment of election expenses, and therefore the agent would simply commit a technical error, because he would still be making a payment within the legal limit of the election expenses allowed by the Act—if the agent did that outside the time fixed by this clause, not only would he incur punishment upon himself, but the act he had done might affect the seat, and subject the candidate to serious consequences on account of the illegal act of the agent. Surely that would be a monstrous injustice, and he trusted that the question would be fully discussed, so that the Committee might understand it thoroughly before they passed from it. He would not take the conduct of an election agent, done in a hurry, or in consequence of a slip, or some other inadvertence, nor would he take the case of an election agent who acted through treachery. He would pass by all those points, and apply himself to the case of an election agent who, knowing what the section was, deliberately violated a statutory enactment, but did so in a way which would probably happen in many cases—namely, that although it was wrong undoubtedly to violate an Act of Parliament, still the act of violation brought about no corruption. The election agent would not have paid any corrupt charge, or any charge in excess of the maximum expenditure fixed by the Schedule of the Bill, but he would have been paying a perfectly fair charge, which he knew to be a fair charge, and he would probably know equally well that he was paying it after the time fixed in the Act, and subject his principal to the full penalty of having committed an illegal practice, not by himself, but by his agent. If that consequence could be worked out—and he saw no escape from it—the Attorney General was not in a position to point to chapter and verse, in any of the clauses of the Act, which would enable a tribunal to free the candidate from this monstrous injustice. He (Mr. Gibson) could not imagine any topic more deserving of the close and careful consideration of the Committee. He had carefully examined all the clauses of the Bill, and he had gone through more than those which the Attorney General had referred to, giving power to the tribunal to recognize excuses, and also giving power to the High Court, in Clause 17, as well as to the Election Court, to except certain innocent acts from being an illegal practice. But he saw nothing in Clause 17 which covered in the slightest degree, or gave any power whatever to the Court to deal with, the case they were now considering, and it was a case that might happen frequently — namely, that of an agent who knowingly paid a claim after the proper time. By Sub-section (*b*) of

Clause 17, it was necessary for the Court to determine—

> "That an act or omission arose from inadvertence, or from accidental miscalculation, or from some other reasonable cause of a like nature, and in any case did not arise from any want of good faith."

He was admitting that in the case they were now dealing with there could be neither inadvertence nor accidental miscalculation. Therefore, that clause could not be referred to as supplying a mode by which the Court could prevent this extreme consequence from falling upon the candidate. The next section referred to by the Attorney General was Section 36, and he (Mr. Gibson) certainly failed to see the relevancy of that clause. No one had a higher respect for his hon. and learned Friend than he had. His hon. and learned Friend had conducted the consideration of this Bill in a spirit of perfect fairness towards the Committee, and he had stated his views with logical precision. But he (Mr. Gibson) had read and re-read Subsection 5 of Clause 26, and he could not see that it had the faintest reference to the point now under discussion. He would read it to the Committee, in order to show that he was not doing an injustice to his hon. and learned Friend. This was the sub-section referred to by the Attorney General as one which enabled the Court to modify the unjust stringency of the clause now sought to be amended by his noble Friend—

> "If, without such authorised excuse as in this Act mentioned, a candidate or an election agent fails to comply with the requirements of this section, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

Looking further at the clause, he found this marginal note attached to it—"Return and declaration respecting election expenses," which had nothing whatever to do with the topic now under consideration; and there was a Proviso which entirely prevented the application of the clause to the remedy of the evil referred to—

> "Provided that such failure on the part of the election agent, without the knowledge and consent of the candidate, shall not render the candidate liable to any greater incapacity than that to which he is liable for an illegal practice committed by his agent without his knowledge and consent."

That was the very point the noble Lord was anxious to get rid of. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) dissented.] He saw that the Attorney General did not assent to his inference; and he hoped the noble Lord would look at the section again, because it was overwhelmingly plain to his mind. The noble Lord sought to get rid of the provision that if the principal were made guilty of an illegal practice committed by his agent, such consequences should not follow; and it was no answer to refer the noble Lord to this Proviso, which said that the principal should not be liable to any greater incapacity than that which he was liable to for an illegal practice committed by his agent without his knowledge and consent, and which, in point of fact, gave no redress at all. The only other clause referred to as affording matter for relief was Clause 27; and the marginal note attached to that clause was—

> "Authorised excuse for non-compliance with provisions as to return and declaration respecting election expenses."

He had read the clause carefully, and, without desiring to weary the Committee by reading it to them, he would ask them to accept from him the statement that there was not one solitary syllable in the clause which would enable the Court, no matter how well disposed it might be, to relieve the candidate from the penalty attached to the wilful payment of a proper charge if it were paid after the proper time. That was the point to which he wished to confine his arguments at the present moment, although there were other points that would require careful consideration. He had taken one of the strongest cases, and one which would occur most frequently, and his view was this—that if the Attorney General would not accept the Amendment, which he (Mr. Gibson) regarded as of great importance, or if he would not undertake, expressly and in terms, when they came to the next clause granting exceptions, to deal with this point in the way indicated by the Amendment, he should unquestionably divide in favour of the Amendment of his noble Friend, and he should support it in the strongest way he could.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had done that already. He had said all that could be said in favour of the Amendment. The question, however, was one upon which the experience of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was somewhat limited. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, as the Representative of a University, had always sailed upon very smooth water. [Mr. GIBSON said, he confessed that.] His right hon. and learned Friend probably did not know that payments sometimes had to be made which had not been provided for. If he (the Attorney General) thought the infliction of the penalty proposed by the noble Lord would meet the case, he would have gladly accepted the Amendment; but the position of the election agent was a peculiar one, and he thought it was not asking too much from him that he should comply with the requirements of the Act. Let the Committee consider what the position of the election agent was. He ought to know what the law was. They told him he had a certain duty to perform, and he could not be led into anything accidentally, or that he could not comprehend. He would do everything with premeditation, because, in this case, he would have to pay a certain sum in a certain given time. The Legislature told him he must not do it after a certain time, but that, if there was a claim which was sent in after the proper time, and the agent thought he ought morally to pay it, then he had only to take the trouble to make an application to the Court for leave to pay it. The noble Lord said that the agent would be of opinion that the Legislature ought not to impose this obligation upon him, and, therefore, he would not comply with it, but would set the intentions of the Legislature at defiance. Then, why was such a breach of the law by the agent to be treated as being of less importance than any of those other things which, if the agent did them during the conduct of an election, would render the seat void?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL remarked, that the election would be over at the time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if the election agent did an act of this kind after he had ceased to be an election agent, he would not bring any consequences upon the candidate. The candidate would have the means of putting an end to the agency by an advertisement or otherwise. It was said that the agent would be willing to pay the penalty, and would run the risk of being fined £100, rather than ask the leave of the Court to pay these claims. If that were so, did not the Committee think that he would have some object—that there was something in connection with the payment which he was anxious should not be mentioned in the High Court? The claim might only be for £2 or £3; and would the agent incur a fine of £100 unless he had something in substance to conceal? The payments, in fact, were the sequence of the debt. His own opinion was that they would be opening the door to illegal practices to the fullest extent if they allowed payments of this kind to be made contrary to the law. A payment made in the hurry of the moment, or under accidental circumstances, would not come under this provision, which only dealt with premeditated breaches of the law—cases in which the agent was ready to set the law at defiance rather than do his duty. If there was any further protection he could give to the candidate he would gladly give it; and he had endeavoured to meet any case of inadvertence or mistake by accepting the new clause suggested by his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler), but which he (the Attorney General) intended to bring up. That clause provided that when the Election Court reported that the agent had been guilty of treating, or undue influence, or illegal practices; and the Election Court further reported that the candidate and his election agent had taken all reasonable means to prevent the commission of corrupt and illegal practices; that they had been trivial and unimportant, and limited in character, and were not committed with the knowledge and consent of the candidate, the election should not be void, nor should the candidate be subjected to any incapacity under the Act. His right hon. and learned Friend said that these cases might often occur. They ought not to occur often, because the election agent would know very well that they were against the Act of Parliament. He was afraid that, notwithstanding what his right hon. and learned Friend had said, he could not yield to his views, and he hoped the Committee would fully consider the effect which the adoption of the Amendment would have. It would be most unwise not to enforce this provision. Having passed an Act they ought to see that all its provisions were obeyed by all persons concerned.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he wished to point out that the punishment given under the Amendment of the noble Lord would not be so inadequate as the Attorney General seemed to imagine. What was proposed was that an agent guilty of an offence should be punished by a fine of £100; but if the clause were passed as it stood, the agent might expose himself not to a single fine of £100, but to one for each separate offence. The agent would, therefore, always have before his mind that in violating the law he would be subjecting himself to a heavy penalty.

MR. GORST said, the promise just made by the Attorney General very much altered the matter. He understood that the pledge given was to provide in the Bill some means, in addition to those already provided, for relieving the principal from the acts of his election agent as soon as the eletion was over. He confessed that when a man had paid all his election expenses and made his declaration, that that ought of itself to be a termination of the election agency. It appeared now that that was to be made quite clear, and that when the election was over and the accounts paid, and all the provisions of the Act complied with, the agency should cease, and if anything was then done by the election agent it would be done at his own peril. If that were made perfectly clear, he thought it would meet all the objections which had been raised; because he thought that as long as the election was going on, and until the accounts were paid and the whole affair was closed, it was only right that a payment of this kind by the election agent should have all the consequences which any other illegal acts by the election agent would have. If a line were drawn beyond which the agency should not exist, that would, in his opinion, be quite sufficient.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was unable to support the Amendment of the noble Lord. He agreed with the Attorney General that if the election agent did not fulfil the requirements of the Statute he ought to be subjected to more severe punishment than a fine of £100. Indeed, he thought the election agent, under such circumstances, should be somewhat severely punished, because he might otherwise, to a great extent, defeat the intentions of the Bill. At the same time, he was inclined to agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman that in punishing the agent they should look with jealousy upon the consequences which any specific act of the agent might bring to bear upon the candidate. For instance, he himself had no desire to be punished because his agent had rendered him liable to be prosecuted. The agent ought to know what the law was, and ought to refuse to pay any claims after the date fixed for their payment. He would be glad if the Attorney General could see his way to the modification of the clause, so far as its effect upon the candidate would be, without waiting until the new clause which he intended to bring up at the instance of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler) could be discussed. It was quite evident, on the face of the matter, that the candidate could have little or no control over the agent; and it would be rather hard that he should be held liable, and subjected to very serious consequences, because the agent, by the payment of a sum which would have been perfectly legitimate if paid at the proper time, could expose him to the danger of a Petition. It would frequently happen that Petitions would be presented against the candidate on very trifling grounds; but if the agent broke the law, that would certainly justify the Petitioner in presenting a Petition, and would put the candidate to very serious expense. He therefore thought, in regard to this particular clause, that where a fault might arise without any corrupt motive there ought to be some words inserted to protect the candidate.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he quite agreed with the principle of the clause, and he considered that it would be very necessary to place a limit upon the time when the accounts should be sent in, and that such limit should be rigidly enforced; but he disputed the justice of the treatment of the candidate. He admitted that the conduct of the agent would be essentially wrong if, having made a mistake, he did not take advantage of that provision of the Bill which allowed him to apply to the High Court of Justice to enable him to pay a claim which might not have been sent in at the proper time, but which he considered was a legitimate one, and one that ought to be paid. On the other hand, it would be excessively unjust if, because an agent had been guilty of such *laches*, the innocent candidate was to be punished in the strong manner provided by the clause and held to be guilty of an illegal practice. He therefore trusted that the Attorney General would do something to protect the candidate from the severity of the clause.

Mr. CALLAN said, he hoped the Attorney General would in no way modify the clause. It was about the most efficient measure of justice which could fall upon any candidate, and it would render him very careful about the acts of his election agent. He (Mr. Callan) knew a case in point in his own district where, 12 months after the election, upwards of £500 were paid for expenses incurred in treating by the election agent, and the candidate. If a fine of £100, or even a fine of £1,000, were imposed, it would not have the slightest effect in detering the agent if he had some wealthy man behind him. If they were to impose a penalty on the election agent, he hoped it would be imprisonment with hard labour. If the Attorney General intended to modify the clause in any respect, he (Mr. Callan) would certainly prefer that the punishment should be enhanced, and he was able to speak from experience. Not only should the candidate be deemed guilty of an illegal practice, but the election agent should receive penal servitude for five years, because it was a corrupt practice deliberately entered into during an election contest. It was an act that could not be unintentionally committed, but it must be deliberately committed with *malice prepense*, in order to render void the salutary provisions of the clause. If it were found necessary to relieve the candidate, he certainly hoped they would increase the penalty upon the election agent, and, in addition to a fine, imprison him for two years with hard labour. What would the election agent care for a fine of £100 or £500 if he had a wealthy Baronet or a noble Lord at his back? He would only laugh at it. He knew an election agent who had only a simple barrister at his back who had to pay £500 within the borough he (Mr. Callan) had formerly represented for corrupt practices committed three years ago. Therefore, the only way to make a candidate really responsible was to give him or his agent penal servitude.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought the Committee should take into consideration the position of the unhappy candidate whose agent had simply paid a lawful claim within the maximum amount of the election expenses, perhaps only a day after the period for payment had expired. There was positively no protection whatever for the candidate in any clause passed or coming. That was a monstrous injustice, and so long as the Bill bristled with such things he should object to and dislike it. He thought it was a matter of complaint that the hon. and learned Attorney General should have read out the second paragraph of Clause 6, for it had really nothing to do with the point now raised.

Mr. MORGAN LLOYD said, that, as he understood the Attorney General had suggested the insertion of a clause which would enable a candidate to declare, in some way or other, that his agent had ceased to be his election agent, he thought that would be a sufficient protection to the candidate; but he thought that would, whilst relieving the candidate from responsibility, enable the agent, after the determination of his authority, to make illegal payments on his own responsibility, and trust to the candidate for reimbursement at some future period. A candidate might issue a notice to that effect, and then, by another agreement, come to a secret understanding with the agent. He would suggest that the penalty should be an absolute penalty of £100 in every case, for he believed that would be much more effective than any future clause that could be drawn.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) asked the noble Lord to withdraw his Amendment, and promised, if that were done, to consider whether there could not be some distinction made between a contract made within the maximum, and payments made outside the limit of time for such payments. The question of payments outside the maximum stood upon a different footing.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of dividing, for the Attorney

General had hitherto kept his promises with such good faith that he could fully trust him to do his best to meet this difficulty. He thought the suggestion of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) a very valuable one, because if it could be guarded, as the noble Lord had suggested, by terminating connection with an agent at a certain period, the candidate would be protected, not only against this particular illegal practice, but against other illegal practices. But the difficulty which occurred to him, and which he thought the Attorney General would realize, was that there were here three periods of time. The expenses must be returned to the Returning Officer within 40 days; claims must be sent in within 20 days, and payment must be made within 30 days. Therefore, in one case there were 30 days, and in another 20 days; and he did not conceive that in any case a candidate could terminate his connection with an agent under 40 days. That was a point which he had no doubt the Attorney General would carefully consider; and, as he had given an assurance that he would do his best to meet this as well as other difficulties, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. GORST said, he hoped the Attorney General would not go far back from the pledge given to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. He did not think the observations of the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) touched the principle advocated by the noble Lord. No one wanted a candidate to terminate his connection with his agent until the election was practically over—that was until 40 days had expired, or until a declaration of the returns had been made to the House, and all the expenses had been closed up and settled. It appeared to him just and equitable that the Member returned should be allowed to terminate altogether the relations of election agency, for there would then be nothing left for the agent to do. One part of the operation would be to withdraw from the control of the election agent all sums of money; and he did not see why an agent should be wicked and foolish enough, after the connection was terminated, to spend his own money.

Amendment by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 10, line 32, after "twenty," to insert "one." —(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'twenty' stand part of the Clause."

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he hoped the Attorney General would agree to put in 28 days, as he thought both 20 and 21 were too short a period for all the accounts to come in.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, this was another of those numerous details which the Committee had to consider; and they had already fixed the limits of time. First, there was the sending of the accounts to the Returning Officer; then the payment, and then the return, within 40 days. During all that time a constituency might be wrongly represented, and it would be a serious matter to displace a Member who had got accustomed to his seat for two months. He objected to any further extension of time.

Mr. GORST pointed out that there was great danger in this matter. At present a Petition might be presented against the return of a Member as soon as he was returned; but, under this clause, the time was extremely long. It was rarely the case that a Petition was presented until the Member had sent in his accounts, because Petitioners would naturally wait until that had been done, in order to see the vouchers. In a Court of Law a Petition might be presented earlier, but he did not think anyone would do that; and if the time was made too long, that would enable a Member corruptly returned to sit too long in that House. Such a Member ought to be quickly sent about his business. Again, by giving too long a time they would enable corrupt bargains to be made for squaring a Petition. He thought it was important for the character of the House, that the period within which the return of expenses should be made should be as short as possible. In the Bill it was made 40 days; and in order to make the period short, it would be necessary to make the time for sending in claims short also. Twenty-one days were quite long enough for that purpose. Contracts were only to be made by agents or sub-agents, and there could not be a vast number of people making contracts; and those making contracts would be able to send in their claims in 21 days. He was not advocating the shortening of time; but they should be very careful how they lengthened it.

Mr. ARTHUR PEEL said, he had an Amendment to make the time 40 days, in order that claims might be quickly settled and got out of the way as soon as possible in the interests of candidates and election agents. The time proposed by the Bill was too short for settling a large number of small claims which would continue to be sent in. He was strongly in favour of limiting the period, because it gave time for an agent to reduce exaggerated claims to proper proportions; but, in fixing the period, they must consider the consequences, and he feared the proposal of the Bill would lead to accounts being disputed which would otherwise be settled.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he could not agree that the period should be made as short as possible, for everyone who had dealt with these matters knew how difficult it was to get the accounts in. He hoped the Attorney General would consent to 42 days.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought a candidate could not have these matters off his mind too soon. He thought one week was ample time. A longer period was all very well in the times when there was enormous expenditure over elections, and candidates spent £30,000 or £40,000; but were the Committee aware that under this Bill not more than £2,000 could be spent even in the largest constituency? Did anybody mean to say that seven days were not ample for settling all claims up to that amount, all having been incurred with one man? If a longer time were allowed, a candidate would not be able to get from his agent the amount he had let him in for. The agent would say there was plenty of time, and so the candidate would not be able to ascertain what he was liable for. Lengthened periods for payment of claims only meant further expense, and led to the parties meeting and squaring matters, and to corrupt bargains. As the Bill stood, 10 days were allowed between the claim and the payment, and then another 10 days for the agent to make his return. All these periods were preposterous, and not based on logic at all. It would be 50 times better for everybody that the claims should be settled in a week, and that could be done without any difficulty.

Mr. CALLAN said, he thought the period should be reduced from 21 days to 14 days. Seven days would be preferable to either; but errors might be made in the excitement of an election, and therefore he would suggest 14 days. During nearly 20 years' experience he had acted frequently for others, and had wealthy candidates behind him; but he had changed corrupt elections to pure elections. When he took up his own county (Louth), he found that the elections had generally cost £5,000; but he and Mr. Chichester Fortescue had reduced that to £2,000. The longer the time given for payment, the greater was the inducement to people to make exorbitant charges, and to fabricate claims under various pretences, which it would be to the interest of the candidate not to meet in a very hostile manner. He thought 14 days ample; but the period given to a candidate to investigate claims ought to be more than 10 days, for he might have 100 bills to investigate. He had never paid a bill until he had been down to the place and inquired into it. He should be afraid to pay a claim until he had satisfied himself that there was not the slightest tinge of illegality surrounding the claim; and, in view of the fearful penalties incurred by a candidate for an inadvertent act, he ought to have at least 21 days to investigate the claims. He should not press this but that he had had an extensive experience of these matters, and he knew where the difficulty lay.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he quite agreed with the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), for he was anxious that a candidate should get rid of these matters as quickly as possible. During a long period undesirable occurrences might happen, and there was no reason under this maximum scale why 14 days should not be ample. He believed the general feeling was that 14 days would also be sufficient for payment. If the hon. Member for Wolverhamton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would withdraw his Amendment, he would propose 14 days.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had had a great number of communications on this subject from almost every election agent in the country, and the almost unanimous view was that bills should be got in in the shortest possible time, but that considerable time should be given for examining them. North Lancashire was 60 miles long, and a candidate might have to send agents all over the Division. He would suggest 10 days for claims to be made, and an extended time for examination.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if the hon. Member would withdraw the Amendment he would not oppose the insertion of 14 days. That would be shortening the period as much as he thought safe.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 10, line 32, to leave out "twenty," and insert "fourteen."—(*Mr. Rylands.*)

Question, "That 'twenty' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That 'fourteen' be there inserted."

MR. MACFARLANE said, he hoped the Amendment would not be agreed to, for he thought seven days would be long enough.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. BIGGAR wished to move an Amendment for providing that claims made were at a reasonable rate. By this sub-section heavy penalties were to be imposed upon a candidate who did not get all his accounts paid within a reasonable time; but he had found in practice that charges were often unreasonable, and it was impossible to bring the people making claims up within a reasonable time. In a subsequent part of the Bill there was a provision that application might be made to extend the time for payment, and this sub-section was more or less in contradiction with that, and it would be liable to a different construction by different Judges, with the result that the candidate might have to pay these heavy penalties. That was what he wished to avoid. Of course, a candidate could make a return of the claims against him; but, at the same time, he ought not to have to run the risk of incurring penalties in cases where he was able to show that a claim was either illegal or in excess of what was reasonable for the services rendered.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 34, after the word "expenses," to insert the words "if legal, and if amount demanded is at a reasonable rate."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that no expenses need be paid which were not legal.

MR. BIGGAR urged that it was intolerable that a candidate should be forced into litigation with parties upon claims, when they might have an opportunity of settling the matter by a little negotiation.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he hoped the hon. Member would not divide upon the Amendment.

MR. BIGGAR said, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 10, line 35, to leave out "in connection with," and insert "or incidental to."

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. ARTHUR PEEL said, he wished to move to extend the period for examining accounts from 30 to 40 days.

Amendment proposed, in page 10, line 12, to leave out "thirty," and insert "forty."—(*Mr. Arthur Peel.*)

Question proposed, "That 'thirty' stand part of the Clause."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he should prefer to make the period 21 days. He thought there was no reason why many of the claims should not be sent in during the election, and paid at once. The right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said he had consulted election agents; but they were the worst authorities that could be consulted. They were the persons from whom candidates wished to protect themselves, and to compel to send in these claims without loss of time. As to large constituencies, he thought the post would overcome any difficulty on that account. He would urge the Attorney General to yield to the pressure from both sides of the House, because he was certain it was to the interest of candidates to make the period as short as possible, and so also to limit the time for Election Petitions being presented.

Mr ECROYD said, he was anxious to see these periods made as short as possible, and he was glad the Attorney General had accepted 14 days for claims to be sent in; but he was quite certain that in such a division as North-East Lancashire, which he had the honour of contesting in 1880, it would be impossible for a candidate to examine all his accounts in seven days.

Mr. GORST said, the experience of hon. Members was based on the existing law, under which claims could be made under all varieties of circumstances and expenses incurred, and time was required for examining the accounts; but under this Bill the claims would be of an extremely simple character, because nobody would be able to give a legal order incurring expenses but the agent or sub-agent. Seven days would not be required to enable the agent or sub-agent to make up his mind whether he had given any particular order upon which a claim was made. Under the present law anyone might give orders, and the candidate could not know from whom the orders emanated, and inquiry had to be made; but under this Bill there would be no such requirement. The election agent would know whether he had given an order, and could make up his mind in five minutes whether he disputed the claim or not; and in a county he could inquire of his sub-agents by post or telegraph whether certain orders had been given or not.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he could not accept the Amendment. If they allowed each creditor 14 days, surely it was putting too much pressure on the agent to give him a less period. He might have to make several journeys to different districts; and although the expenses would now be less, still there might be over-charges made. That would apply to the large constituencies; and even in a borough the agent might have to travel from place to place. He thought 30 days would be a safer period, and he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN agreed with the noble Lord that the period should be as short as possible.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he thought that after 14 days had elapsed the candidate should pay the accounts as rapidly as possible, so as to send in his return as early as possible. He hoped the Attorney General would accept the compromise of 28 days. He strongly supported the noble Lord.

Mr. ONSLOW said, that if the Attorney General accepted 14 days he should vote against the noble Lord; otherwise he should vote with the noble Lord.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would not discuss the difference between 28 and 30 days. He would accept 28 days, and then they could substitute 35 for 40 as the time for accounts to be sent in to the Returning Officer.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, page 10, line 41, to leave out "thirty," and insert "twenty-eight."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 5, to leave out "A disputed claim may be referred in a summary manner to the High Court or."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. GORST moved, in page 11, line 11, to leave out the words "the High," and insert the word "such." The hon. and learned Gentleman said, he should have thought that the Judges of the County Court or any tribunal would have been quite enough to decide as to the payment after 21 days, because there was no dispute as to liability. Let them take the case of an election in Newcastle and the expenses sent in before the 21 days. Suppose there was an amount of 10*s.* for the hire of a horse, which was not put into the election account because the person charged denied that the horse was supplied, an action could be brought in the County Court and a judgment obtained for the payment, and under that judgment the debt would have to be paid. In the present instance, however, the debt was not to be paid, but the case was to be taken to London, a London agent was to be employed, and they were to go before the High Court and get the leave of a Judge, who knew nothing about the circumstances, before a just claim could be obtained. This might happen in regard to a claim which the candidate would have been glad to have paid long before the expiration of the 21 days if he had thought it a just claim, and in respect of which, in the other alternative, he desired the Court to make an order so that he might have it settled.

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 11, to leave out the words "the High," and insert the word "such."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this was a very small matter. The Judge of the County Court was not always accessible, as was the Judge in the High Court. Therefore, it would be desirable to retain the provision in its present form.

MR. GREGORY considered that it would save time and expense if cases of this kind were confined to the jurisdiction of the High Court, for the reason that the Attorney General had pointed out—namely, that the Judge of the County Court was not always accessible. It would be better to have the High Court, or, at any rate, to give right of application to that Court concurrently with a right of application to the County Court, if such right were given.

MR. WARTON said, he did not agree with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that it would save time and expense if they had to go to the High Court. It seemed to him that the Committee had been going on far too quickly with these Amendments; and if they had not proceeded with such indecent haste they would have seen that some consequential matters already bound them to give jurisdiction to the County Court. If they would refer to the Bill they would find that Sub-section 9 of the present clause said—

> "On cause shown to the satisfaction of the High Court, such Court on application by the claimant or by the candidate or his election agent may by order give leave for the payment of the said sum, or the issue of the said execution, and further may by order give leave for the payment by a candidate or his election agent of a disputed claim, or a claim for any such expense as aforesaid, although sent in after the time in this section mentioned for sending in claims, or although the same was sent in to the candidate and not to the election agent."

It seemed to him that it would be highly improper to leave to other than the High Court the determination of such serious questions as these. He earnestly urged the Attorney General not to give way with reference to the next sub-section, and on the Report repair the errors they had committed by acting with such injudicious haste, particularly exemplified in their leaving in the words in the last sub-section "any competent Court."

MR. GORST said, he would not take up any further time of the Committee. He would be satisfied if the Attorney General, before the Report, would consider whether it was not possible to adopt some simpler process by which a claim sent in within the 21 days for a sum within the maximum, the only reason for the non-payment of which was a dispute between the election agent and the creditor as to whether the full amount was due or not, could be obtained. If the Attorney General would agree to this, he should be very glad to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. BIGGAR said, the next Amendment was in his name. It went in much the same lines as the preceding proposal; and, although he should postpone it, he thought the system of postponing Amendments was not a very satisfactory one. To his mind, these matters should be argued out in Committee, and they should not leave so many matters to be settled at the next stage of the Bill. The postponement of these questions would lead to inevitable discussion at the next stage; and if all these questions were settled on their merits in Committee, the necessity of having subsequent discussions would be obviated. His proposal was to insert after the word "Court," in line 11, the words "if beyond the jurisdiction of the County Court." It seemed to him to be thoroughly intolerable, in regard to a trumpery claim of £5, that, first of all, the plaintiff should apply to the Superior Court and maintain an action in that Court. What were the fees in the High Court, he would ask, supposing a person applied there to the Judge with the usual attendance of attorney and counsel? Unless the Government could give some better explanation than he had heard, so far, he should be obliged to divide upon this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 11, after the word "Court," to insert the words "if beyond the jurisdiction of the County Court."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. WARTON said, that they had not yet determined the previous question, as to whether the word "such" should be inserted.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the Amendment in that case had been withdrawn.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he thought the hon. Member (Mr. Biggar) had not properly observed the effect of this Amendment; because, if he had, he would find that it would not carry out the object he had in view; in fact, it would have no effect.

Mr. WARTON said, it was rather a strange thing that the principle of this Amendment was the same as the principle of the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), by an hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench, and by himself (Mr. Warton). The Government, so far, had not given the slightest reason why they should not at once agree to the proposition. Of course, he should have an opportunity, on the next stage of the Bill, of raising the question again, and he should take precious good care to do it. It seemed to him outrageous that litigants should be obliged to go to the High Court when they could settle these matters in the County Court. It was only to put money into the pockets of a certain class of attorneys, no doubt respectable enough in their way, that this application to the High Court was insisted upon.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, before the Amendment was withdrawn the Committee should know whether, under the clause as it stood, it was impossible to bring an action before the County Court, that being regarded as an "incompetent" Court.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, the Government, in answer to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), had promised to consider the point.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 24 (Personal expenses of candidate and small expenses of committee room).

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he had an Amendment to propose to this clause.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had an Amendment also, which he believed came before that of the noble Lord.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, his Amendment was on the Notice Paper.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK remarked, that the Chairman had his Amendment in his hand, the effect of which was to leave out from the words "the candidate," in line 25, down to the end of line 29.

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 25, to leave out Sub-section 1.—(*Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the Attorney General would know that he disapproved of this Bill altogether, believing that it would do very little good. He certainly thought it would be very advantageous if the hon. and learned Gentleman were to strike out all this ridiculous nonsense about a candidate's personal expenses being paid by him to the extent of not more than £50. This provision was revived from the original Act of 1854, and from the Act of 1868; and he would venture to point out that every Member of experience must see that, for all practical purposes, this provision must be quite nugatory. Candidates were not now equal, as it were, before the law, inasmuch as a vast number of gentlemen practically never paid any personal expenses at all, or, at any rate, if they did, they were of a trifling character. Candidates of this class might be opposed, perhaps, by gentlemen who had to maintain themselves at hotels, and had to incur large expenses in connection with their canvass and their election; in fact, to use the expression of the Attorney General, they were placed in a humiliating position, because they had to lay before the public all that they had been doing during the period of the election. If anybody, certainly hon. Members on the other side ought to support the principle involved in this Amendment, and take care that candidates were not exposed to these indignities. It appeared to him that under the principle of the original Act the penalty was an accumulating one of £5 a-day. They were now narrowing the limits within which a candidate might travel; and it was highly important, therefore, that there should be some definition of what personal expenses were. He saw that a noble Friend of his (Lord George Hamilton) had an Amendment down to this clause; and it seemed to him that if they omitted to deal with the matter they would be making a small absurdity a still greater one. He believed that the best course the Government could adopt would be to accept his proposal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would state briefly why he wanted the words to remain in the clause. The Committee would understand that it was the present law that a candidate might spend as much as he liked, and might send in an account of his expenses to his election agent. That was his duty. Well, in this clause the law was maintained that he might spend as much as he liked, personal expense not being in the maximum expenditure scheduled. One man's expenses might be different to those of another man. One might be, for instance, a married man possessing a family, and he might desire to take them down to the district in which the election was to take place. His expenses, of course, would be very different to those of a candidate who had only himself to look after. Then, again, another man might be an invalid, and might be put to extra expense in consequence. There was, in fact, no limit upon what might be spent in this way; but it should be borne in mind that they had it in evidence that in one case no less than £600 was spent in personal expenses during a short election. The proposal made in the clause was that the candidate should be allowed to spend £50 with his own hand. He did not think that £600 would ever have been paid for personal expenses if the election agent had been cognizant of the recipients and objects of the expenditure. He trusted that the Committee would allow this sub-section to remain, as it would really be a protection and an assistance to the candidate instead of anything else. With regard to Sub-section 3, which said—

> "A statement of the particulars of payments made under this section by the candidate for his personal expenses, or by any person so authorized as above in this section mentioned, shall be sent to the election agent within the time limited by this Act for the sending in of claims, and such payment if made by a person so authorized shall also be vouched for a bill containing the receipt of that person,"

he would propose to modify it by striking out, in lines 35 and 36, the words "under this section by the candidate for his personal expenses, or." This would obviate the necessity of the candidate sending in a statement as to items of his personal expenditure. It would render it unnecessary for him, for instance, to specify the family expenses, charges for maid servants, and so on, which might not be necessary to put before the public. There would be sufficient remedy for every evil in the clause as it would then stand. Whilst he adhered to the clause, he was willing to strike out the particulars of the statement; and this, he trusted, would meet the views of the right hon. and learned Member.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON considered the statement of the Attorney General was a most conciliatory one, although it did not meet the objection of his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) to this clause. What was desired was some definition of what these personal expenses were. A look of despair came over the face of the Attorney General whenever he was asked for a definition; but he (Lord George Hamilton) would point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman that a definition was strongly desirable, considering that in this case things might occur for which a candidate might be sent to prison. No doubt, the expenditure of such a sum as £600 for personal expenses during an election was corrupt, and ought to be stopped. But did the hon. and learned Gentleman mean by the personal expenses the expenses of a candidate who was resident in the district in which the election took place in connection with his household? [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): No.] Supposing the candidate was non-resident, and stopped at an hotel, would his expenditure on board and lodgings have to be put into the expenses?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that that was required at the present time by statute.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, if that were so, the position of the candidate who was resident, and who could entertain his friends, would be different, for his expenditure would not have to be published to the world. Take the case of the Prime Minister, who, during his Mid Lothian campaign, was entertained by a leading Member of the Liberal Party, who took down to his residence an enormous number of friends, who invited the whole county, who employed special trains, and who engaged the whole of an hotel in Edinburgh. Was that what the Attorney General would call legitimate expenditure? If that was a legitimate expenditure, would not the Prime Minister stand in an unfairly advantageous position as contrasted with a candidate who went down to contest the seat, and who had not a friend to receive him into his house, and no one to pay all his expenses in the matter of hotels, cabs, and so on? Would this person who paid his own expenses have to make them known; if not, nothing would ever be heard about them, as in the case of the expenses of the Prime Minister? The whole thing seemed to him (Lord George Hamilton) perfectly absurd. Wherever they went they must all incur personal expenditure.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had defined personal expenditure. He hoped the noble Lord would excuse him for interrupting; but he wished to point out that the words were defined by the Act of 19 & 20 *Vict.* Personal expenses were there defined as reasonable travelling expenses, and such travelling expenses and reasonable expenses of his living at hotels for the purpose of his election. That definition had been in operation for 25 years without the slightest difficulty having arisen with regard to it. The noble Lord wished him now to go further in the definition; but he was unable to accede to the request.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman's words were the strongest possible argument against the limit of £50.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was sure the noble Lord was labouring under a mistake. A candidate might have unlimited expenditure; but it was only £50 which could go through his own hand, the other personal expenditure having to go through his agent.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON considered that the clause placed a non-resident candidate in a very invidious position. It seemed to him that there were many personal expenses which always attended a candidate, or any gentleman in the position of a candidate, which ought not to be included in the £50. If the Attorney General would define anything like pocket-money, or anything of the kind, he would agree, perhaps, that the sum of £50 ought not to be exceeded. But to ask the Committee to assent to this clause, which meant nothing more or less than the placing of non-resident candidates in a false position as compared with the resident candidate, was to ask too much in the absence of some explanation.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, there was some misconception as to the meaning of this clause, and he thought they ought to understand what it was before they criticized it. He understood that all the personal expenses of a candidate, no matter by whomsoever paid, were in no way included in the maximum. [Mr. WARTON: We know that.] He did not think a good many hon. Gentlemen did know it. It was perfectly clear, therefore, that the candidate might spend what he liked on his own personal expenses totally apart from the maximum. At present, the law provided that the personal expenses should be published. The hon. and learned Attorney General proposed that that publication should continue, but that a new obligation should be added to it—namely, that the sum to be spent on personal expenses should be divided into two sums; that the £50 limit was simply to supply the payments personally made by the candidate himself; and that beyond the £50 was to be paid by the election agent. The noble Lord who had just sat down had said that such a provision put the non-resident candidate to great disadvantages; but he (Mr. Fowler) did not agree with the noble Lord. He (Mr. Fowler), as a resident candidate at the last General Election, paid every sixpence through his election agent. He did that for his own protection, because he believed it to be the best mode of conducting an election—every personal expense, from the issuing of the Writ, he paid through his own election agent. His household bills were in no way involved in the matter; and, indeed, no part of them could, under any conceivable construction, be called personal expenses. The noble Lord asked why the accounts should be published? Simply to prevent gross bribery, such as took place at Sandwich. In that case, when one of the candidates was asked why his personal expenses were so heavy, he told the Commissioners that they were clearly ignorant of the habits of gentlemen, or they would not have expressed surprise that a gentleman should require to spend £600 on personal expenses in a fortnight. He (Mr. Fowler) could not see what objection there was to this clause, modified as the Attorney General proposed. He wished, however, the Attorney General would make the £50 £100.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he intended, at a later stage of the discussion, to move to substitute £150 for the £50. He would not do this now, because it would be irregular. He would put it, however, to the Attorney General whether it was not a fact that every new provision, and every new complexity, introduced in the Bill, was not an evil? Surely the hon. and learned Gentleman himself would not pretend to say that anything was to be gained by this clause. A man might spend as much money as he liked, and he was not bound, even under the Amendment the Attorney General was going to propose, to say how he spent it. All he must do was to spend it through the election agent. Now, was there anything to be gained by putting that new trammel on a candidate? They had to trust a candidate to speak the truth, and if they meant to trust a candidate in such a matter, why not trust him altogether? Why introduce this provision about the election agents? Would it not be much better for the Government to adopt the suggestion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), and simplify the Bill by leaving out the section, which could lead to no possible good?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the whole question at issue was, whether beyond £50 a candidate's personal expenses should be paid through the election agent; firstly, to stop dishonest expenditure, such as they had in the case of Sandwich; and, secondly, to protect the honest candidates. Those were the two objects of the clause.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, the Attorney General had said the words were defined by the 19 & 20 *Vict.* The words "personal expense" were intended by that Act to include reasonable travelling expenses, and the reasonable expenses of living at an hotel. It was, therefore, perfectly plain that the £50 would go in a candidate's hotel expenses. A non-resident candidate could only spend £50 in personal expenses. ["No!"] He could only spend £50 himself, and anything else he had to pay must be paid through his election agent. It was plain that the non-resident candidate was really at a great disadvantage, because a resident candidate, who need not live at an hotel, might spend the £50 in cigars, while the non-resident candidate was paying it in hotel expenses. He thought it would be far wiser to let a candidate return his own expenses, and if his expenses were very high, a Judge would inquire as to how he spend the money.

MR. WHITLEY said, he could not see the advantage of the clause. It appeared to him that although the election agent was to make all the payments for personal expenses beyond the £50, he had no power to refuse a candidate's demands. Why not make a candidate make a statutory declaration as to how much he had spent? They would prevent, in this way, the objectionable proceedings of a man having to go to his own agent to get his own money.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) reminded the Committee that it would be quite invidious for a candidate to tax his own bills; while the agent, as his man of business, would be able to protect him against extortionate demands. He would repeat that he did not think it was a very broad subject for discussion, and that it would be well for the Committee to express its opinion at once.

MR. WARTON once more protested against the impatience of the Attorney General. They had got through to-day a great number of clauses, and they had got rid of many matters which would have to be reconsidered very carefully on Report. It was all very well that the

Bill should be loaded as it was with absurd and unnecessary clauses, and then that the Committee should be asked to hurry them through, on the ground—as the Attorney General said—that they did not involve matters of general principle. The clause now under consideration was most absurd and unnecessary. The Attorney General had told them that he had incorporated in the Bill the definition of personal expenses in the 19 & 20 *Vict.* After the extraordinary statement the hon. and learned Gentleman had made with regard to the effect of certain clauses, he (Mr. Warton) took the precaution to refer to the Schedule; and, as far as he could make out, he could not find the definition in the 19 & 20 *Vict.* incorporated in the Bill. It was, therefore, very necessary to listen to the statements made in the Committee; indeed, he had no doubt that one reason for hurrying through the Bill was that statements made might not be investigated. With regard to this absurd clause, he asked to be allowed to say what it was based upon. The only argument advanced in its favour was that no one election candidate spent more than he had a right to spend.. A man who had a great deal of money spent his money freely; and that was the sole reason why this clause was proposed. As a matter of fact, in one case £50 might be ample for personal expenses, while in another case it might be much too little. There was one element in the case he would particularly like to bring under the notice of the hon. and learned Attorney General. Supposing a candidate adopted the plan of letting an hotel bill run, and he incurred a liability of more than £50, would he be bound to pay the £50 allowed him to spend, and then go to his election agent and ask for a £5 or £10 note? What was the real meaning of this? When they had these unseen provisions brought into the Bill they ought to have them explained. ["Divide, divide!"] All those hon. Gentlemen who shouted "Divide, divide!" had not one idea in their heads as to the meaning of this clause, and he should continue his opposition to the clause until he got a satisfactory answer from the Government. He wanted to know the real meaning of the clause. Was a candidate at liberty to incur debt for hotel expenses, or was he bound, by this sumptuary clause, to pay for everything day by day and hour by hour, until the £50 became exhausted, and when the £50 became exhausted was he to go to the agent and ask for more? In his opinion, this was nothing more or less than childish legislation.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK regarded the matter as one of considerable importance, and thought the law ought to be made clear. The mere fact of £600 being spent by a candidate in Sandwich on personal expenses was nothing to do with the question. They might just as well say that, because one lawyer had turned out a rogue, all other lawyers were rogues. It was certainly his intention to take a Division.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, if the Attorney General would distinctly say that he would increase the sum allowed to the candidates from £50 to £100, it might obviate a Division. He (Mr. Cowen) thought it was obvious that the amount should either be altered, or the clause should be omitted.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if the Committee wished to increase the amount he would have no objection whatever.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 160; Noes 87: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 165.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, there was just time to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 27, to leave out "50," and insert "100," —(*Mr. A. J. Balfour,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '50' stand part of the Clause."

MR. BIGGAR said, he did not see the object of the Amendment.

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill further to amend the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 254.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 5*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee—Report*—Registry of Deeds (Ireland) * (97).

Third Reading—Drainage (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (124); Tramways Provisional Order (No. 4) * (104); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order * (118); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 2) * (119); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 3) * (120); Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 4) * (121); Criminal Law Amendment (134); Public Health (Dairies, &c.) * (92); Supreme Court of Judicature (Funds, &c.) * (130), and *passed.*

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—BOARDED-OUT CHILDREN.

QUESTIONS.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he rose to ask the noble Lord (Lord Carrington) certain Questions, of which he had given him private Notice, with reference to the boarding-out of children under regulations issued by the Local Government Board—namely, first, Whether the Local Government Board were prepared to institute efficient measures of inspection; secondly, whether it would allow Boards of Guardians to depute one of their number to inquire on the spot into particular cases affecting their own Union; and, thirdly, whether it would take some steps for enabling the Committee of Ladies, who took charge of these children voluntarily and without payment, to become acquainted with children beyond the limits of the Unions whom it might be desirable to board out?

LORD CARRINGTON said, in reply to the first Question of the noble Viscount, that the Local Government Board were contemplating an improved mode of inspection, which they hoped would lead to more beneficial results. In reply to the second Question, he was unable to say whether Boards of Guardians would be allowed to depute one of their number to visit special cases; but the matter would be laid before the Local Government Board. The question was, however, one of some difficulty. With regard to the third Question, any particular cases would be considered by the Local Government Board if brought before them. He might add, for the information of their Lordships, that no regulations of the Local Government Board prevented the boarding-out of orphan children within the limits of the Union to which they belonged. By Order of Poor Law Board, November 25, 1870, orphan children could be boarded-out in rural districts under the following conditions:—No child was to be first boarded-out at an earlier age than 2 or later than 10 years. Four shillings weekly was allowed for the actual maintenance of each child. Not more than two children were to be boarded-out at the same place. Every child was to be visited not less often than once in every six weeks by a member of the Boarding-out Committee. The Boarding-out Committee were two or more persons who had voluntarily arranged, under the sanction of the Local Government Board, to find and superintend such homes, any persons desiring profits being disqualified. The homes must be within five miles of the residences of the Committee. An outfit was supplied by the Guardians, and £2 allowed annually for repairs. From the Report sent in, and which would be found at page 39 of the Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1882, it appeared that the children were healthy, contented, and well cared for. In some instances the regulations were infringed, more suitable homes were provided, and the defects pointed out remedied.

In reply to a further Question from Viscount CRANBROOK,

LORD CARRINGTON said, he would lay upon the Table the Correspondence on the subject.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

(NO. 134.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he would suggest that the Bill should not be pressed further. It was in such an unfinished and incomplete state that it was not fit to be passed into law, and their Lordships could not possibly amend it sufficiently at this stage. It would, therefore, be better to drop the Bill for the present. To enable their Lordships to express an opinion he would move, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a third time that day three months.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—(*The Earl of Longford.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the course taken by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Longford) was very unusual, as he had given no Notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Bill. He would only say that he did not concur in the criticisms advanced by the noble Earl.

On Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?"

Resolved in the *affirmative;* Bill read 3^a accordingly.

Moved, "That the Bill do pass."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

Clause 2 (Procuring woman under age to be a common prostitute).

LORD BRABOURNE said, he rose to propose the omission of the words which permitted the exclusion of the public from certain trials, an exclusion hitherto unknown in this country. If it was desirable, in the interests of public morality, that there should be this power of exclusion, it ought to be given by a general law extending to cases of rape and other offences which were not dealt with by this Bill, and not by a provision tacked on to a Bill which only touched one part of the Criminal Law. The proposal was defended on three grounds—in the first place, that the publication of the evidence was injurious to public morals; secondly, that a certain class attended who gloated over the details of those trials; and, thirdly, that women and children ought to be excluded. He entirely agreed with those who said that there ought to be power to exclude women and children from those trials; but that power had been constantly exercised, and he regretted that its existence should have been called in question in their Lordships' House. But if it was right to exclude women and children, it by no means followed that there ought to be an exclusion of the public and the representatives of the Press. As to the second argument, that a class of persons attended who gloated over the details, that might be true; but those persons were sufficiently contaminated already, and could not be much further injured; whilst there might be present in Court individuals of a less hardened type who might be deterred from crime by the judicious words of a Judge and the punishment which they saw awarded to crime. As to the argument founded on the general contamination of morals from the publication of evidence of the kind in question, he respectfully submitted that justice had not been done to the way in which these matters were dealt with in the newspapers, which, for the most part, merely stated that the details were unfit for publication. The instances of injudicious treatment were few and far between, and the danger to public morals was much overrated. But while the danger was uncertain and remote, the gain of publicity was direct, positive, tangible, and certain. He would give one instance. Not many years ago a man was summoned for an indecent assault, and was tried by three magistrates at petty sessions, who refused the suggestion that the case should be sent to a jury. The accused, vehemently protesting his innocence, was sentenced to a period of imprisonment. But in the local newspaper there appeared an account of the proceedings, from which two things were shown—first, that the evidence against the man was weak; and, secondly, that the senior magistrate—though an excellent man—had examined the defendant's witnesses with an evident bias, and seemed to have given no weight to their evidence. In consequence entirely of that report, public interest was awakened in the case. In the town where it occurred there was a good deal of public excitement, and the attention of another magistrate was directed to the case. That magistrate felt it his duty to bring the case to the notice of the Home Secretary, and asked for an inquiry, which was held, and resulted in the liberation of the man in the course of a few days. That could not have happened if the facts had not been made known to the public; and there could hardly be a doubt that the magistrates, from the best motives possible, had they had the power, would have sat with closed doors. He would be the last man to say a word against county magistrates. He was a county magistrate himself of more than 30 years' standing; but he was bound to say that during his experience he had met with a number of magistrates who upon all matters connected with women were possessed with a strong bias. It was a bias which sprang from a highly creditable feeling —namely, sympathy with the weak against the strong; but it caused them to approach these questions in a frame of mind eminently non-judicial. The great—the only check upon such a bias, was publicity; and he (Lord Brabourne) begged their Lordships to recollect that they were asked to give this power of exclusion, not only to Judges, but to every magistrate throughout the country. It would be an unfortunate thing for the administration of justice to allow magistrates all over England to exclude the public and reporters in those cases. It was a very common thing to have false charges of such a description brought. He remembered a women jumping out of a train at Canterbury, and giving a man in charge. The man left the country; but, in the course of a few years, the woman received a sentence of five years' penal servitude, it having been proved that she had regularly practised the system of making these false charges in order to extort money. But, if such cases had been tried in private, very probably this woman would never have been identified and her wickedness discovered. This was the first time that it had been solemnly proposed to the British Parliament to dissociate a Criminal Court from publicity. When the Divorce Bill was under consideration, a proposal that divorce cases should be heard in private was negatived, and at present the only cases which were tried *in camerâ* were cases of nullity of marriage. If publicity was desirable in connection with the Divorce Court, which was presided over by a trained Judge specially selected for the purpose, how much more desirable must it be in connection with the cases which would be tried under the present measure, and which would be presided over by magistrates? So much for the Courts; but what should be said as regarded criminals themselves? Did not their Lordships believe that the knowledge that he would be tried for his crime, and his wickedness exposed before the eyes of his fellow men, acted as a deterrent which would no longer exist if this fear of publicity was removed? And let them be under no mistake—this permission to exclude the public would be taken as a direction by the inferior Courts, and these cases would be heard with closed doors all over the country. And what would be the feeling of the public? Would they have the same confidence in Courts which sat in secret as they now had in our open tribunals, and would not the acquittal of persons accused of these crimes—especially if they happened to belong to a better class of society—be regarded with suspicion which the present system prevented? Believing that publicity was the chief, if not the only, safeguard of justice, he begged to move the omission of the words which would enable the administrators of justice to exclude the public from their Courts. He explained, however, that he would not object to the exclusion of women and children.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 1, line 19, to leave out the words ("Any court, justice or justices, or magistrate, by or before whom any charge, trial, or other proceeding of or in relation to an offence under this section is heard or conducted, may, in their or his discretion, during the hearing of such charge, or during such trial or proceeding, cause the public to be excluded from the place where such charge, trial, or proceeding is heard or conducted.")—(*The Lord Brabourne.*)

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE said, that the words to which the noble Lord (Lord Brabourne) objected had been placed in the measure for the purpose of saving young persons from the mental pollution which they might suffer if they were permitted to listen to the cases which would be tried under the Bill. It was sad to see how many men, and women also, sometimes attended a Court from a prurient and exciting curiosity in the debasing details of the evidence. He remembered a case at Winchester which the Judge thought ought not to be listened to by the women who were present. In spite, however, of his advice that they should leave the Court, some very well dressed women seemed to have made up their minds to remain. Observing this, the Judge, acting upon a happy inspiration, said—"Now that all the respectable women have left the Court, the case may proceed;" and thereupon the women who had remained quitted the Court, not wishing to avow that they were lacking in respectability. He also approved the exclusion of the public as proposed in the Bill, because it would be well not to give newspapers an opportunity of publishing the cases, and so spreading impure literature about the country.

Lord FITZGERALD said, he entirely concurred with the views of the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Brabourne). The point raised was one of considerable practical importance. Up to the present, publicity had been one of the chief characteristics of the administration of justice in this country, and the great strength and safety of that administration rested on its openness. When upon the Bench himself he had always invited publicity and fair criticism upon the conduct of Judge and jury, and upon the course of the trial. There were six cases contemplated by the framers of the Bill, in which Judges would be enabled to sit with closed doors; but he feared that if the clause were not amended it would become the rule for them to do so. He maintained that Judges already had authority to exclude from their Courts persons—women and children, for example—who ought not to be there on certain occasions. Their authority rested, like the Common Law of the country, upon long and continued usage acquiesced in by the public. Many cases under this Bill would be punishable with five years' penal servitude or more, and therefore the inquiries should take place in the face of day and before the public. One of the objects sought to be obtained by the administration of the law was the holding up of public examples; but where would be the public example if justice was administered with closed doors? Further, Judges and juries might commit errors, and the object of having justice administered in open Courts was that errors, when committed, might at once be exposed. He did not recollect a case in which the right of admission to a Court of Law had been abused by the publication in the Press of demoralizing reports. According to his experience, a gross case was always dismissed in one short sentence—namely, "the details of the case were unfit for publication." In his opinion, the interests of the public would be more likely to suffer in consequence of the closure of the Courts than in consequence of the publicity that would be given to cases if the Courts were to remain open. He, therefore, hoped the Amendment would be agreed to.

Viscount CRANBROOK said, he might point out that though the public, in the ordinary sense of the word, would be excluded from the Courts by the Bill, the public would, as a matter of fact, be represented by the jury and the members of the Legal Profession. If the general public were excluded, there would still be in the Court the solicitors concerned and the members of the Bar practising in the different Criminal Courts. From what had come under his notice, he thought that it would be desirable to exclude a number of men with morbid minds who now took pleasure in listening to this class of cases. He was sure there was a great evil attending the admission of such persons, and he trusted that the clause would remain in the Bill. In Scotland, at the present time, preliminary inquiries by the Procurator Fiscal were held in private in all cases, and no harm had been found to result from the practice. With regard to the trials, those persons who would be left in Court would be the best acquainted with legal proceedings, and able to see that no unfairness was done. They would watch the case sufficiently, and would be able to do everything that was necessary in the way of publicity.

Lord ZOUCHE of HARYNGWORTH said, that one of the most important objects of the Bill was to protect women and young girls. He believed that that object would be defeated, and girls—especially those who might have been in a respectable position previously — would generally be deterred from coming forward to give evidence of the treatment to which they had been subjected, if they had to face the ordeal of a public inquiry, and have their names brought before the public. He trusted the provision of the clause would not be omitted.

Lord TRURO said, that the Bill only made it permissive for the Judge or magistrate to exclude the public, and it seemed to him that the maintenance of that power was essential to the efficiency of the Bill. It was true that the number of the public attending these trials was small; the great mischief arose from the propagation of the evidence given at the trial by means of the Press. The Provincial Press especially gave these cases with great fulness, and it was highly desirable that some means for excluding the Press should be devised. He would like to see it made a misdemeanour under the Act to publish reports of such cases.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he thought that the express exclusion of the public by law from these cases might be held to limit the discretion which the Judges and magistrates now freely exercised of excluding women and children from Courts in immoral cases. There were a great many matters coming before Courts of Justice worse than those which would arise under this Bill; and it was desirable that the power of excluding women and children from the hearing of such cases should not be affected. In his opinion, the law should either be left as it was, or special legislation introduced dealing with all cases of an indecent character alike.

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill?"

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 118; Not-Contents 36: Majority 82.

CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Archp.
Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)
York, L. Archp.

Richmond, D.

Hertford, M.
Northampton, M.
Salisbury, M.

Amherst, E.
Bradford, E.
Camperdown, E.
Chichester, E.
Coventry, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Denbigh, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Feversham, E.
Granville, E.
Haddington, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Harewood, E.
Jersey, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Kimberley, E.
Lathom, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Macclesfield, E.
Morley, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Northbrook, E.
Pembroke and Montgomery, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Rosse, E.
Selkirk, E.
Shaftesbury, E.
Strafford, E.
Sydney, E.
Wilton E.

Bridport, V.
Cranbrook, V.
Eversley, V.
Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
Hawarden, V.
Hill, V.
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)
Strathallan, V.

Bangor, L. Bp.
Chichester, L. Bp.
Exeter, L. Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.
Hereford, L. Bp.
Lincoln, L. Bp.
London, L. Bp.
Oxford, L. Bp.
Rochester, L. Bp.
St. Albans, L. Bp.
St. David's, L. Bp.
Winchester, L. Bp.

Abercromby, L.
Abinger, L.
Amherst, L. (*V. Holmesdale.*)
Ampthill, L.
Auckland, L.
Balfour of Burleigh, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Bramwell, L.
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Carrington, L.
Castletown, L.
Churchill, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Coleridge, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Congleton, L.
Crewe, L.
Crofton, L.
De Mauley, L.
de Ros, L.
Derwent, L.
Digby, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Forbes, L.
Gerard, L.
Hammond, L.
Harris, L.
Hothfield, L.
Howard de Walden, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Leconfield, L.
Leigh, L.
Loftus, L. (*M. Ely.*)
Lyveden, L.
Manners, L.
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Mount-Temple, L.
Norton, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Ormathwaite, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Raglan, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Rowton, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Sefton, L. (*E. Sefton.*)
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Templemore, L.
Thurlow, L.
Truro, L.
Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Winmarleigh, L.
Wynford, L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Grafton, D.

Bath, M.
Winchester, M.

Bathurst, E.
Caledon, E.
Clarendon, E.
Fortescue, E.
Lucan, E.
Manvers, E.
Minto, E.
Radnor, E.
Sandwich, E.
Stanhope, E.

Sherbrooke, V.
Sidmouth, V.

Belper, L.
Blantyre, L.
Brabourne, L. [*Teller.*]
Clinton, L.
Cottesloe, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Fitzgerald, L. [*Teller.*]
Forester, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gormanston, L. (*V. Gormanston.*)
Hopetoun, L. (*E. Hopetoun.*)
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Poltimore, L.
Romilly, L.
Saltoun, L.
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
Wentworth, L.

Amendment *disagreed to.*

Clause 5 (Defilement of girl between twelve and sixteen years of age).

The Earl of MILLTOWN said, he would propose to reduce the age for protection mentioned in this clause from 16 to 14 years. The age fixed in 1875, by a compromise between the two Houses, was 13; and, though that might seem an insufficient limit, there was no particular reason for so extreme a measure as that which had been adopted in the present Bill, nothing having happened since that time, except the inquiry instituted by their Lordships' House. The *Code Napoleon* fixed the age at 13; and, therefore, the law of England was at present identical with that of France. As to the consent of the Attorney General or of the Public Prosecutor being necessary to a prosecution, how could either of them come to a conclusion on the merits of a charge unless they had the opportunity of examining the witnesses on oath.

Amendment *moved,* in page 2, line 30, leave out ("sixteen") and insert ("fourteen.")—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he was a little surprised to hear the remark made that nothing had happened since 1875, except an inquiry by a Committee of their Lordships' House, as if that exception was not the most important element in the case. The circumstances that led to it were the mischiefs arising from the corruption of young girls for immoral purposes, both on the Continent and in England. The evil had grown to an extent which had shocked the conscience of the country, and the inquiry was more exhaustive than any that had been previously conducted. As to age, the Committee took a middle course, and recommended that of 16; and he could not but think their Lordships would do wisely to adhere to it. In accordance with suggestions from the Front Opposition Bench, the Government would move a Proviso, under which prosecutions for misdemeanour under this section should not be instituted otherwise than by, or by the authority and direction of, the Director of Public Prosecutions or the Attorney General. It was true that neither the Attorney General nor the Public Prosecutor would try a case; that was not their function; but they would require information which would satisfy them that the case was one of a substantial character. With this safeguard, he believed that frivolous and extortionate cases would not be taken up.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that, when it was proposed that the age should be raised from 16 to 17, he voted in favour of 16, believing that was a medium as between divergent opinions that it was desirable to adopt. Of course, their Lordships would regard with horror a state of things in which consent would be common at that age, or could be regarded as sufficiently valid to excuse a seducer; but, as girls of that age often appeared physically to be of a higher age, it was felt that men would be exposed to undeserved severity if a higher age were fixed. The Government having provided an ample security against frivolous prosecutions, he thought their Lordships could safely adhere to the clause as it stood.

On Question ? Amendment *disagreed to.*

On Motion of The Earl of Dalhousie, the following Proviso was then added at the end of the clause:—

"Provided that a prosecution for a misdemeanour under this section shall not be instituted, undertaken, or carried on, otherwise than by, or by the authority of, the Director of Public Prosecutions or the Attorney General."

Clause 6 (Consent no defence to charge of indecent assault on girl under sixteen).

On Motion of The Earl of Dalhousie, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 40, after ("indictment") insert—

("Brought and prosecuted by, or under, the authority of the Director of Public Prosecutions or of the Attorney General.")

Clause 9 (Summary proceedings against brothel-keepers, &c.)

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, he proposed to move the omission of this clause; and he intended, subsequently, to move the omission of Clause 10, which gave power to the owner of such a house to summarily determine the tenancy of a convicted occupier, and of Clause 11, which authorized the Court to require security from an owner on a second conviction for keeping a disorderly house. These clauses had, on two former occasions, been sufficiently alluded to; but on the first occasion there had some misunderstanding, and on the latter—when the clauses were only retained by two votes—the Division did not come on until the arrival of that hour which was so much prayed for by Governments with a weak case. He objected to the clauses—first, because he wished the Bill to succeed; and, secondly, because he thought they were bad in themselves. The Bill was originally intended to prevent the carrying of young girls abroad; but neither in the Instructions to the Committee nor in their Report was there any allusion whatever to clauses of this character. Who was responsible for these clauses? They appeared to him to be of a very dubious parentage indeed. The Home Office had been devolving upon Parliament the responsibility of government, by leaving to Parliament the duty of making a selection out of the Bill which they had submitted. There was a class of people who believed that immorality could be put down by Act of Parliament, and, no doubt, they approved of these clauses; but he wanted to know whether the Government were to be numbered amongst that class as the authors of the clauses? His objection to the clauses was fundamental. This legislation was of a perfectly extraordinary character, and was not applied to any other class of Her Majesty's subjects, nor, as far as he was aware, to a similar class in any civilized community. In conclusion, the noble Earl moved the omission of the clause.

Amendment *moved*, "To leave out Clause 9."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

LORD BRAMWELL said, he hoped their Lordships would not pass either this clause or Clauses 10 and 11. It was not easy to understand those clauses. In order to understand them it was necessary to consider them together and also in connection with the Interpretation Clause. The latter clause said that the expression "owner" meant, in relation to any premises, the person entitled to receive, either on his own account or as mortgagee or other encumbrancer in possession, the rack rent of such premises. Now, the mortgagee in possession was an unfortunate man, who had not been able to get his rent paid to him; and he failed to see why such a person should be made specially responsible for the morality of the country. Clause 10 stated what was to be done on a summary conviction. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

EARL STANHOPE said, he rose to Order. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell) was not speaking on Clause 9. The House had not yet entered into the consideration of either Clause 10 or Clause 11.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH said, he thought that, where three consecutive clauses were dealt with on the same subject, a speaker might address himself to the general question.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR pointed out that Clause 9 was at present the clause under discussion.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, in supporting the clause, said, the Bill dealt largely with matters of police, and its provisions had been founded on the evidence of police authorities, and not on that of enthusiasts and people who carried on a crusade in an indiscreet manner. The fact of the superintendence of the Home Office, which exercised authority over the police, was a guarantee that these clauses would be properly and discreetly carried out. It was quite true that their Lordships' Committee was appointed for a special purpose; but he could not see that there was anything extraordinary in taking advantage of the opportunity of introducing the clauses now under discussion. The Glasgow Local Act, containing provisions very similar to those they were now considering, had been in operation for some time, and with very satisfactory results. It had been said that they in Scotland were stricter in their views than the other parts of the country. He only wished their views were stricter; but he was afraid in these matters they were not much better than their neighbours. There was, moreover, a town in England—Leamington—which had made application for an Act containing a similar power. He denied the likelihood of the Bill being used in such a manner as to cause a re-action, and urged that Clauses 9, 10, and 11 should be passed as they stood, in order to strengthen the hands of the authorities in checking immorality.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH wished to know whether the noble Earl was in Order in discussing the clauses generally?

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE said, that the noble and learned Lord (Lord

Bramwell) had been called to Order, and he did not think that his noble Friend opposite was more in Order than the noble and learned Lord.

Earl GRANVILLE said, that his noble Friend (the Earl of Aberdeen) was quite in Order.

The LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply to the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown), said, these clauses, 9, 10 and 11, came from the Home Office, and had not been proposed without full consideration. The reason why they were introduced was, not because the Government thought that by these or any other clause they could put down all immorality, but because they felt that they should reinforce the existing law so as to diminish those places which were the sources and the focuses of a great deal of immorality resulting in a public nuisance. He had received a letter from the Vestry Clerk of St. George's, Hanover Square, dated June 26, asking him to persevere in carrying this 9th clause, and complaining of the unsatisfactory and cumbrous requirements of the present law. The letter stated that there were several streets in the parish in which houses abounded which were let in the most open way for purposes of prostitution, and were a serious nuisance to their neighbours. The Vestry could do nothing unless two ratepayers appeared to complain; and it was difficult to get inhabitants of the parish to take active steps in the matter, because of the annoyance and expense to which such action would expose them. The present clause was perfectly independent of the 10th and 11th clauses; and, as a point of Order, their Lordships would deal with that clause first.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he could not agree with the noble and learned Earl upon the Woolsack that the fact of that Bill having been approved by the Home Office was a sufficient foundation for its appearance in that House. The Home Office might only be asking what was reasonable and just; but it did seem odd that, for a portion of this subject, it was thought necessary to have the deliberations of a Committee of the House, and that for this matter, which touched somewhat closely questions of police and personal liberty, the opinion of the Home Office was thought to be quite enough. On that ground, therefore, although he did not say that the clauses were bad, they came to their Lordships with an insufficient warrant. The clauses dealt with a matter of great delicacy and difficulty, and he would prefer to deal with it on evidence given before a Committee of that House. They were told that the remedy under the Act of George II. was insufficient. But he could not but remember the noble and learned Earl's speech on the second reading, in which the House was told that there had been, in an instance well known to the noble and learned Earl, no difficulty in obtaining the two requisite ratepayers. There was a further consideration which would dispose him to vote against these clauses. Since the Bill had been introduced, he observed that opinion had been strengthening against it, both within and outside the House, and if the Bill had not been supported by the Government, he did not believe it would have reached its present stage. In these circumstances, he was deeply impressed with the consideration that their only chance of carrying that part of the Bill which was the subject of investigation by a Committee of the House was not to overload it with matters which did not belong to that original investigation, and which were not relevant to it. If these clauses were to be the subject of legislation at all, they ought to be embodied in a separate Bill. In his opinion, that was the sound way of dealing with a subject so difficult as this.

On Question, "That Clause 9 stand part of the Bill?"

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 63; Not-Contents 91: Majority 28.

CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Archp.
Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)
York, L. Archp.

Grafton, D.

Hertford, M.
Northampton, M.

Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Granville, E.
Jersey, E.
Kimberley, E.
Morley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Redesdale, E.
Shaftesbury, E.
Strafford, E.
Sydney, E.

Eversley, V.
Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)
Sherbrooke, V.

Bangor, L. Bp.
Chichester, L. Bp.
Exeter, L. Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.
Hereford, L. Bp.
Lincoln, L. Bp.
London, L. Bp.
Oxford, L. Bp.
Rochester, L. Bp.
St. Albans, L. Bp.
St. David's, L. Bp.
Winchester, L. Bp.

Ampthill, L.

Blantyre, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Carrington, L.
Churchill, L.
Clinton, L.
Coleridge, L.
Congleton, L.
Cottesloe, L.
Crewe, L.
Denman, L.
Derwent, L.
Egerton, L.
Gerard, L.
Hatherton, L.
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Leigh, L.
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Mount-Temple, L.
Norton, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Penryhn, L.
Reay, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Thurlow, L.
Winmarleigh, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Richmond, D.

Bath, M.
Salisbury, M.
Winchester, M.

Ashburnham, E.
Bradford, E.
Caledon, E.
Camperdown, E. [*Teller.*]
Clarendon, E.
Coventry, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Dundonald, E.
Feversham, E.
Fortescue, E.
Haddington, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Harewood, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Lathom, E.
Lucan, E.
Manvers, E.
Milltown, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Pembroke and Montgomery, E. [*Teller.*]
Radnor, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Rosse, E.
Selkirk, E.
Stanhope, E.
Wilton, E.

Hawarden, V.
Hill, V.
Sidmouth, V.
Strathallan, V

Abercromby, L.
Abinger, L.
Alington, L.
Auckland, L.
Balfour of Burleigh, L.
Beaumont, L.
Belper, L.
Brabourne, L.
Bramwell, L.
Castletown, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clements, L. (*E. Leitrim.*)
Clermont, L.
Colchester, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Crofton, L.
De Mauley, L.
de Ros, L.
Digby, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Ellenborough, L.
Fitzgerald, L.
Forbes, L.
Forester, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Hammond, L.
Harris, L.
Hopetoun, L. (*E. Hopetoun.*)
Hothfield, L.
Howard de Walden, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Kenlis, L. (*M. Headfort.*)
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Lamington, L.
Leconfield, L.
Loftus, L. (*M. Ely.*)
Lyveden, L.
Manners, L.
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Ormathwaite, L.
Poltimore, L.
Raglan, L.
Romilly, L.
Rowton, L.
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Suffield, L.
Templemore, L.
Truro L.
Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
Wynford, L.

Amendment *agreed to;* Clause *struck out* accordingly.

On Motion of The Earl of Camperdown, Clause 10 (Power to owner of premises to determine tenancy of occupier convicted of keeping brothel); and Clause 11 (Power to court on second conviction in respect of same premises to make owner give security), severally *struck out* of the Bill.

Clause 12 (Amendment of 2 & 3 Vict. c. 47, s. 54, and 10 & 11 Vict. c. 89, s. 28, as to prostitutes).

Lord FITZGERALD said, he would move to restore the clause to its original shape, by making it one offence to "loiter and importune" passengers, instead of the two offences of "loitering for the purpose of prostitution or importuning" passengers, as the clause stood in the amended Bill. If any young woman were found simply "loitering" she might have her character ruined for life.

Amendment *moved,* in page 6, line 28, leave out ("for the purpose of prostitution or") and insert ("and.")—(*The Lord Fitzgerald.*)

The Earl of MILLTOWN said, that if the clause stood as at present making "loitering" a separate offence, it was quite possible that the police might commit serious mistakes; and, in his opinion, two or three respectable women had only to be apprehended by mistake to raise such an outcry against the Act as to make it unworkable, and force the Government to suspend its operation, as they had recently been forced to suspend another Act.

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill?"

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 46; Not Contents 80: Majority 34.

CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Archp.
Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)
York, L. Archp.

Grafton, D.

Northampton, M.

Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Shaftesbury, E.
Sydney, E.

Eversley, V.
Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)

Sherbrooke, V.

Bangor, L. Bp.
Chichester, L Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.
Hereford, L. Bp.
Lincoln, L. Bp.
London, L. Bp.
Oxford, L. Bp.
St. Albans, L. Bp.
Winchester, L. Bp.

Ampthill, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalane.*)
Carrington, L.
Clermont, L.

Coleridge, L.
Congleton, L.
Denman, L.
Derwent, L.
Hammond, L.
Hatherton, L.
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Leigh, L.
Loftus, L. (*M. Ely.*)
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Mount-Temple, L.
Norton, L.
O'Hagan, L.
Reay, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Thurlow, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Richmond, D.

Bath, M. [*Teller.*]
Hertford, M.
Winchester, M.

Ashburnham, E.
Bradford, E.
Caledon, E.
Camperdown, E.
Clarendon, E.
Coventry, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Dundonald, E.
Feversham, E.
Fortescue, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Harewood, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Lathom, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Lucan, E.
Manvers, E.
Milltown, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Rosse, E.
Wilton, E.

Hawarden, V.
Hill, V.
Sidmouth, V.
Strathallan, V.

Abinger, L.
Alington, L.
Auckland, L.
Balfour of Burleigh, L.
Beaumont, L.
Belper, L.
Brabourne, L.
Bramwell, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clements, L. (*E. Leitrim.*)

Colchester, L.
Crofton, L.
De Mauley, L.
de Ros, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Egerton, L.
Ellenborough. L.
Fitzgerald, L. [*Teller.*]
Forbes, L.
Forester, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gerard, L.
Harris, L.
Hopetoun, L. (*E. Hopetoun.*)
Howard de Walden, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Kenlis, L. (*M. Headfort.*)
Leconfield, L.
Lyveden, L.
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Ormathwaite, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Poltimore, L.
Raglan, L.
Romilly, L.
Rowton, L.
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Templemore, L.
Truro, L.
Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
Wentworth, L.
Wynford, L.

Amendment *agreed to; words struck out* accordingly, and the word ("and") *substituted.*

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, he begged to move an Amendment rendering liable to punishment any man who, in a thoroughfare or public place, habitually or persistently importuned or solicited women or girls for immoral purposes. The chief object of the Amendment, which met all the difficulties stated to exist in his former Amendment on the clause, was that it gave full protection to honest and decent men, and only caught the professional profligates, who were ever loitering about the streets, and at the doors of establishments where women were employed, in order to catch the unwary. The Bill, as it stood, actually legalized male solicitation. He begged the House to observe the position of these women returning home late at night from their work, and quite unprotected. They might be asking their way of some man, or the hour of the night; but the police coming up would arrest the woman, as a matter of course, because, by the law, the man would be committing no statutable offence. For the first time, also, the police would be made the exclusive judges of what was, or was not, solicitation; and, in many instances, the man who was soliciting would escape scot-free; and the poor woman, who was solicited, would be taken up, and brought before a magistrate. He implored their Lordships to contemplate the condition of a young girl, ignorant and timid, thus placed in a Court of Justice, without friends or advisers. Prison or a reformatory school might be the sentence; and then she would be ruined for life.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 6, line 29, after ("prostitution") insert ("and (2) every man who in any such thoroughfare or public place habitually or persistently importunes or solicits women or girls for immoral purposes.")—(*The Earl of Shaftesbury.*)

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 46; Not Contents 75: Majority 29.

CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Archp.

Grafton, D.

Hertford, M.

Northampton, M.
Salisbury, M.

Camperdown, E.
Fortescue, E.

Lathom, E.
Lucan, E.
Milltown, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Pembroke and Montgomery, E.
Redesdale, E.
Shaftesbury, E. [*Teller.*]

Hawarden, V.
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)

Bangor, L. Bp.
Chichester, L. Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.
Hereford, L. Bp.
Lincoln, L. Bp.
London, L. Bp.
Oxford, L. Bp.
St. Albans, L. Bp.
Winchester, L. Bp.

Blantyre, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Colchester, L.
Coleridge, L.
Congleton, L.
Denman, L.
de Ros, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Gerard, L.
Hammond, L.
Leigh, L.
Loftus, L. (*M. Ely.*)
Lyveden, L.
Mount-Temple, L. [*Teller.*]
Norton, L. [*Teller.*]
O'Hagan, L.
Raglan, L.
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Strathspey, L. (*E. Seafield.*)
Wynford, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Richmond, D.

Bath, M.
Winchester, M.

Ashburnham, E.
Bradford, E.
Caledon, E.
Clarendon, E.
Coventry, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Dundonald, E.
Feversham, E.
Granville, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Kimberley, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Manvers, E.
Morley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Rosse, E.
Sydney, E.
Wilton, E.

Eversley, V.
Hill, V.
Sherbrooke, V.
Strathallan, V.

Abinger, L.
Alington, L.
Auckland, L.
Aveland, L.
Balfour of Burleigh, L.
Beaumont, L.
Belper, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Brabourne, L.
Bramwell, L.
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Carrington, L.
Clements, L. (*E. Leitrim.*)
Clermont, L.
Crofton, L.
De Mauley, L.
Derwent, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Fitzgerald, L.
Forbes, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Harris, L.
Hatherton, L.
Hopetoun, L. (*E. Hopetoun.*)
Howard de Walden, L.
Inchiquin, L.
Kenlis, L. (*M. Headfort.*)
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Leconfield, L.
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Ormathwaite, L.
Poltimore, L.
Reay, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Romilly, L.
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Sudeley, L.
Templemore, L.
Thurlow, L.
Truro, L.
Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
Wentworth, L.

Amendment *disagreed to.*

Clause 13 (Certified homes for girls under sixteen convicted of prostitution).

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he must repeat his objections to the proposed provision. In his opinion the clause would not be operative, for no means were provided for supporting the homes to which it referred, nor for their regulation and management. If the clause were allowed to stand, parents, he feared, might incite their children to commit offences in order that they might be relieved of the burden of supporting their offspring. The parents, he observed, would not have to pay anything towards the support of their offending children, when the latter were once in a home. If the Government would not amend so impracticable a clause they could have no real intention of passing the Bill.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, the Government saw no reason to doubt that a sufficient number of homes would be provided by benevolent persons, who would be willing to spend time and money in benefiting the unfortunate girls who might come under their charge. As the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown) was under the impression that no provision was made for the regulation of homes, he begged to refer him to the opening lines of the clause, which were—

> "One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State may, subject to such conditions as he may think fit, grant to any person, or to any two or more persons jointly, a certificate authorizing such person or persons to keep a home, for any period not exceeding thirteen months, and may, from time to time, revoke or renew such certificate."

In his opinion the clause would be quite workable.

Clause 14 (Prohibition of exclusion from trial, &c. of persons interested).

LORD BRAMWELL said, he objected to the latter part of this clause, which entitled any girl or woman who might be concerned as complainant, defendant, or otherwise in a trial under the Bill, to have present at the trial any three persons she might name. He did not know how that part of the clause was to come into practical operation, or that there was any necessity for it, as, generally speaking, the girl would have her mother, or some relative or friend, with her. His objection to the other part of the clause was that it rather left a doubt upon a matter upon which there ought to be no doubt at all. No person could for a moment suppose that the general power of exclusion would go to the extent of excluding such persons as the counsel or solicitor, or any person whose presence was required for the purposes of the defence.

Amendment *moved*, "To leave out Clause 14."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

Lord COLERIDGE said, that words which, to a legal mind, might not seem necessary were often inserted in Acts of Parliament, in order to save all danger of misapprehension or misconstruction. The persons required for the purposes of the defence should, of course, in all cases, be allowed to be present. As to the other part of the clause, he had often seen cases in which a woman standing alone in Court, without any person of her own sex near her, was at a considerable disadvantage. Her right to have some persons to countenance her in the trial might be very useful.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON asked the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack whether, by the first part of the clause, the Judge would be prevented from desiring a witness to leave the Court?

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the clause did not take away any power which belonged to the Judge independent of the Act. He did not imagine anyone would think of excluding any person whose presence would be required for the purpose of the defence.

Amendment *disagreed to.*

On the Motion of The Earl of Dalhousie, the following Amendment made in the clause :—In page 8, line 3, after ("otherwise") insert ("or.")

On the Motion of The Earl of Dalhousie, the following Amendment made :—In page 8, after Clause 16, insert as a new clause :—

(Application of Act to Scotland.)

"In the application of this Act to Scotland—The expression 'misdemeanour' shall mean a crime and offence. The expression 'felony' shall mean a high crime and offence. The expression 'a justice of the peace,' and the expression 'two justices,' shall include sheriff and sheriff substitute. The expression 'the Summary Jurisdiction Acts' shall mean the Summary Jurisdiction (Scotland) Acts, 1864 and 1881, and any Acts amending the same. The expression 'enter into a recognizance with or without sureties,' shall mean grant a bond of caution. The expression 'owner' shall mean in relation to any premises the person entitled to receive the rent thereof, either on his own account or as a creditor in possession. The provisions of this Act with respect to serving notices shall be in addition to, and not in derogation of, the provisions of the Citation Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1882."

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

SCHOOL BOARDS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

"Return of the provisions, if any, made by each school board in England and Wales respecting religious teaching and religious observances by children in board schools, stating cases in which no such provision is made by the Board; and copy of the byelaws, if any, by which such provisions are enacted and regulated."—(*The Lord Colchester.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 5th July, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Private Bills (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Ennerdale Railway.

Considered as amended—Goole, Epworth, and Owston Railway *.

Lords Amendments considered—Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension.

Public Bills—*Leave*—*First Reading*—Detention in Hospitals (No. 2) * [259].

First Reading—Sea Fisheries * [257]; Stolen Goods * [258].

Second Reading—High Court of Justice (Continuous Sittings) * [233].

Referred to Select Committee—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders * [216]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) * [223]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) * [224].

Committee — Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Fifteenth Night*] —R.P.

Committee — *Report* — Poor Relief (Ireland) [154]; Railway Passenger Duty, &c. * [219-

255]; Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment* [39-256].
Third Reading—Medical Act (1858) Amendment* [205], and *passed.*
Withdrawn—Detention in Hospitals [247].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

RIBBLE NAVIGATION, PRESTON DOCK AND BOROUGH EXTENSION BILL

(*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Lords Amendments *considered.*

Amendments, as far as Clause 68A, *agreed to.*

Clause 68A read a second time.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS, in moving to amend the clause by adding the words—

> "Provided always, That this section shall not apply to, or in any way affect, the foreshore, or any lands gained or reclaimed from the foreshore south-west of Crossens Channel, situate within the said township of North Meols."

said, the question he desired to raise formed the sequel to a matter which came before the House recently in reference to the sale of the foreshore of Southport to the riparian owners. If the clause inserted by the House of Lords were passed as it stood, it would, as far as Southport was concerned, bring the question to a fatal termination. He did not propose to touch upon the merits of the dispute between the Duchy of Lancaster and the Corporation of Southport for several reasons. First, he held in his hand a letter from the Duchy of Lancaster, in which they said that they had had nothing whatever to do with the introduction of the clause which had been inserted in the Bill by the House of Lords; and, that being so, the Duchy was not prepared to take any part in the matter, either in favour or adversely. But he did not propose to introduce any question as between the Duchy and the Corporation of Southport for another and more important reason—namely, that the whole question as between the two bodies, the riparian owners and the Corporation of Southport, was in the hands of the Chancellor of the Duchy, who had promised, and was carrying out his promise, to use his good offices with a view of bringing the matter to a settlement. Therefore, while the matter was pending between the Corporation of Southport, the riparian owners, and the Duchy, and while it was possible that an arrangement might be arrived at which he hoped would lead to a settlement, he did not think it would be wise to introduce any contentious matter. He would only allude to certain simple facts to show the connection between the Southport foreshore and the Ribble Navigation Bill. As the House was probably aware, the amount of foreshore which was going to be sold to the riparian owners amounted to 9,000 acres. This amount was divided into two portions by a stream of considerable extent called Crossens Channel. That on the North-East of the Channel was the largest part, containing upwards of 5,000 acres, and with that part the Amendment he proposed to insert did not interfere in any way. The important part was that on the South and West of Crossens Channel, which comprised the whole of the foreshore of Southport. In other words, the borough of Southport extended right up to the Crossens Channel, and the whole of the foreshore covered by that space was necessary to the inhabitants of Southport, in order to give them access to the sea. Indeed, the whole of those 4,000 acres, with the exception of about 600, were, at the present moment, included in the borough boundary, and the whole of it, including the 600 acres, was directly in front of the borough. Since the year 1880, the Corporation of Southport had been in communication with the Duchy for the sale of its rights over these 4,000 acres, and the negotiations were carried on up to the month of April last, when negotiations were entered into and a sale partly completed with the landowners. He had no intention of entering into any dispute as to the Duchy. The Duchy considered that the negotiations were at an end, as far as the Corporation of Southport were concerned; but the Corporation did not so consider them at an end. The Duchy considered the sale to have been practically completed; the Corporation submitted that as the Seal of the Duchy had not been affixed the sale was really not completed. But, be that as it might, it would be unwise and unnecessary to introduce any dispute of this kind into the matter now before the House, which was quite upon another point. There had been communications in which the Chancellor of the Duchy had offered his good offices—communications from the Duchy to the Corporation, offering his mediation and arbitration. That offer, on the basis laid down, for various reasons had been declined. He held in his hand a letter from the Duchy, dated the 29th of June—quite recently—asking the Corporation of Southport to reconsider the question of arbitration, and to bring the matter before the Town Council. This letter had not yet been laid before the Southport Town Council; but it would be placed before them on Tuesday next. Then, on the other hand, there was a counter-offer from the Corporation to the landowners. The landowners gave £15,000 for the whole 9,000 acres, and the Corporation offered the whole of the purchase money—£15,000—for the smaller part—the 4,000 acres lying in front of their borough. To that offer there had been no official reply, so that the House would see there was an offer and a counter-offer still pending, and on that ground it would not be wise to drag the Duchy in any way into the discussion. But he would respectfully ask the House to consider what would happen if this clause were passed. It would give an absolutely statutory title to the two landowners in question; and therefore the good offices of the Duchy would be of no avail, because it would be impossible that they could exercise any of the powers they had now, seeing that the foreshore would have gone absolutely into the ownership of the two riparian proprietors. This state of affairs had been brought about by what he would venture to term a side wind. It had been brought about by a clause introduced into the Bill by the House of Lords. This year the Ribble Navigation Company—which was really the Corporation of the borough of Preston —had introduced a Bill which, among other things, was to improve the navigation of the River Ribble. Southport was in the Estuary of the Ribble, and Preston was 14 miles off up the River. Among other things, it was proposed to build training walls and a large embankment in the Estuary, and the effect of these works would be to reclaim the foreshore for a considerable distance from these training walls, seeing that even at present the water was very shallow over a great stretch. In the House of Lords the representatives of Southport were not allowed to oppose the Bill on the ground that they had no *locus standi*, and he wished particularly to state that their *locus standi* was refused on this ground—that the works of the Ribble Navigation Company were not likely to affect the borough of Southport or the foreshore of Southport. This clause consequently had been introduced into the Bill without the Corporation having the right to be heard against it, although it would give all the foreshore when reclaimed to the riparian owners. Now, Southport had no objection to the operation of these works so far as the immense tract of foreshore on the North-Eastern side of Crossens Channel went; but they did object to have their own foreshore handed over in the manner contemplated by this clause. If it was the case, as the promoters of the Bill alleged, that Southport would not be affected by these Ribble Navigation Works, and that there would be no accretion or reclamation of their foreshore; if that really were so, then the Amendment would do no harm, and all those who were of that opinion ought to vote for it, because it had been very carefully drawn, and with studied moderation, only for the purpose of saving that part of the foreshore which was in front of Southport. But, unfortunately, nearly all the scientific witnesses and the best engineers declared that the accretions would go beyond Crossens Channel and affect the foreshore in front of Southport; and Sir Frederick Bramwell went so far as to say that it would so reclaim the foreshore in front of Southport, as eventually to make Southport an inland town. Now, that was a very important consideration, seeing that the foreshore varied from one mile to two and a-half miles before it reached the Channel, and then beyond that were six miles of sand at low water. It was, therefore, very important that this should not happen, because Southport would have its whole character destroyed if what Sir Frederick Bramwell and other eminent engineers declared would happen should do so. But that was not all. In the clause inserted in the Lords, the two riparian landowners had not only got a statutory right given to them over all the accretions, which were the result of the works of the Ribble Navigation Company; but they positively had a right given to them to all reclamations by any other means, so that any reclamations which might take place from any cause whatsoever would belong to them. The only object of his Amendment was to save the foreshore of Southport, and to put it in precisely the same position it was in now. It did not confer any rights upon Southport; but it left the matter open, so that Southport might have the advantage of the good offices which the Chancellor of the Duchy was now exercising in the matter. Nor was it antagonistic to the interests of the town of Preston. No interference was asked for with that part of the foreshore on the North side of the Crossens Channel or otherwise outside their own limit, and all that immense tract would remain just as open to the operation of the Preston works as now. If the House would allow him, he thought he could not do better than read a letter just received from the Corporation of Southport on this important point and signed by the Town Clerk. The letter stated—

"A report is being industriously circulated to the effect that the Amendment contemplated to the Lords Amendments in this Bill is directed against the Corporation of Preston. Such a report is entirely contrary to the fact."

This was the important part of the letter—

"The promoters of this Navigation Bill have never pretended that it was necessary for them to acquire, reclaim, or in any way deal with any foreshore in front or comprised within the limits of our own borough. Had they done so, there is no doubt that we shall have to be allowed a *locus standi* in the House of Lords. On the contrary, the Lords Committee threw us out on the ground that we were not affected by the work. What we object to is the Corporation of Preston coming into the borough of Southport without notice and handing over to owners whose interests are opposed to those of the inhabitants a foreshore which, in the opinion of the Corporation of Southport, it is desirable should be in their hands, and which is not and cannot be contended is in any way necessary for the purpose of the promoters of the Bill."

That letter settled the question as to any injury done by the works contemplated by the borough of Preston. No doubt, Preston relied on the reclamation of land to recoup themselves, to a great extent, for the money they laid out; but, seeing that they would have the whole of the land on the North side of the Channel, which constituted by far the major part, and that they further contended that no land would be reclaimed in front of the Southport foreshore, he thought they had no reason to complain. A circular had been sent out by the representatives of the landowners. He was told that the landowners themselves did not wish to appear in the matter, but only through the name and medium of their agents; but, seeing the part they were taking in reference to the borough of Southport, he thought the responsibility should be thrown on Messrs. Hesketh and Scarisbrick for the hard manner in which they were dealing with the borough of Southport. The letter stated the facts; but, for the reason he had given, as affecting the Duchy, he did not propose to touch that part of the communication. The letter went on to say—

"The landowners have been in possession of this foreshore from time immemorial. That has not been disputed by the Duchy itself. It has been disputed by Southport, and disputed more strongly than by anyone else by the Corporation of Preston during the passage of the Bill through the Commons, and there is no doubt of this—that the borough of Southport was willing to buy the rights of the Duchy, subject to any lawsuit the landowners might think proper to bring forward. But if any proof were wanted as to that, it is given in the Report of the Proceedings in the House of Commons."

[*Cries of* "Divide!"] He would not keep the House long, but would confine his remarks within the simplest possible compass; and as the Bill affected the well-being, the prosperity, and the very life of a town of 40,000 or 50,000 people, he hardly thought the House would be of opinion that he was trespassing upon their indulgence. The counsel for the Preston Corporation stated in the Committee Room of the House of Commons that the Duchy had sold these rights to them; and there was no doubt that there was an arrangement in the House of Commons by which the rights of the Duchy of Lancaster were to be sold to the Corporation of Preston. That was afterwards altered, and the rights of the Duchy were sold to the riparian owners. There was another point also stated—namely, that the riparian owners were willing to sell the foreshore in front of the Promenade of Southport for a small consideration. Now, that statement was altogether evasive, because what the riparian owners really offered to sell was a small piece—less than 100 acres out of 4,000; and that 100 coupled with such conditions that no Corporation, having the interests of the borough at heart, could possibly agree to. He knew it would be contended by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) that some time ago the Corporation of Southport admitted the rights of the riparian owners, by paying them for a small piece of land. That took place as long ago as 1876, when the Corporation bought a small piece of land, of 120 acres, from the Duchy for a sum of £340, whereupon the landowners put in a claim of £20,000 for their rights in connection with it, which they ultimately reduced to £7,000. If that argument was to be used, he would ask the House to consider the danger in which the Corporation of Southport was placed. If the landowners, for a small piece of land, 120 acres in extent, with their defective claim and disputed title, asked £20,000, although the Duchy were willing to sell it for £340, what would they not be likely to compel the Corporation of Southport to pay for 4,000 acres, if they had an undisputed title? He would not occupy the House longer; but he would simply point out that this was a national question, as well as a local one. It was a national question, because all the open spaces in the country, and particularly the foreshores—that was the part lying between high and low water mark—ought to be preserved for the people—he would not say without proper consideration for all existing rights—but preserved and placed in the hands of the boroughs for the benefit of the people who lived in front of the foreshores. It was a local question also, because Southport was one of the most growing towns in the North of England. It was the great health resort for a district which comprised 4,000,000 inhabitants, and it had been described as the sanitorium of that part of the country. He was informed that no less than 20 municipal boroughs had passed resolutions—many of them boroughs in Lancashire—praying that Parliament would help Southport in this matter; and, besides these corporate bodies, there had been Petitions from no less than 40 local bodies, making altogether 60 representative bodies which had passed resolutions upon the question in favour of the action of Southport. Besides that, there had been a Memorial sent to the Prime Minister, signed by 62 Members of Parliament on both sides of the House, for the question was not looked upon as being in any respect a Party one. He believed—in fact, he might emphatically state—from what he had heard from hon. Members on both sides, that their sympathies were entirely in favour of the release of Southport from the false position in which it had been placed by the Amendment inserted by the House of Lords. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was not in his place, because he had openly expressed strong sympathy with the Corporation in the position in which it stood. There was one other point he wished to refer to. A paper—which he held in his hand—had been circulated by the Ribble Navigation Commissioners, appealing to the House of Commons, on the ground that the clause had not yet been passed by both Houses of Parliament, and asking them to resist what they called "an insidious attempt" to upset the conclusion arrived at by a Committee of the House of Commons, as well as by a Committee of the House of Lords. Now, that was not a true statement of facts. This clause was introduced in the House of Lords. As the Bill left the House of Commons, it was in a different position altogether, the difference being that, when the measure left the Committee of the Commons, the whole of the foreshore was vested in the borough of Preston, with a right of pre-emption to any landowner who would have to prove his title; and the effect of the Amendment introduced by the Lords was, that two landowners were named by name, and an absolute title given to them. He was sure there would be no harm done to the borough of Preston, or to the Ribble Navigation Company, by the proposal which he made, because the Bill would simply go back to the House of Lords to have the clause amended, and the Corporation of Southport were advised that the Lords had introduced this Amendment under a misapprehension, and upon a statement that the rights of Southport would not be affected by it. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Clause, to add the words "Provided always, That this section shall not apply to or in any way affect the foreshore or any lands gained or reclaimed from the foreshore south-west of Crossens Channel, situate within the said township of North Meols."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. ECROYD said, he was quite sure that no public body in the country felt a stronger interest in the welfare of the great community of Southport, and in everything that would affect the well-being of the place as a health resort, than the Corporation and the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Preston. It was, therefore, quite needless that he should disclaim on their behalf the slightest disposition to inflict, directly or indirectly, the smallest injury on Southport. The difficulty he found in replying to the observations of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), who had introduced the Amendment, was that his statements were almost entirely extraneous to the question before the House. In the first place, he proposed to occupy as little of the time of the House as possible by refraining from entering upon matters which were really not relevant to the point at issue. The first great point of the hon. Member's speech, as to whether it was desirable that Southport should acquire those rights in the foreshore which were legally vested in the lords of the manor, was a question on which the decision of the House this afternoon would have no influence whatever. Everybody would, no doubt, be very happy to see Southport in full possession of all rights to the foreshore, which in future might affect it as a place of health resort. But Southport must obtain them by legal methods; in fact, by the only method open to those who wished to obtain rights of more or less value which were vested in other people. The facts of the case at the present moment were that, by whatever process it might have been arrived at, the rights to the foreshore of the Estuary of the Ribble were vested in the lords of the manor. It would have been a very pleasant matter for the Corporation of Southport to find that they were possessed of the whole right to the foreshore; and, in the same way, it was desirable for them, if possible, to become possessors of those rights, and thus become the lords of the manor themselves. But such was not the case. His contention was that nothing contained in the Ribble Navigation Bill, or in the Amendments introduced into it by the House of Lords, did, in the smallest degree, affect the question of the rights of the ownership of the foreshore. As to the question of title, there was no doubt that there had been a dispute as to the ownership of the foreshore; but that dispute had not been between the Corporation of Preston and the Corporation of Southport on the one hand, and the Duchy of Lancaster and the riparian owners on the other, but simply a dispute between the Duchy of Lancaster and the riparian owners; and at no time, and under no circumstances, had the Corporation of Southport been able to assert the smallest claim to those rights. They had been passive spectators of the dispute between the Duchy of Lancaster and the riparian owners, and the dispute had been ended by the sale of all the rights of the Duchy to the riparian owners, making them completely and conclusively the owners of the foreshore. They could not go behind that fact by any change which the Lords could make. In regard to the Amendment which had been introduced by the Lords, that Amendment did not, in the slightest degree, touch the rights of ownership. He should be unreasonable if he were to occupy the time of the House on an occasion of that kind by replying in detail to the speech of the hon. Member for Ipswich, and reading aloud the clauses contained in Acts of times past affecting Preston and Southport; but in all of them, on every occasion, the Corporations of those towns had entirely disclaimed any right to the foreshore. Preston found itself at the present moment excluded from all right to the foreshore, not only by clauses in Acts of Parliament, but by clauses introduced into deeds for the purchase of small plots of land from the lords of the manor. The same thing had been done in the case of Southport for other purposes, and this fact utterly cut away all possibility on the part of that Corporation of establishing any claim whatever to the foreshore. The next point had reference to any possible damage to the interests of Southport by the execution of the works of the Ribble Navigation; and in regard to that matter he might say that the decision arrived at by the House that day would in no respect affect the carrying out the works of the Ribble Navigation. If these terrible consequences to the well-being, prosperity, and actual life of this community of 40,000 persons were to be brought about by the execution of the Ribble Navigation Works, these works would, nevertheless, be executed in precisely the same manner, whether the House accepted or rejected the Amendment, because the Amendment did not affect the works at all, but only dealt with a matter of trivial importance —namely, whether the owners of the manor and foreshore should pay some small pecuniary acknowledgment to the Corporation of Preston in respect of any incidental advantages that would accrue to them in the increased value of their land by the execution of these works. It would neither confirm nor shake the ownership of the foreshore, nor alter the time or manner of carrying out the works of the Ribble Navigation, by anything that was done that day. When he said that he thought he had said enough to show that there was no real ground upon which the Corporation of Southport could ask the House to interfere in the matter in order to go behind the established rights of the lords of the manor as owners of the foreshore, and to enter upon ground in regard to which there had already been a distinct decision by a Committee of the House of Lords, that the Corporation of Southport had no *locus standi* whatever, because Southport possessed no possible rights. Under these circumstances, he hoped the House would arrive at the conclusion that they ought to agree with the Lords' Amendment, and to reject that of the hon. Member for Ipswich.

Mr. LEAKE said, he had listened very carefully to the remarks of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) but he thought they were entirely beside the Amendment before the House. The Corporation of Preston, who were the promoters of this Bill, had got rid of the *locus standi* of the Corporation of Southport by denying that any land would be reclaimed in front of the borough of Southport, and then by stating that they did not propose to make a rent charge for any land reclaimed in front of that borough on the Corporation of Southport, but on the lords of the manor. They also opposed the *locus standi* of the Corporation of Southport by offering to make deviations in their own training walls, in order to avoid interfering with the outlet of the sewage of Southport. Now, in the reclamation of the land which was anticipated to arise from the execution of these works, and for which a rent charge was to be made, the outlet of the sewage of Southport must, undoubtedly, be interfered with. The reclamation itself was of an unknown and uncertain character, and it could not be said that the sewage of Southport was in no danger from it. The hon. Member who had just spoken said that Preston had a great interest in Southport; but Preston had a greater interest in itself, and, in all human affairs, the Corporation of Preston would take care of themselves first, and of their neighbour Southport afterwards. What did the Corporation of Southport want? They had no desire to destroy this Bill, or to prevent the improvement of the Ribble Navigation. They did not seek to claim rights over the foreshore. Those rights were truly said to be vested manorially in the lords of the manor, who had legal manorial rights, and the Corporation of Southport did not seek to interfere with those legal manorial rights. But they asked the House to avoid being betrayed into giving rights over the foreshore which did not now exist, by putting a clause into the Preston Act which would give statutory rights to the owners of the manorial rights—rights which were not enjoyed at the present moment, and which were entirely opposed to the interests of Southport. The Corporation of Southport were at this moment in friendly negotiation with the lords of the manor, under the auspices of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. At present the lords of the manor, very naturally, stood upon their manorial rights; but why should Parliament give them stronger rights on which to stand during the pending negotiations by conferring upon them statutory rights? He humbly submitted that Parliament ought not to do so. It was said that the Corporation of Preston objected to give up the rent charge they would obtain from the land reclaimed by their operations—a certain rent which would be obtained from the land which might be reclaimed from the sea in the neighbourhood of Southport. Now, Southport had no interest in throwing up land between her own town and the sea; whereas Preston had thus an interest in creating as much land as possible between Southport and the sea. In considering the interests of

Southport, the fact should not be overlooked that the inhabitants of Southport had converted barren sand hills into one of the most valuable properties in Lancashire; and that fact ought to overweigh the policy of preserving ancient manorial rights, and especially of extending them by a side wind, so as to infringe the growing rights of the inhabitants of Southport. He thought the argument ought not to be pressed that the Corporation of Southport had no interest in this land; but they ought to be, as they had made themselves in regard to these barren sand hills, the absolute dispensers of the future fortunes of the inhabitants of the borough of Southport. On this simple ground, and with no desire to make any assault on the rights of property, he and other hon. Members were there that day anxious to interpose between the inhabitants of Southport and a new claim, which would be, in the highest degree, detrimental to their interests. He willingly supported the Proviso moved by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings).

MR. TOMLINSON said, he could not help thinking it was a great pity that the time of the House should be taken up in a discussion of this kind, under circumstances which rendered it quite impossible for hon. Members to come to a conclusion on the points which had been brought forward by the hon. Member who moved the Amendment. Before he said a few words in regard to the position of the Ribble Navigation Bill and the town of Preston, he wished to deal with a matter to which the hon. Member who had just spoken had referred. The first point brought forward by the hon. Member was that the Corporation of Southport, when the question of their *locus standi* was fought in the House of Lords, were deprived of that *locus standi*, because it was said that no land of theirs would be reclaimed. Now, that was an entire misapprehension. The reason why the Corporation of Southport were not allowed a *locus standi* in the House of Lords was that they could not show they had any interest in the foreshore of Southport. They were allowed a *locus standi* in the House of Commons, because, as the Bill stood when it was before that House, the scheme would to some extent have interfered with the outlet of the sewage of Southport. They also claimed to be heard on the ground of having some interest in the foreshore; but that claim was disallowed. The Bill was carried through a Committee of the House of Commons, and, in the end, a clause was introduced defining the rights of the Corporation of Preston, of the lords of the manor, and of the Duchy of Lancaster, in any lands that might be reclaimed by the works to be carried out by the Corporation of Preston. That clause was, however, so framed that the Corporation of Southport were entirely excluded from its operation. If, then, the Corporation of Southport claimed any interest in the foreshore, the proper time to assert that claim was when the Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons. That was their opportunity; but they had not availed themselves of it. The Bill went to the House of Lords, and the only change made there was a slight modification of the mode in which the rights of the Corporation of Preston and the lords of the manor were defined. The Corporation of Southport, therefore, were in as good a position for bringing forward a complaint that their rights had been disregarded by the House of Commons as to ask for a reconsideration of the treatment which their claims had met with in the House of Lords. It had been suggested that land in front of the borough of Southport might be reclaimed by carrying into effect the Ribble Navigation Scheme, and that the town might be injured by the use made of it. The answer to that was that, if it were the case, the people of Southport had the power of protecting themselves, because they had the option of purchasing the whole of the foreshore in front of the town at a nominal price from the lords of the manor, upon the sole condition that no buildings should be placed upon it. He did not think it would be right to weary the House by going into details which could not be understood; and he would, therefore, say no more, except to urge that the House would do well to assert the principle that when Corporations and Companies came before Parliament to obtain sanction for great schemes of public importance, and when they had carried their Bills through in a regular way, and had dealt with the claims of all persons whom the Standing Orders required that they should take notice of, the decision of the two Houses of Parliament to which the Bill had been referred should be upheld. He trusted that the House would support the Standing Orders, which had hitherto worked beneficially in protecting the rights of private individuals, and that they would not accept the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Ipswich.

Mr. DILLWYN said, he had no wish to enter into any question between the borough of Preston and the borough of Southport; but he desired to explain, in a few words, why, upon public grounds, he should support the Amendment. He thought that this question of foreshores was of great public interest; indeed, the interest the public had in the foreshores of the country was so great that proposals for dealing with them would be best brought forward, not in Private, but in Public Bills. He held that all the foreshores were public property, and that the commoners had a right of access to them. The manorial owners, and so forth, who held so many of the common rights of the people, should be prohibited from preventing the access of the public to all the foreshores round the coast. He, for one, always strongly objected to any measure that would interfere with the rights and interests of the people in the foreshores; and the House of Commons ought to be especially watchful to prevent the abrogation of the public right to common land. It had been said that in this case there was an indisputable right on the part of the lords of the manor to the ownership of the foreshore; but he had seen a good deal of correspondence on that subject, from which it appeared that there was anything but an indisputable right. Both the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and the lords of the manor claimed rights to the foreshore, and they seemed to have been disputed rights. It was now, however, proposed to insert this clause in a Private Bill in order to clear away this difficulty, and to give statutory rights to the lords of the manor which they did not now possess. Under these circumstances, and upon public grounds, he should support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich.

Mr. GORST said, that nothing could possibly be more unfortunate than the account of the Bill which had just been given by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn). The Bill did not give anybody any right to any foreshore at all, and much less did it cut off the right of access of the commoners and the people to the sea shore. There was no provision of the kind contained in the Bill; but the clause which had been put in by the House of Lords was simply a clause giving the Corporation of Preston a claim to certain royalties from the people who owned the foreshore, in consequence of the improvement of their property likely to be effected by the works of the Corporation. It was a simple clause to oblige persons who received the benefit of the works to pay for that benefit in the shape of a royalty. The only effect of the Amendment would be that, on this particular part of the foreshore, the people who happened to own the foreshore would get the benefit of the works undertaken for the improvement of the navigation of the Ribble without paying for it. It would do no good whatever to the locality; it would only do good to the people who happened to own the foreshore on that part of the coast. The riparian owners would have the advantage of the execution of the works of the Preston Corporation without paying for it; and for that reason he should certainly vote against the Amendment.

Mr. SLAGG said, the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken seemed to be of opinion that the Bill would give to the riparian owners absolute proprietary rights over this foreshore. That was a very serious matter. They had merely a manorial right at the present time—a right of an exceedingly shadowy character. He differed entirely from the view of his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) that this manorial right was equal to a proprietary right. It could not be a proprietary right of a very sufficient character, inasmuch as it had already been a subject of litigation and dispute between the Duchy of Lancaster and the Corporation of Southport of a very complex nature. The whole foreshore question was open to legal argument; and a claim of proprietorship, based upon a lawsuit, appeared to him to be not of a very stable character. It was perfectly true that an ownership had been acknowledged to this extent—that, on the sale of some of the disputed property, payments had been made by the Corporation of Southport and others; but those payments had been made not as a necessary acknowledgment of proprietary rights, but, as in many other cases, as a sort of black mail for the purpose of avoiding litigation. What would this clause do? It would remove that claim out of the shadowy region of legal dispute into the solid form of a proprietary right. Like the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), he was speaking entirely in the public interests; he had no personal interest in the question whatever, and he might say that his chief *locus standi* in the matter consisted in this—that his own Corporation of the borough of Manchester had petitioned the House of Commons against the clause on the ground that there were millions of working people in Lancashire who were interested in the question, seeing that Southport was a place of sanitary resort, and the favourite place at the seaside to which they could go and enjoy themselves. It was of the greatest consequence to those persons that the sea should be left open to them; and this clause, if passed, might place it in the power of certain landowners to build property, possibly to the extent of a new town, between the borough of Southport and the sea. He could not conceive a question of graver public importance. He was pleased to hear his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) declare that, whatever course the House took in regard to this clause, it would make no difference whatever to the Corporation of Preston. He should be sorry, for one, to take any action that would militate against the interests of Preston; he was very much interested in the progress, advancement, and everything that tended to improve the position of Preston; but he was satisfied that if the House passed the Bill as it now stood, it would, without benefiting Preston, inflict a serious injury upon the town of Southport.

COLONEL STANLEY said, the House was anxious, naturally, to divide on the question, and he thought the main points had been already so clearly explained both by his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) and by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), that he did not think it would be necessary to go back upon them or attempt to deal with them. He only rose now to point out that an expression which the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) had made use of—namely, that certain payments had been levied as a sort of black mail upon the Corporation of Southport in other cases—was one that was not really borne out by the facts of the case. If they looked back to the Acts passed in former years, such as the Southport Improvement Act, which was the Act of 1871, they would find in Section 213 a declaration that nothing contained in the Act was in any manner to injure, prejudice, or in any other way affect the rights of property and so forth in respect of the shore or the bed of the sea, which were reported to belong to, or were exercised and enjoyed by, the Trustees of the Scarisbrick Estate. The Act of 1876 incorporated the same provision, and in 1878, in a conveyance to the Corporation of a portion of the land to the north of the town, there was a provision that nothing therein contained should be held to give to the Corporation or their assigns any right to, or interest in, the soil or bed of the foreshore of the sea. Then it was said that the lords of the manor desired to levy black mail, and to shut out from the people of Southport their enjoyment of the sea, which was the very life of the town. He believed he was justified in saying that the riparian owners had in all respects submitted themselves in the most entire and open way to the arbitration which his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had proposed, and they were perfectly willing to give, at a merely nominal price, the whole extent of the foreshore in front of the town. [MR. JESSE COLLINGS: No!] That was what he was informed; but, of course, with the usual reservation that such land was not to be built upon. Therefore, as far as the sea was concerned, that question was completely answered. He did not rise so much for the purpose of going into these matters as to express a hope that the debate would not be allowed to conclude without a few words from the Chancellor of the Duchy to say how he viewed the question. Of course, he could understand that his right hon. Friend had a delicate duty to discharge in respect of the matter, seeing that he was holding out the prospect of arbitration with the lords of the manor on the one side and the Corporation of Southport on the other. He hoped that the Chancellor of the Duchy would be able to tell the House that it was his intention to support the Bill as it came down from the House of Lords, and to reject the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Ipswich.

Mr. DODSON said, his right hon. and gallant Friend who had just sat down had appealed to him to express to the House his opinion in regard to the Amendment which had been moved to the clause inserted by the House of Lords in the Ribble Navigation Bill. Placed, as he was, in the position of having offered to mediate or bring about an arbitration between the two parties concerned—namely, the riparian owners and the Corporation of Southport, he should not have wished to take any part that might seem to be adverse to one party or the other; but he would candidly express his opinion, as he was called upon to do so; and he thought he could do so in a manner that would not be adverse to one party or the other. Before he went on to state what his views were, he wished to correct an observation which had fallen from the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), and from the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg). The position was simply this. The title to this particular foreshore was in dispute between the Duchy of Lancaster and the riparian proprietors, and the Duchy settled the question by selling their claim to the parties who claimed adversely to them. That, he thought, would be regarded by those who were disposed to take a dispassionate view of the question as a very reasonable way of settling the difficulty. [*Cries of* "No!"] He ventured to think that it was, and most hon. Gentlemen would be glad to follow such an example, if they could do so, in any case in which they were personally concerned. But, then, his hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) said, in effect—"You are thereby taking the foreshore away from the public, and placing it under private control." That was an absolute and entire mistake. The negotiations between the Duchy and the riparian owners did not affect one jot or tittle of the rights of the public over the foreshore. The law was strictly this—no owner, not even the Crown, whatever his title might be, could deal with the foreshore either to build upon it, enclose upon it, reclaim it, exclude the public from it, or exercise any new right over it, unless he obtained an Act of Parliament for that purpose. No transaction between the Duchy and the riparian proprietors conferred such a right upon the riparian proprietors; and this Ribble Navigation Bill conferred upon them no such power, or, indeed, any power whatever, in regard to this foreshore. The Bill provided for the contingency of reclamation arising from the navigation works which, under its authority, might hereafter be constructed by the Corporation of Preston; and it provided generally that such reclamations should vest in the Corporation of Preston. [Mr. Jesse Collings: No!] As regarded the foreshore generally, it provided that any reclamations should vest in the Corporation of Preston. [Mr. Jesse Collings: No!] He said "Yes!" but subject to certain payments to be made to the adjoining proprietors. In regard to this particular part of the foreshore—namely, that within the Manor of North Meols—which the House was now dealing with, the Bill provided conversely that any reclamations upon it should vest in the riparian proprietors, subject to certain payments to be made by them to the Corporation of Preston. How did that affect Southport, whichever way it was? In neither case would the reclamations on the foreshore be vested in the Corporation of Southport. In the one case it vested in the Corporation of Preston, subject to a payment to the owners; in the other case, it vested in the owners, subject to a payment to the Corporation of Preston. If the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich were carried it would vest the last-named reclamation in the Corporation of Preston, with a right of pre-emption on the part of the riparian owners. He did not see how that could benefit the Corporation of Southport. And now let him say one word as to the clause in regard to the manner in which it affected the public, and its bearing upon the mediation or arbitration which he was endeavouring to bring about. The whole basis and *raison d'être* of the mediation he had offered, and the arbitration he had proposed, was that the riparian proprietors were the owners of the foreshore, within the limits of the manor; and his mediation or arbitration was offered as to the terms upon which the Corporation of Southport should be allowed to acquire that foreshore, or some part of it, from those who were the owners of it. Such being the case, his mediation or arbitration was not at all affected by the allegation that in consequence of this Bill the title of the owners of this foreshore was a little better or a little worse. The position of the Duchy was this. The riparian owners owned the foreshore, and were legally the rightful owners of it, subject to the rights of the public which had always existed over it; and it was on that basis exclusively that his mediation and arbitration was to take place. That being the case, he did not feel in any way called upon to do otherwise than support the Ribble Navigation Bill, as it had been approved by Parliament. In doing so, he was not of opinion that he would injure the position of the Corporation of Southport, nor would the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich improve it; nor would that Amendment at all influence the basis of the arbitration, which rested on the assumption that the riparian proprietors were the rightful owners of the foreshore.

MR. RAIKES said, he should not have supposed, at a time when they were told that Parliament was so unprecedently overtasked in the performance of its ordinary duties, that the House would have been invited to try a very difficult question of private title. He thought that considerable ingenuity had been exercised in finding a peg on which to hang a debate upon the question of the Southport foreshore; and, after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy, the House would perceive that the matter raised by the Amendment was entirely different from the questions which the right hon. Gentleman was endeavouring to mediate upon between the Town Council of Southport and the riparian owners. The question, as put by the right hon. Gentleman, and by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), appeared to be simply this—whether the Amendment introduced in the Bill by the House of Lords, which vested a portion of the reclaimed land in the riparian owners, subject to the rights of the Corporation of Preston to receive certain payments, was to stand, or whether it was to revert, as far as the foreshore was concerned, back to the arrangement made when the Bill was in the House of Commons, by which the reclaimed land was to vest in the Corporation of Preston, subject to certain rights which might accrue to the riparian owners. His hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) disclaimed any wish to obtain any advantage for the town of Preston at the expense of the riparian owners; and the promoters of the Bill had acted loyally by the agreement entered into when the Bill was before a Committee of the House of Lords; but if the House were to pass the present Amendment, it seemed to him that they would be taking advantage of the fact of an alteration which was scarcely more than one of a verbal character which had been made in the House of Lords with the consent of the Committee of that House, and with that of the only parties who were qualified to appear before that Committee, in order to re-open a question which the Committee of the House of Commons was precluded, owing to the rules of *locus standi,* from entertaining when the Bill was before them. Now, was that a dignified mode of proceeding? He ventured to think that, if they were to re-try all these questions of great detail, they would be placed in a position of extreme difficulty, for this was a question which could hardly be made intelligible to any Member without a map. The hon. Gentleman who introduced the Motion, although he made a most elaborate speech, did not pretend to give more than the briefest outline of the case; and after the Bill had been carefully considered by Committees of both Houses, were they now to re-open it on the floor of the House of Commons, and to pronounce an opinion upon a matter in regard to which Committees of both Houses had arrived at a careful conclusion upon evidence and *data* which was accessible to them, but which was not accessible to Members of that House?

MR. CHEETHAM said, he rose to correct a mis-statement which had been made by the junior Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson), and which had been repeated by the right hon. and gallant Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley), to the effect that an offer was made by the lords of the manor, at a nominal price, of the whole of the foreshore to the Corporation of Southport. Now, the offer made had reference only to a small portion of the foreshore immediately opposite the Promenade; but the borough of Southport extended in a north-easterly direction considerably beyond that point; and if the offer was to be of any use, it ought to cover the whole of the 4,000 acres in dispute. He spoke on this matter from an intimate personal knowledge of Southport; and his conviction was that the acquisition of this portion of the foreshore was of the most vital consequence to the borough. It was of the utmost importance that the borough should be in a position to develop freely and readily in a seaward direction, and it could alone do that by becoming the proprietor of this foreshore. It was said that there was little difference made in the position of Southport by the operation of this clause; but there was this difference—that the clause inserted in the Commons vested the reclaimed land in the Corporation of Preston, with a right of pre-emption to the owners of the ancient freeholds who could show a title to the foreshore. If Southport, therefore, through the good offices of the Chancellor of the Duchy, acquired that right, it would have obtained a right of pre-emption from the Corporation of Preston. Under the clause inserted in the Bill in the House of Lords that position was altogether reversed. The reclaimed land was vested in the lords of the manor, and to that extent the Bill gave a Parliamentary title, to the prejudice of the town of Southport. He believed that the position of Southport would be very seriously prejudiced if this clause were adopted, and the Corporation of Southport had to deal with the riparian owners instead of the Corporation of Preston.

Mr. TOMLINSON rose to explain, as the statement he had made had been disputed.

Mr. SPEAKER ruled that the hon. Member, having already addressed the House, was out of Order.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 126; Noes 173: Majority 47.—(Div. List, No. 166.)

Clause 68A *agreed to*.

Subsequent Amendments *agreed to*.

Mr. Cheetham

ENNERDALE RAILWAY BILL [*Lords.*]

(*by Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. AINSWORTH said, he was sorry to trespass upon the House after so much time had already been taken up in considering the previous Bill; but he was intimately acquainted with the district in which it was proposed to carry this railway; and, being satisfied that no public advantage could be gained by the Bill, he felt called upon to move that it be read a second time upon that day three months. There was a line of railway in the district which was now worked by the London and North-Western Railway Company; and this projected line was to run from that line by the side of Ennerdale Lake for a mile and a-half to the head of the Lake. The locality was very thinly populated; there were only one or two small farms; the population was very limited; and there were no mines or minerals which were worked on the line of the proposed railway. In point of fact, the district was somewhat similar to that for which another Bill was projected this year, but withdrawn — namely, the Buttermere Railway Bill. In many respects the two districts were similar in character; but the Buttermere Line led to a large slate quarry, which was in operation. That Bill was withdrawn, owing to the Petitions presented against it, in consequence of the damage it would do to the scenery. His principal objection to the proposed line was that it was unnecessary, and that it was not introduced in the interests of the inhabitants of the locality. Looking at the Bill itself, he found that it bore upon it, as the names of its promoters, a solicitor in the Strand and two other persons, both of whom resided in the City of London. No local names whatever were appended to the Bill; and he could not find that any individual connected with the county of Cumberland was promoting the measure in any way. It was promoted for some purpose at present unknown to him, and, he believed, entirely unknown to the locality. He thought these grounds afforded a sufficient reason for asking the House to agree to the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Ainsworth.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the proposal made by the hon. Member for West Cumberland (Mr. Ainsworth) was one of the most extraordinary he had ever heard made by any Member of the House; and he had certainly heard a great many extraordinary proposals during the time he had been a Member of Parliament. This was a Bill for the construction of a railroad in the county of Cumberland, and it had already passed the House of Lords without opposition. It now came down to the House of Commons, and its only opponent was the hon. Member. The hon. Member had petitioned against the Bill, and the reason he gave to justify his Petition was that it proposed to go through a field which belonged to him—a field of common pasture, worth about 10*s*. an acre. The hon. Member asserted that the railway was proposed to be constructed for a considerable distance through his property; that it would affect it injuriously by severance, &c., and that the railway intersected one field to the extend of four acres. Upon this flimsy pretext, the hon. Member got up in that House, contrary to all the Rules which had hitherto regulated their procedure upon Private Bills, and moved the rejection of the Bill. After all, if the allegations of the hon. Member in his Petition were fully established, the question was simply one of residential or occupation damage, which, as everyone knew, was a fit and proper question to be decided by a Committee of the House. Therefore, without any further observations, he thought he might confidently call upon hon. Members to reject the Amendment.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, that it was hardly necessary to say that he had no interest in this matter, nor did he imagine that his hon. Friend who moved the Amendment was very much interested in it, as a question of private interest. But he thought that the public interest was considerably concerned in the line, and in all railways of this kind. It was a railway, as far as he could make out, which had no particular public object, either in regard to the carriage of goods or passengers; but it would have the result of spoiling one of the most beautiful portions of the Lake scenery. [MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: No!] He begged the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. That would be the case. It would go on the North side of Ennerdale Lake, and would very considerably damage the beauty of the Lake. No doubt, it might be said that this was a question which could be decided by a Committee; but, by an unfortunate arrangement of Public Business, the public were not represented upon Committees of this character, and he did not know whether his hon. Friend the Member for West Cumberland (Mr. Ainsworth), even by the help of the position he occupied as owner of this field, would be entitled to raise this question before the Committee. It was for the House of Commons to say, on the second reading of a Bill of this character, whether they desired that the best and most beautiful portions of English scenery should be spoiled without any public or private reason being assigned. It was upon that ground that the Amendment had been moved. He would not further detain the House; but if his hon. Friend carried his Amendment to a Division he would certainly support him.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 150; Noes 143: Majority 7.—(Div. List, No. 167.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

MOTIONS.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILLS.—RESOLUTIONS.

Ordered, That the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bill, the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill, and the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, be committed to a Select Committee to consist of Seven Members, Four to be nominated by the House, and Three to be added by the Committee of Selection.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House, all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the Select Committee on the Bills, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills, against such Petitions."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Sir HUSSEY VIVIAN said, this Motion had only appeared upon the Paper that day; and, therefore, not knowing that it was to be proposed, it had been impossible for him to place on the Paper the Amendment which he was about to move. When the Bill was read a second time yesterday he asked his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. J. Holms) what the intentions of the Board of Trade were in regard to it; and his hon. Friend informed him that it was intended to refer the Bill to a Hybrid Committee, in order that the Petitions against it might be considered, and that the Petitioners might appear before the Committee. With that reply he was perfectly satisfied; but it appeared now, from the unusual words which had been inserted in the Resolution, that the power of the Petitioners to appear before the Committee would be very limited. He feared, although it did not appear to be quite certain, that the words "subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House," might and would exclude Petitioners in general from being heard before the Committee. Now, he thought that would be an extreme act of injustice. They were, in fact, only upon the threshold of this great question of Electric Lighting; and he might say that the question as it affected the carrying out of Electric Lighting in a practical way had not yet been fully considered and thrashed out by any Committee of that House. He had said that the words were unusual. He had with him a good many cases—almost, he believed, precisely parallel to this—in which the Reference was that all Petitions that might be presented during the Session relating to the matter should be referred to the Committee, and—

> "That such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents shall be heard,"

He quoted that passage from a very important case—that of "The East London Water Bill" in 1867. He had other cases at hand; but he would not weary the House by referring to them. There were, however, precedents, going down to the 2nd May last, in which similar References had been made without the insertion of these words "subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House." He thought it was in the interests of the public that this question should be thoroughly thrashed out; and he feared that if the Reference to the Committee was in the form in which it now stood, full consideration would not be devoted to it before a Committee. He thought it would only be a simple act of justice to the inhabitants of a parish that if the lighting of that parish was going, by a Provisional Order, to be practically assigned to a particular Company for 21 years, the inhabitants of the parish should have the right to be heard, in order to see whether any better bargain could be made in reference to the lighting of the district. It appeared to him that they were proceeding much too fast in this matter. It was entirely a new question, and yet throughout the whole of England the local authorities appeared to be pledging themselves, and pledging the inhabitants of their district, to the adoption of particular schemes, without being informed that better and cheaper schemes might hereafter be practicable. At any rate, they had a case here, in which two very large districts, possessing an enormous population, were concerned — namely, the districts of St. James and of the Strand, and the inhabitants of those districts desired to be heard before this Hybrid Committee. He had understood that a Hybrid Committee was to be appointed specially in order that the inhabitants interested might be heard. He had certainly gathered from his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Board of Trade that that was the intention of the Government; but the words which had been introduced into the Resolution would, he feared, prevent the inhabitants of the districts affected from being heard. The case would be brought under the Standing Orders, and under the Standing Orders it would not be possible for the inhabitants to be heard. Therefore, on the broad ground of justice to the inhabitants, he hoped that his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade would be inclined to assent to the omission of these words, in order that the whole case might be fully heard by the Committee. He was informed that a most substantial Company was quite ready to contract for the lighting of this district at a rate 40 per cent less than the rate proposed by the Company to whom the district would be assigned by the Bill now before the House. If that were so, surely it would be an act of the grossest injustice to the inhabitants that they should not be heard before the Committee, but that they should be forced into an agreement with a Company which, for the next 21 years, would tax them 40 per cent higher than they could get the same thing done for elsewhere. By the terms of the Act of last year the Board of Trade were authorized to submit to Parliament, for confirmation, any Provisional Order granted in pursuance of the Act, but no such Order was to be of any force unless it was confirmed by Act of Parliament; and while a Bill to confirm such Order was pending in either House of Parliament, any Petition presented against any Order comprised in the Bill might be referred to a Select Committee, and the Petitioners would be allowed to appear and depose as in the case of a Private Bill. Now, it seemed to him that the very object of that clause was to secure that the question should be submitted to the distinct judgment of Parliament, and the matter was before the House now in that position; but if it were impossible to submit the Bill to the judgment of the Committee in the ordinary way, and if the Petitioners most interested in the question were shut out from being heard, then it appeared to him that a great injustice would be done. He might add that he was not pecunarily interested in the matter in any shape or form; but he simply brought it forward because he believed that it was a great public question, which ought not to be hurried through, but which ought to be carefully and fully considered before a Committee of the House of Commons. He begged to move the omission of the words "subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House." — (*Sir Henry Hussey Vivian.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, there could be no doubt that the subject which his hon. Friend had brought before the House was one of considerable importance. He was not present in the House on the occasion on which the Bill passed a second reading; but he understood that on that occasion his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Board of Trade stated distinctly that any question as to the Committee before whom the Bill should go was one for the consideration of the House itself. His hon. Friend gathered that the sentiment of the House was in favour of a Hybrid Committee, and, accordingly, he (Mr. Chamberlain) had put down a Notice referring these Bills to a Hybrid Committee. He understood the object of substituting a Hybrid Committee for an ordinary Committee was that they might have a rather larger Committee, and a Committee selected, perhaps, with a little more consideration. But he did not understand that the House desired that this substitution should have any effect at all upon the *locus standi* of the Petitioners. His hon. Friend the Member for Glamorganshire (Sir Hussey Vivian) had referred to the clause in the Electric Lighting Act of last Session which applied to all cases of Provisional Orders approved by the Department, and which required the Board of Trade to submit such Provisional Orders to Parliament, and, in case of opposition, provided that they should be referred to a Select Committee. But, of course, the Bills themselves were subject to the Standing Orders of the House, and no one had a right to appear before the Committee contrary to the usual regulations. If the Motion which had been put upon the Paper were carried in its present form, no doubt the effect would be the same in regard to the question of *locus standi*; and he thought his hon. Friend was right in saying that, in the case of the particular Bill now before the House, two of the parties now opposing would not be allowed to be heard. He would ask the House to consider two things. In the first place, was it desirable to throw these Provisional Orders open to opposition more than was the practice of the House? What had happened in this particular case? The question of electric lighting, being a new subject, had been referred to a Select Committee presided over by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope). That Committee had many sittings; it heard all the parties; it paid careful attention to the whole subject; and it laid down in a Bill, which afterwards passed through Parliament, the conditions and principles on which Provisional Orders should be granted by the Board of Trade. The parties who went to the Board of Trade under the provisions of that Act had all been carefully heard, and in a great number of cases the promoters had been opposed by the local authorities. But certain concessions had been made, and the local authorities and all the other parties had become satisfied, and, as far as this kind of opposition was concerned, this was now really an unopposed Bill. Then he would appeal to the House whether, under these circumstances, on any occasion when there was opposition by any competitor, a Provisional Order was to be sent to a Hybrid Committee, and all the world was to be heard in opposition? If that were done, the object the Legislature had in cheapening legislation and in relieving the House from an annoyance and a serious burden would be entirely frustrated, and such a course, if adopted generally, would be fatal to the general Provisional Order system. He did not think that any part of the proceedings of the House in regard to Private Bills gave greater satisfaction than these Provisional Orders, and he wished the House to consider what the particular case was in which they were asked to make an exception. In this case the Edison Company had applied for an Order to light this district. They were opposed by the local authorities; and here let him say, in passing, that the Electric Lighting Act, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, decided that the Vestry should be the local authority in the matter, and not the Metropolitan Board of Works, Now, in the district of St. James' the local authorities were heard, and after a prolonged controversy the Board of Trade were able to bring all the parties together; whereupon the Vestry assented to a Provisional Order, and the opposition was withdrawn. Another Company now came forward, and said, "We should like to have this district." In answer to the inquiry—"Why did you not appear at the same time as the Edison Company, and ask for an Order?" They said—"We were not at that time prepared; but since then we have got our apparatus ready, and we are not only ready to light the district, but prepared to offer a maximum price 40 per cent below the maximum price offered by the Edison Company." Now, in the first place, that was entirely an *ex parte* statement. The House would like to know a great deal more than they knew now before they would be ready to assume either that the Telegraph Construction Company could supply electricity at a rate 40 per cent below that of the Edison Company, or that they had any satisfactory method of providing electricity at all. If they were to admit the claim of this Company, as finding out something new, to come and oppose a Provisional Order already drafted, as soon as the Board of Trade had decided that the Telegraph Construction Company should have the same privileges as the Edison Company, what was to prevent another Company coming forward and asking to go into the whole matter again on the ground that they would be able to do it 5 per cent cheaper than the Telegraph Construction Company? And so it might go on, and they would have one speculative Company after another coming forward to represent their case. He did not pretend to say that the promoters, in this instance, were speculators; but as long as there were speculative Companies, Parliament would have offers to do the thing cheaper. If it could be shown that this *ex parte* statement was absolutely correct, and that the Company were prepared to insert in their Bill a maximum of 40 per cent lower than that inserted in the present Bill, it would not necessarily be of the slightest advantage to the inhabitants of the district. The price charged would probably be much lower than the maximum allowed, because the Board of Trade considered it necessary, in dealing with a new subject, to allow a considerable margin. They had accordingly allowed a margin in all these Provisional Orders which they had reason to believe would be considerably above the actual price. It did not at all follow that, because the maximum price was higher than the Telegraph Construction Company were willing to do the work for, the Edison Company would not be able to supply electricity at a price 40 or 50 per cent below the maximum. The same thing occurred in regard to Gas Companies. There was not a single Gas Company in the Metropolis which did not supply gas for a sum considerably below the maximum price inserted in their Act to cover all contingencies. There was another important consideration he wished to submit to the House. His hon. Friend the Member for Glamorganshire (Sir Hussey Vivian) argued the matter on the assumption that if the Bill were passed into law there would be practically a monopoly given to the Edison Company for the supply of the district for 21 years, and that if in any year afterwards a better system was discovered, either by the Telegraph Company or by anybody else, these unfortunate inhabitants would be prevented from availing themselves of it, and would thus be damnified by the passing of this Order. Now, that was not the case. It was not intended to give a monopoly to anyone. All that was given was an Order to the promoters of the Bill to take up the streets and lay down their wires. The Company were distinctly informed that this was not a monopoly conceded to them. There was nothing to prevent the Board of Trade to-morrow from granting a similar right to another Company; and though, of course, the Board of Trade would do nothing of the sort as long as the Edison Company fulfilled their obligations, yet, if they failed to fulfil their obligations, or some further discovery showed that their system was inadequate and that the district could be better lighted, then their monopoly would cease, and the Board of Trade would grant another Provisional Order. Therefore, if the Telegraph Company had any *locus standi* before a Select Committee—if they could show, not that they were willing to accept a less maximum than the maximum fixed in the Bill, but that they were able to sell cheaper than the other Company was selling for, then there would be nothing to prevent them from going to the Board of Trade next year, or next month, if they liked, and asking for a competing Order, and, if their allegation turned out to be true, no doubt the Board of Trade would grant it. He gathered, from what his hon. Friend had said, that the object of his claim was chiefly to obtain a hearing for the inhabitants, and not for the Telegraph Company. But the inhabitants of a district were represented by a local representative authority, and he thought it was the invariable practice to refuse a *locus standi* to the inhabitants as individuals, unless they had separate and individual interests. That seemed to him to be a perfectly reasonable course. In this case, the Vestry of St. James' had been a party to all the proceedings, and had assented to them, and it was not for individual inhabitants to come forward now, and ask that the whole matter should be gone into again. Such a course would enormously increase the expense to the Company in getting their Order, and also to the Vestry, which would probably be called upon to appear again, and defend the decision they had come to. Upon these grounds he should oppose the Amendment.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, at all events, made one thing clear which the Resolution left in doubt. The right hon. Gentleman did deliberately intend, by the form of the Motion he had placed before the House, to exclude from the consideration of the Committee the case of any Petitioners, whether they were inhabitants or rival Companies. Before he went further he wished to dispose of one argument used by the right hon. Gentleman, which, perhaps, might have some weight with the House. The right hon. Gentleman said that by granting this Provisional Order they did not create a monopoly for 21 years, because it would always be in the power of the Board of Trade to grant a second Order to some other Company. That, no doubt, was true; but he did not believe that any responsible Minister of the Board of Trade would venture to give such power to another Company, unless some tremendous revolution in electric lighting could be effected thereby. Unless something of that kind could be brought about the Board of Trade would be very chary in giving the right to another Company to pull up the streets. It would only be to a Company who had at their command some perfectly novel method of lighting that such a liberty would be conceded. Unless, therefore, some such revolution took place there would be a practical monopoly given to the Company in whose favour the Provisional Order was drawn. The right hon. Gentleman said that the statement of the Telegraph Construction Company was an *ex parte* one. Undoubtedly it was an *ex parte* statement; and it was because it was an *ex parte* statement, and therefore impossible to know the value to be attached to it, that he wanted the statement to be thoroughly sifted, and that could only be done before a Select Committee. The Board of Trade said that the local authorities in the parish of St. James' had assented to a Provisional Order, and the inhabitants of the parish were accordingly bound by the Provisional Order which had received the sanction of the local authorities. But it must be borne in mind that the Vestry of St. James' could not have had the whole of the case before them when they arrived at their decision. The Vestry of St. James' were not acquainted with the position of the competing Company, nor would they be aware, when they gave their assent to the Provisional Order, that they were restrained by that fact from considering the proposals of any other Company. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said the Edison Company would very probably not charge their maximum rate, but would be restrained from charging the maximum by the competition of other Companies. There was, however, no evidence that such would be the case, and there was certainly no evidence that when the work was constructed the Company would by any means do the work at a price so much less than their maximum as 40 per cent. He understood that the other Company offered to provide the same thing for a maximum 40 per cent lower than the Edison Company. Of course, that offer might be wholly illusory; but let the inhabitants of St. James' know if it was so or not, and let them have a proper examination and inquiry into the matter before the Committee. He thought the President of the Board of Trade would commit a great mistake if he tried to draw too rigid a line in this matter of electric lighting. As had been pointed out by his hon. Friend (Sir Hussey Vivian), electric lighting was still in its infancy; and that was not the only peculiarity in the system of electric lighting. When they had one Gas Company competing with another Gas Company they knew that each produced its gas by precisely the same means, and so with Water Companies. They knew that the methods by which Water Companies introduced water into the Metropolis were practically the same; but that was not the case with electric lighting. There they had not only a Company which differed in their *personnel*, but which essentially differed in their means of producing light, and that ought to make the right hon. Gentleman careful before he gave preference to one method over another. There would be considerable danger, and great harm might be done, if any suspicion were to attach that a preference was given to one Electric Lighting Company over another. It appeared to him to be a monstrous injustice, and a very evil precedent from every point of view, that the Government should, by introducing words for which there was no precedent, try to exclude the people who were only concerned to have their lighting done as cheaply as possible. Before he sat down he would like to ask the President of the Local Government Board, or some other Member of the Government, how it came about that the Government had departed from the precedent which had been set in some very important instances? There was the case of the East London Water Bill, which had been referred to; and he had here the Thames River (Prevention of Floods) Bill, and the Epping Forest Bill, and in all those measures elaborate pains had been taken not to bring the people concerned under the iron rule of the Standing Orders of the House—there had always been care taken throughout that anybody who was genuinely and *bonâ fide* interested in the Bill should have a chance of being heard. All he now asked for was that, in this peculiar and delicate case, the precedent should be followed which had been set by the Government in other cases.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would accept the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Glamorganshire, for he could assure the House that the Vestries of London looked with very considerable alarm upon the prospect of being bound for 21 years, when they might afterwards find that they could make better arrangements for themselves. They looked with great anxiety upon this question, and they wished to have more latitude than it was the intention of the Government to give them. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the whole thing was in its infancy, and he (Sir Alexander Gordon) hoped that he would accept the Amendment.

Mr. RAIKES said, he thought the House was very much indebted to the hon. Baronet the Member for Glamorganshire (Sir Hussey Vivian) for giving them this opportunity of discussing the matter. He (Mr. Raikes) did not go quite so far as the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), who had said there was no precedent for the course taken by the President of the Board of Trade.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I meant that there were precedents on the other side.

MR. RAIKES said, that no doubt there were precedents in favour of the course recommended by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and there were others on the other side. There was one which he would call attention to as a cognate case ; it occurred in the year 1879. In that year there were a great number of these Electric Lighting Bills. They were not in those days Provisional Order Bills, but Private Bills to light by electricity, and a Committee was first appointed in that year to consider this question. As he (Mr. Raikes) was concerned in the appointment of that Committee, he would like to quote the terms of the Order of Reference. The House decided that a Select Committee should be appointed to consider whether it was desirable to authorize Municipal Corporations or other local authorities to adopt any schemes for lighting by electricity, and to consider how far and under what conditions, if at all, Gas and other Public Companies should be authorized to supply light by electricity. The policy then present to the mind of the House was that monopolies should, if possible, be discouraged in dealing with the electric light ; and the object of the Committee, which was presided over by the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair), and which presented a most interesting Report, was to consider how far it might be found practicable for public bodies to take advantage of those schemes as a means of serving the public without the creation of monopolies. He (Mr. Raikes) might say that he was very much impressed, by circumstances which were continually coming to his knowledge at that time, as to the enormous prices which were obtained by Gas and other Companies from municipal bodies when at last it became necessary to purchase them ; and he was, above all things, desirous to protect the public against any such monopolies. In the year that these Electric Lighting Bills were brought into this House the Liverpool Lighting Bill was, he thought, the only one that obtained the Royal Assent ; and, in that case, it being the first Electric Lighting Bill promoted by a municipality and public body, and being of a very limited and experimental character, the House decided to refer it to a Hybrid Committee, and so framed the Reference as to admit all Petitioners to appear before that Committee. That was a case in point which might have been overlooked at the Board of Trade, and in that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board might find some justification for accepting this Amendment. Going on a year or two further, it would be found that last year the General Electric Lighting Bill was passed which contained two important and governing clauses. The first was what was called the Licence Clause, which enabled the Board of Trade, with the consent of the local authority, to grant a licence; and the next clause—Clause 4—provided that the Board of Trade might, without the consent of the local authority, frame a Provisional Order to pass through this House. If hon Members would glance at those two clauses, which must be read together, they would see that it was intended to give the greatest possible opportunity for challenging in this House any scheme to which it might be supposed there was local opposition. There was another consideration which he would like to point out. Until very recent times these Provisional Orders had to pass through Committee of the Whole House, and it would have been open to the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. Balfour), or to the hon. Baronet the Member for Glamorganshire (Sir Hussey Vivian), to come forward with Amendments in this House dealing with these particular questions, or they might have had that particular section of the Bill referred to a Committee upstairs, who would have considered the point as to terms on which the work should be done. Taking all these various considerations together, he thought they ought to pause, and not pass this Resolution as it stood, when so very strong a case had been made out for its being altered, especially where the interests involved were so large—for the district of London which was affected by the schemes now before the House contained the wealthiest and most important part of the Metropolis. If they wanted to have a test case, in which it would be possible that every consideration should be examined and every right carefully considered, they could not have a better case than this one. He was sorry to detain the House so long, and he would say as little in addition as he possibly could; but he must say that he thought a very grave responsibility would rest upon those who counselled the House upon this occasion to oppose the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Glamorganshire. The local Vestry, as they had been rightly told by the President of the Board of Trade, would, by giving its assent to the measure, exclude all other Petitioners except the Telegraph Construction Company; but he should be rather inclined to doubt how far that Company was in a position to establish a *locus standi* before the Hybrid Committee. It was quite possible they might have their Hybrid Committee; but to do what? To do nothing. They would appoint a Hybrid Committee for the purpose of settling the question and taking evidence; but when they set to their work it might be found that the Petitioners could not come before them. He did not know what the Metropolitan Board of Works might do in this matter, or what their *locus standi* or attitude might be; but, if they did not come forward, there would be absolutely no opportunity of putting any counter case before the Committee. If some Amendment were not made it would be far better to abandon the Motion for a Hybrid Committee altogether; and he would rather send the Bill to the Chairman of Ways and Means in his own private room, and let him discuss the matter there, instead of having this very delusive inquiry by a Committee without the means of arriving at an opinion, although by its constitution it was supposed to be specially qualified to deal with the matter.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was one of those who were very much in favour of local government; and when the representatives of the people had their own local government, he thought it was not for the House of Commons to perform that duty. This case was a very peculiar one, not only on account of the nature of the light, but on account of the circumstances under which the Electric Lighting Bill passed this House, not one Member out of 100 understanding its effect when it was rushed though the House at the very end of the Session. They were told that the Electric Companies were extremely moderate in consenting to take a monopoly of only 21 years; but they did not then understand their view of the case, which was that the Companies were entitled to throw broadcast all over the country thousands of notices, and to say to every Municipality—"Stand and deliver! Either you must introduce electric lighting yourselves, or you must allow somebody else to get the privilege; you must not hesitate or wait to see what may happen." The result was that a very large amount of pressure was put upon the local bodies. There were a large number of the municipal bodies who had expressed the opinion that they would rather wait and not be in too great a hurry; but the Board of Trade acted upon their own views of the Act, and wherever they had a permissive power given to them, they used it in a way which amounted, to a certain extent, to compulsion to pass Provisional Orders. They seemed to have determined that the local authorities must either introduce the electric light themselves or allow these speculative Companies to throw hundreds of notices broadcast before them, and to exclude anyone else from doing the work. They had heard the views expressed by the experienced Chairman of Committees under the late Government—he said it was most undesirable that this responsibility should be thrown on the Chairman of Committees; and yesterday they had heard the present Chairman of Committees express views that were almost identical. He gathered that the present Chairman was unwilling to take the whole responsibility on these new and important questions, and might well desire that these Bills should not be referred to him alone, but to a competent Committee, who could deal with the whole subject, and deal with it thoroughly. It seemed to him (Sir George Campbell), therefore, that the Amendment was a reasonable one, and, as it was supported by the ex-Chairman of Committees and not opposed by the Chairman, he should vote for it.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he would appeal to the President of the Board of Trade to assent to the Amendment, as he was convinced that both time and expense to all the parties would be saved by it. He did not wish to express any opinion as to the relative merits of the proposals of the Electric Companies; but it was certain that this would virtually be a monopoly for 21 years. The President of the Board of Trade had said it was by no means certain that the Company obtaining these powers would charge the maximum rates; but it came at an unfortunate period, so far as the Metropolis was concerned, for the Water Companies, who, it was said, would not exercise their powers to the full, were now exercising them, and raising the rates to a very large extent throughout the district. It was very desirable that they should have an impartial tribunal to make the inquiry as to the best arrangement for the whole of the Metropolis. If that inquiry was refused, or obstacles placed in the way, he ventured to think that opposition would have to be revived at a future stage, and difficulties might be incurred which it would not be in the power of the Government to obviate.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he thought they were setting rather a dangerous precedent; but he had no alternative under the circumstances, and would accept the Amendment.

MR. W. FOWLER said, he thought the Government were making a great mistake in giving way on the point.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the Select Committee on the Bills, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills, against such Petitions.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum of the Committee.

Ordered, That the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on "The Electric Lighting Bill, 1882," be referred to the Committee."

QUESTIONS.

—◦○◦—

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).

MR. MACARTNEY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Education Commissioners for Ireland have taken into connection a school at Golan (in District 13), county Tyrone, although another school is in existence within two hundred yards of it, and although the number of children in its neighbourhood is too small for more than one school; was any objection made by the managers of the neighbouring schools, and on what grounds was such objection, if made, set aside without inquiry; were the objections made laid before the Board at its usual time of meeting; has the Board made a grant for Stranagummer School in the same district, although four of their rules were thereby set aside, namely, that a deed of gift should be made by the owners of the site; that it should not be built in a chapel yard; that the neighbouring managers should be consulted; and that it should be three miles distant from a vested school; if the grant has not been made to Stranagummer School, has it been made to Kilskeery School, the name only being changed, the site being the same, and Kilskeery being a mile and a-half distant; did the Board refuse a similar grant for a vested school at Clooncandra on the ground that it was not three miles distant from another vested school; did a former district inspector report in favour of a grant to Clooncandra School; did the Rev. Mr. Clifford apply to have that portion of District B transferred to another district inspector, and was that transfer made without consulting any other school manager than Mr. Clifford; did the district inspector to whose district the schools were thus transferred make an incorrect report to the Board of the distance of Stranagummer from the nearest vested school, and did he report against the application for Clooncandra; and, if so, will he be retained in the district?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received a very full Report from the Education Commissioners in reply to these inquiries, and I think that it will be, perhaps, more satisfactory to the hon. Member for Tyrone, and more convenient to the House, if I send him the Report itself, rather than attempt to condense it into a verbal reply or read it in full. If the Report does not satisfy the hon. Member on any point, I will be happy to make further inquiry and to answer any Question in the House.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)— THE REPORT.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will inform the House of the names of the Members who composed the Committee of the Scotch Fishery Board, whose report was recently laid upon the Table of the House; and, if he will give directions that, according to usual custom, the names of Members of similar Committees may in future be prefixed or appended to their reports, in order that the House may judge what amount of confidence can be placed upon opinions expressed therein?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, the explanation was that the Committee consisted of the entire body; but it might be well in future that the names of the Members composing the Committees should be stated in their Reports.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that was all he wanted.

BURIAL ACTS—CONSECRATION OF CEMETERIES—RHOS, DENBIGHSHIRE.

SIR ROBERT CUNLIFFE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it has not been ascertained that the sanction to the consecration of the the cemetery at Rhos, Denbighshire, was obtained as the result of an application by the Rev. Thomas Jones, the vicar of the parish, made without the authority of the Burial Board and contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants, and also based on information which, by reason of its inaccuracy and incompleteness, was calculated to and did mislead the Home Secretary; whether the consecration of such portion of the cemetery by the Bishop of St. Asaph was not the result of an application made by the vicar and churchwardens, also without the authority and knowledge of the board, the Bishop, as well as the Secretary of State, being kept in ignorance of the real facts of the case; whether he will lay upon the Table the Correspondence which has taken place; and, whether, under the circumstances, he does not consider that some steps should be taken to prevent the vicar from exacting fees in or exercising other privileges over the whole of the ground the consecration of which has been obtained by such means?

MR. RAIKES asked if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be good enough to state to the House the precise injury that the inhabitants of the parish had sustained by the consecration?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the state of the facts is this, that under the present law as to any ground which is consecrated, the Vicar has a right to have the fees, whether he performs the service or not. If the ground is not consecrated the fees are only paid to the person who performs the ceremony. The person who is responsible for appropriating the ground for consecration is the Secretary of State, and for that purpose he collects, as best he can, the wishes and the wants of the parish or the district as it may be. He has a right to expect that those who give him information on the subject should give him true and complete information. In this case, I am sorry to say, the Vicar did not take that course. He made representations to me which, in the words of the Question, were "inaccurate and incomplete, and were calculated to and did mislead me" as to the wishes and wants of the district. I have expressed, in a letter in the Correspondence which will be produced, my strong disapprobation of that course so taken by him. With reference to the further part of the Question, certainly if accurate information had been supplied to me what was done would not have been done; but the ground having been consecrated, I know no method by which that act can be undone, nor is there any method by which the legal consequences attaching to consecration can fail so to attach. I have no power to prevent the Vicar from exacting fees in the ground now that it has been consecrated.

MR. RAIKES asked, in justice to the Vicar, whether it was not the fact that he still maintained that the information supplied by him to the right hon. and learned Gentleman was both accurate and complete?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The House will be able to judge of that when it sees the Correspondence.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON inquired whether the Burial Board had not passed a resolution that no portion of the ground should be consecrated; and whether that resolution was not contrary to the law, which required a portion of every cemetery to be consecrated?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I cannot say that such a resolution is contrary to law, because, in my view, the Burial Board have no legal authority with regard to the appropriation of the ground.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL—LORD MORLEY'S COMMITTEE.

MR. PULESTON asked the Secretary of State for War, When he will be able to report to the House the decision on the Report of Lord Morley's Committee on the Royal Military Asylum and the Hospital for Pensioners at Chelsea?

MR. BRAND: Sir, I have laid the Report in question upon the Table of the House to-day. As regards the questions raised in it, further consideration is still required on some of the points.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION COURT—MR. GALLAGHER AND MR. RYAN.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case that Mr. Gallagher, the sub-editor of the "Freeman's Journal," was some time since appointed the official reporter of the Land Commission Court, and that, owing to his being unable to write shorthand, he has deputed the discharge of his duties to Mr. Ryan; whether Mr. Ryan is not one of the permanent staff of the reporters of the "Freeman's Journal," and engaged in his duties as such when not in attendance on the Court of Appeal of the Land Commission; whether Mr. Ryan, when acting as official reporter at the hearing of appeals before the Land Commissioners Court, sits beside the registrar, and has free access to all the files and papers connected with the several appeal cases; and, whether Mr. Ryan supplied the writer of a letter signed "One of the victimised tenants," which appeared in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 11th of May, with the statistics and statements contained in that letter, and which could not possibly have been in the possession of the writer, unless furnished by an official having access to the files of the Court?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received a report from the Land Commissioners to the following effect. Mr. Gallagher was not appointed official reporter of the Land Commission Court, but is generally requested by the Land Commissioners to have shorthand notes taken in appeal and other cases. He is a shorthand writer; but, not being able personally to attend the sittings of the Court, he is generally represented by Mr. Ryan, who is a member of the staff of *The Freeman's Journal*, of which Mr. Gallagher is sub-editor. When taking notes for the Land Commission, Mr. Ryan occupies a place on the same seat with the Registrar of the Court, but he has not free access to the files and papers connected with the cases, nor any special facilities whatever to become acquainted with the Court documents. Mr. Ryan has informed the Land Commissioners that he knows nothing of the writer of the letter signed "A Victimized Tenant" referred to in the Question, and that he did not, directly or indirectly, supply any person with the statements and statistics contained in that letter.

VISCOUNT GALWAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Ryan, who is discharging the duty of official reporter of the Land Commission Court, was at any time a member of the executive council of the Land League, or otherwise connected therewith; and, whether it is the case that at several banquets in the city of Dublin, when attending in his capacity as reporter for the "Freeman's Journal," Mr. Ryan remained seated when the health of Her Majesty the Queen was being drunk, and refused to drink the same?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have made inquiry on this subject, and find that Mr. Ryan was not a member of the Executive Council of the Land League, and that he is not known to have manifested extreme political opinions in any prominent or ostentatious way. The noble Lord, perhaps, will form his own judgment; but I do not think that this Question could be more definitely answered without personal inquiry of Mr. Ryan, and that is a course which I do not think it would be well to take.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSION—THE ASHTON CHARITY, DUNSTABLE.

MR. CAUSTON (for Mr. WILLIS) asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether he is aware that, in the year 1868, a sum of about £17,000 was realized by the sale of certain lands belonging to the Ashton Charity in Dunstable, which, by the consent of the Trustees of the said Charity and the sanction of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, was to be applied in the erection and endowment of a high class school in Dunstable; whether, up to the present time, no steps have been taken to carry the said purpose into effect; and, whether he can state the reasons for this protracted delay?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, I have not been informed of the date when the £17,000 was realized; but, in 1874, proposals were made by the Trustees of Ashton's Charity for the establishment of a grammar school at Dunstable out of their trust property, which included a sum of nearly £17,000 derived from sale of lands. Out of this sum £5,000 had to be set aside for the endowment of existing elementary schools. In the year 1876 the Charity Commissioners published the draft of a scheme for the grammar school; but, owing to certain difficulties which arose, the Commissioners directed a public inquiry to be held at Dunstable into the circumstances of this Charity and of another endowed school in that town. In pursuance of the Report of the Inquiry the Charity Commissioners have made a scheme, which has been approved by Her Majesty, for one of the endowed schools of Dunstable, and a fresh draft scheme has been prepared, and has been submitted for the consideration of the Trustees, for the establishment of the Ashton Grammar School. The whole matter was under the consideration of the Board of Charity Commissioners on the 26th ultimo, and it may be anticipated that the scheme will before long be matured.

MADAGASCAR—HOSTILE OPERATIONS OF FRANCE—BOMBARDMENT OF TAMATAVE.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any confirmation of the reported bombardment of Tamatave and other places by a French Naval force; if he can state to the House whether any loss of life or property has been sustained by British subjects; and, what steps have been taken for the protection of British interests?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have received confirmation of the bombardment of Tamatave and of Majunga by French men-of-war. No information has been received with regard to any loss of life by British subjects; but I fear that there has been some loss of property, respecting which we are awaiting further information. Her Majesty's Ships *Dryad* and *Dragon* are at Tamatave, and Her Majesty's Ship *Briton*, which is now at Zanzibar, will be despatched to Madagascar if necessary.

Mr. BOURKE: Will these Reports be laid on the Table?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There will be no objection to lay the Reports on the Table.

EGYPT (LAW AND JUSTICE)—TRIALS OF SULEIMAN SAMI AND SAID BEY KHANDEEL—PROCEDURE.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, since the official reports are now on record showing that, notwithstanding the belief of Lord Dufferin that Suleiman Sami would be allowed to examine witnesses on his trial before the Alexandria Court Martial, it really was the case that no witnesses were examined at that so-called trial, and the demand of the prisoner "that he might be allowed to cross-examine the witnesses for the prosecution" was categorically refused, the Court Martial having "declined to entertain it," Her Majesty's Government will now insist that no future trials are conducted in such a manner while the Egyptian Government is supported by British arms, but that the course adopted in Khandeel's case of hearing the witnesses will be generally followed?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The intentions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to future trials in Egypt are set forth in the despatches of Lord Dufferin of April 28 and June 14 (Egypt, No. 9, 1883, pp. 4 and 20), and it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take any measures beyond those there described.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked if it were not the case, as distinctly shown in the despatch of Lord Dufferin, dated June 14th, that he was mistaken in regard to the procedure which was to be followed, because Lord Dufferin distinctly stated that in Suleiman Sami's case there would be full liberty to examine and cross-examine all witnesses placed before the Alexandria Court Martial; and whether, as Lord Dufferin was mistaken as to the procedure, it was not necessary there should be fresh instructions?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The hon. Gentleman asks me whether I think Lord Dufferin was right. That is asking my opinion——

Mr. SPEAKER (interposing): It is irregular to ask the opinion of the noble Lord.

IRELAND—PAUPER EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the action of the Emigration Commissioners at New York, orders will be given for the discontinuance of the deportation of paupers from Ireland to the United States; and, out of what fund the expenses of re-transmitting the returned emigrants to their respective workhouses will be defrayed?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Directions have been given that the emigration of workhouse inmates by State aid shall be suspended in the only two Unions in Ireland in which there are any such proposed emigrants on the lists. I think it would be premature at present to express any opinion on the second part of the Question.

Mr. LEAMY was understood to ask if it were a fact that some of the emigrants who went out in the *Anchoria* were being sent back, and whether the Government would have anyone to look after them on their arrival in Ireland?

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked whether it would not be possible, seeing that these unfortunate persons had got to America, to supply them with sufficient funds to settle there? It would be very hard for them to be brought back again. He wished also to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he was aware that a number of Swedish and Swiss emigrants had been sent out under similar circumstances, and that when the American Government refused to allow them to land, the Representatives of those countries supplied them with sufficient means? He wished to know if this could not be done in the case of the emigrants referred to in the Question?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It is extremely important, Sir, in dealing with this question, not to speak before we have absolute knowledge; but we have taken very great pains to ascertain how many of the emigrants whose names have been given are State-aided emigrants, and we find, so far as we can gather, that they are very few indeed. [Mr. Leamy: There should not be one.] Likewise, I imagine from the small details we have been able to get it is not a question of whether an emigrant has £1 or £2 or £5 or £10, more or less. My belief is that it is not on that account that they are sent back to this country. They are extremely few in number, and if any possible means could be adopted of meeting the objections of the American Government they, undoubtedly, will be adopted. But I am very much afraid those objections could not be met by a simple contribution of money, however large, from Government funds. When the matter is examined into it will be found, I think, that very few indeed have been sent back.

POST OFFICE—SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT—THE CONTROLLER.

Mr. O'DONNELL (for Mr. Kennard) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is true that a notification has been issued to the employés in the Post Office Savings Banks containing these words:—

> "The solicitor being of opinion that Mr. Ramsay's name cannot be used for any official purpose after his decease, all documents must in future be stamped with the signature of the Assistant Controller?"

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, as I stated last week, on the authority of the legal adviser to the Post Office, no possible inconvenience can result to the depositors from the printed forms to which the hon. Member refers having been used. On the attention of the solicitor being directed to the subject, he thought it would be right that the name of the Assistant Controller should be stamped on the forms until a new appointment to the office of Controller was made, and, therefore, the Order mentioned in the Question was issued.

ARMY—CAVALRY HORSES.

Colonel O'BEIRNE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any orders have yet been issued to Cavalry Regiments stationed in the United Kingdom to cast horses over 16 years of age, and pronounced unfit for service; whether it is a fact that several Cavalry Regiments are at present ineffective on account of the number of aged and useless horses in the ranks; and, if any, and what, portion of the £40,000 voted under Vote 1, Army Estimates, for the purchase of Cavalry remounts, has been expended in the purchase of aged and worn out horses?

Mr. BRAND: Sir, under the Queen's Regulations, horses of 15 years and upwards may be brought forward for casting at the annual inspection. Horses declared unfit for the Service may be cast at any age. It cannot be said that any regiment is ineffective on account of the number of aged and useless horses in it; but there are always in every regiment at home some horses too young and some too old for active service, which, if the regiment took the field, would have to be replaced by transfers from other corps. Aged and worn-out horses are never bought for remounts.

PUBLIC HEALTH—HORSE FLESH.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the case of Benjamin Thompson, who was sentenced at the Bradford Police Court to two months' imprisonment for using putrid horse flesh in the manufacture of potted meat; and, if it would be consistent with the prison regulations that this prisoner should be fed, during his temporary retirement from business, upon his own preserved provisions?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I suppose the hon. Member does not expect a serious answer to this Question.

EGYPT (LAW AND JUSTICE)—TRIAL OF SULEIMAN SAMI.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, on the 8th of June, Her Majesty's Government were aware that Suleimam Sami had been refused permission to cross-examine the witnesses for the prosecution, that his two counsel, a Frenchman and an Italian, had in succession thrown up their briefs, and that Major Macdonald had applied for an adjournment of the trial, which had been refused; whether Her Majesty's Government were acquainted with these circumstances when, on the 13th of June, Lord Granville approved the conduct of Sir E. Malet in refraining from interference, "for which," Lord Granville writes, "there does not seem to have been any necessity;" and, whether Her Majesty's Government will obtain and lay before this House the evidence by which Sir E. Malet writes, on the 9th of June, that it was clearly established that Alexandria was burnt by the orders of Suleiman Sami, and in disobedience to the orders which he received from Arabi?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Papers presented to Parliament supply the answer to my hon. Friend's Question. As Sir Edward Malet's telegram containing the account of the trial of Suleiman Sami is dated June 14, and Major Macdonald's Report was only received on the 19th of June, they clearly could not have been in the posession of Her Majesty's Government on the 8th of June, or on the 13th of June; but the facts mentioned in those documents have in no measure altered the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. I may observe that the hon. Member would seem to imply in his Question that Major Macdonald applied for an adjournment because of the refusal of the Court to cross-examine the prisoner. If the hon. Member will refer to page 24 of the Blue Book, he will see that this was not the case. There will be no objection to presenting the proceedings of the Commission d'Enquête, when they are received, provided they are not too bulky and the cause of unnecessary expenditure in printing.

PUBLIC BUSINESS (SCOTLAND)—THE HOME DEPARTMENT—OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Mr. DALRYMPLE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the fact that the number of papers received at the Home Office was considerably more than doubled between 1852 and 1882, Whether it is true that only an extremely small proportion of these are connected with Scotch business?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I have been requested by my right hon. Friend to answer this Question. The comparison made by him was not between the years 1852 and 1882, but between 1862 and 1882. The number of Papers relating to Scotland more than doubled between 1862 and 1882, though it undoubtedly bore only a small proportion to the total number of Papers received at the Home Office.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—ORANGE LODGES.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that a meeting of the Parsonstown Orange Lodge, with a view to organising an Orange demonstration in that town on the 12th July next, was held on the 11th June ult. on the premises of the local Supervisor of Excise; and, if so, whether it is in accordance with the rules of the Civil Service that its members should so identify themselves with a secret society?

Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE: Sir, I have been asked by my right hon. Friend to reply to this Question. No such meeting as that referred to was held in the Supervisor's house on the 11th of June, or any other day. It appears that the Orange Hall adjoins the Supervisor's house, though it is not connected with it in any way, and this probably explains the error into which the hon. Member has fallen.

INDIA (MADRAS)—CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS—THE SALT REVENUE.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to the large number of criminal prosecutions, by the Madras Government, of extremely poor persons, on the charge of being in illegal possession of small quantities of salt for domestic use, or the use of cattle, or for use in the curing of fish and other perishable articles of food; whether he has seen that a number of poor persons have been severely punished for the crime of using saltish earth as a partial substitute for salt, and for attempting to obtain salt for their domestic wants by evaporating sea water, and that the excuse that their extreme poverty prevented them from using the Government taxed salt was rejected; and, whether he can inform the House what are the legal penalties and punishments for the illegal use or consumption of salt in India?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Yes, Sir; a large number of prosecutions for offences against the Salt Revenue Law take place in Madras, and the Madras Government has been directed to watch carefully the operations of Act 1 of 1882, which deals with these offences. Salt smuggling has been very prevalent in Madras, and has caused great loss to the Revenue. In 1881, 188 cases were detected, and two tons of smuggled salt were seized in a single district in two days. It was therefore thought necessary to pass the Act 1 of 1882, for the better protection of the salt revenue. The maximum penalty for offences under the Act is imprisonment for three months, or fine of 500 rupees, with confiscation of the smuggled salt; but, under the Departmental rules, first offenders are dismissed with a warning.

Mr. O'KELLY asked, as salt was a necessary of life, would the Government take steps to carry out Free Trade in salt?

[No answer was given to this Question.]

INDIA (MADRAS)—RUMOURED OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he has heard that cholera in a severe form is reported by the editor of the Madras "Hindu" to have broken out in Salem; that the collector remains at a distance in a mountain sanatarium; and that the Native municipality has been dissolved since the late riots; and, if he can state what authorities are responsible for the care of public health in Salem?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I have not seen the Madras *Hindu.* The last health Returns received, dated the 23rd of May, do not state that cholera existed at Salem, nor have we been informed that the Municipality has been dissolved. The magistrate, or, if he is absent, his *locum tenens,* is responsible for the public health.

Mr. O'DONNELL having risen to make a statement,

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member was entitled only to put a Question arising out of the answer.

POST OFFICE — MAILS FROM THE SEYCHELLES TO THE MAURITIUS.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether the mails from the Seychelles to the Mauritius were intentionally left behind at the Seychelles last March by the Messageries Maritime steam-vessel subsidized to convey them; and, whether Postal communication between these islands was suspended for one month in consequence?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to the right hon. and gallant Member, I may state that, except from a letter which he forwarded to me from a gentleman who had recently returned from Australia, I have received no report of the delay to which he refers in his Question.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—FINSBURY PARK.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, If similar regulations may not be applied in Finsbury Park for the convenience of visitors on Sundays and holidays to those observed, without difficulty or complaint, in Hyde Park, under direction of the First Commissioner of Works?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Sir, assuming that the regulations referred to by my hon. Friend are those relating to the band, and to the hire of seats and sale of programmes in the Park, I beg to inform him that a recommendation will be made to the Board to-morrow to refer the whole question to a Committee for consideration.

EAST INDIA—MYSORE GOLD MINING —RETURN OF LANDS HELD BY UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS, &c.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, with reference to paragraph 8 of the letter of 30th January last, published in the Parliamentary Returns of 2nd March last, the Government of Madras have yet submitted the return of lands held by their uncovenanted servants and by Military Officers in civil employ?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the Returns referred to have not yet been received.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS.

Mr. LEWIS (for Mr. Puleston) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the details of the calculation made in connection with the several alternative schemes proposed for the carrying out of the system of sixpenny telegrams?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I may state that the Government will not come to any decision as to the particular scheme for introducing 6*d.* telegrams before next Session, and there will then be no objection to give, as far as practicable, details of the financial results to be anticipated from each of the three schemes mentioned in the Treasury Minute.

FRANCE AND CHINA.

Mr. GORST (for Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have any information as to the present relations between China and the French Republic; and, whether they have yet been able to tender their good offices to the French Government in order to prevent war?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have no official information in regard to the present relations between China and the French Republic, and they have taken no action in the sense suggested by the hon. Member.

NAVY—ASSISTANT PAYMASTERS IN THE NAVY.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the average of Assistant Paymasters in the Royal Navy before promotion to the rank of Paymaster has increased since 1870 from nine years to fifteen years, and whether the service in the lower rank is not likely to increase still more in years to come; and, whether he will consider the justice of ameliorating the condition of these officers, either by allowing service over eight years' seniority as Assistant Paymasters to count as senior service, or in some other manner?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the length of service of officers in the rank of assistant paymaster has gradually increased from 10 years in 1870 to 15 years in 1883. During the last 18 months, however, considerably more vacancies in the higher rank have occurred than the average number in previous years, and if this continues it will tend to prevent further increase in the seniority of the junior rank. The state of things pointed out by the hon. Member is due to the entry in past years of a number of officers in excess of the requirements of the Service, an error which we are now carefully avoiding; and we do not regard the temporary retardation of promotion as requiring an alteration of the conditions of service, which, taken as a whole, are satisfactory. The pay of assistant paymasters in the later years of their service was materially improved so recently as 1877.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the conditions were satisfactory to the officers themselves?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I say that, taken as a whole, I do not think there is any reason to complain.

INDIA (EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT)—SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN AND MAJOR BARING.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there is any truth in the report that Sir Auckland Colvin is to be appointed Finance Minister in India, and that Major Baring is to cumulate the offices of Controller and Consul General in Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is the case, Sir, that Sir Auckland Colvin will succeed Major Baring in the office of Finance Minister in India. As to the latter part of this Question, whether Major Baring is to cumulate the offices of Controller and Consul General in Egypt, I have to say that there is not now in Egypt any such office as that of Controller, and probably the hon. Member means to refer to the office which has been constituted of Financial Adviser. There is no intention of cumulating the office of Financial Adviser with that of Consul General.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Prime Minister whether there was intention to appoint any person in the place of Sir Auckland Colvin as Consul General?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no doubt a recommendation of that character will be made.

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS—THE USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the appointment of the Usher of the Black Rod, the amount of emolument attached to that office will be left subject to the decision of Parliament?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Usher of the Black Rod was formerly paid from fees on Private Bills, but since 1877 he has been paid by salary. A small portion of his salary—about £170 or £180—is derived from offices of a secondary character which he holds in the Royal Household; but the main salary is £2,000, and that is included in the Vote for the expenses of the House of Lords, and stands, therefore, as far as Parliamentary control is concerned, precisely in the same position as the other items of that Vote.

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA BY QUEENSLAND.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS (for MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether strong representations in favour of a British Protectorate over New Guinea have been made to Her Majesty's Government by all the Australian Colonies; whether he can confirm the statement in the newspapers of Wednesday, that the Marquess of Normanby, Her Majesty's Governor General, in opening the Victorian Parliament, had stated that collective representations to the Imperial Government were being made in favour of annexation or the establishment of a protectorate; and, whether, in view of the wishes of Her Majesty's loyal Australian Colonies, and of the importance of preventing any Foreign Power from occupying New Guinea and the adjacent islands, Her Majesty's Ministers will advise Her Majesty to establish an Imperial protectorate over those islands?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I can hardly give any information in answer to this Question beyond the statement I made to the House several days ago—namely, that Representations had been made to Lord Derby by the representatives of most or all of the Australian Colonies, excepting Western Australia, in favour of the establishment of a British Protectorate, not only over New Guinea, but over an extended region—in fact, over all the islands of Oceania, almost without exception; and that those representations being of an important character, and being only verbal, the gentlemen by whom they were made have been requested to reduce them to writing. Then, I hope, we shall be able to make them known to the House. That is also an answer to the second part of the Question. With regard to the third portion, the House will be put in possession of the substance of the despatch in which Her Majesty's Government have stated their views on this matter; and I think it will be better to reserve any further question upon that despatch until it is in the hands of the House.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether any communication by telegraph has yet been received from the Australian Governments in consequence of the statements made in this and the other House on Monday?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; we have received a statement by telegraph to the effect that disappointment is felt in the Australian Colonies at the disinclination shown by Her Majesty's Government to confirm the proceedings adopted by the Government of Queensland. What steps may be taken, or what proposals may be made, of course we are not in a position to state at this moment. That is the condition of feeling in most, if not in all, of the Australian Colonies on receipt of the intelligence to which I have referred.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked whether the Papers, when published, would include these telegraphic communications, and when they would be in the hands of hon. Members?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think it is desirable that the telegraphic communications should be included with the other Papers. As to the time, it will be at an early date; but I am not able, without communication with the Colonial Office, to say at what date.

AFGHANISTAN — ALLEGED CAPTURE OF CONVOY IN THE KHYBER PASS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS (for Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that a convoy of arms and ammunition sent by the Viceroy of India to the Ameer of Afghanistan has been captured, after a sharp fight in the Kyber Pass, by the Afridis; and if so, who composed the escort, and what is the value of the munitions captured?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: I am happy to inform the hon. Gentleman that no such capture has occurred in the Khyber Pass. No arms or ammunition for the Ameer have passed the Khyber since the 2nd of February.

PARLIAMENT—PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY asked the Government, Whether they would postpone the Motion which stood in the name of the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, relative to the promulgation of the Statutes, for a day or two, seeing that the Report of the Committee on that subject had been only just delivered, and was of a character that deserved the attention of the House?

Mr. RYLANDS having made a similar request,

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would consult with his right hon. and learned Friend on that matter.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — BALLOT ACT CONTINUANCE AND AMENDMENT BILL.

In answer to a Question from Mr. Cavendish Bentinck,

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that the Government desired, if possible, that night to close the adjourned debate on going into Committee on this Bill, and to get into Committee, when Progress would be immediately reported.

Viscount FOLKESTONE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to proceed with the Ballot Continuance Bill before the Agricultural Holdings Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he did not. He only wished to close the adjourned debate on going into Committee on the Ballot Bill.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked when the Government intended to proceed with the Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I hope the hon. Gentleman will allow the matter to stand over until Monday, when I will mention it along with various other measures.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[Bill 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 4th July.*]

[FIFTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Election Expenses.

Clause 24 (Personal expenses of candidate and small expenses of committee room).

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 27, to leave out "50," and insert "100,"—(*Mr. Arthur Balfour,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That '50' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. MONK said, he earnestly hoped that the Committee would not assent to this Amendment, for one of the objects of the Bill was to lessen expenses, and the proposal to substitute £100 for £50 was merely calling upon the candidate to increase the expenditure. Of course, the candidate could spend £50 or £100 if necessary; but after the amount was expended it was necessary that it should be returned by the election agent, so that the precise sum should be generally known. In 19 out of 20 cases, £50 would be amply sufficient for the candidate's personal expenses, and if there was any further expenditure it was only right that it should be made under the authority and name of the election agent. He, therefore, hoped the Committee would not accept the Amendment.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, this was a very small matter, which had been amply discussed before. Of course, if the candidate was honest, it was of no use telling him that he might expend £50 or £100 in personal expenses.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, it was in the interest of the honest candidate that he wished to have the sum fixed—a sum that would be sufficient for the purpose. The proposal of the Bill was absolutely inadequate, and he maintained that even £100 would be insufficient.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the candidate might spend as much as he liked; the only point was in whose hands it should be.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, the matter was fully discussed yesterday. The candidate might want to take his wife and daughters with him, and might not want all that expense to be set down in the account. But to set down a large amount for personal expenses seemed to be holding out a temptation to the candidate to spend that amount on what might not really be personal expenses at all.

Mr. WARTON said, that the last time this matter was discussed the Attorney General favoured them with a quotation from a previous Act of Parliament, which he declared was incorporated in the present Bill. He (Mr. Warton) ventured to ask where it was so incorporated, because under the several Acts that were incorporated he could not find that one. There might be some inadvertence somewhere; but he confessed he had not been able to find the place where that Act was incorporated. He wished to know whether the personal expenses were to include travelling and hotel expenses only, because there might be other personal expenses besides those. If the definition was narrowed to travelling and hotel expenses it would leave those other expenses out of view.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked whether it would not be worth while to insert a Schedule of personal expenses on the Report?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) explained, in reply to the observations of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), that the Statute which he had meant to describe as incorporated was the 17 & 18 *Vict.*, c. 182, which set forth reasonable hotel expenses and reasonable travelling expenses.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the Attorney General was always telling them that these were very small matters. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did not agree with him, for he thought they were large matters, having regard to the stringency of the measure, and to the many dangers which surrounded the candidate and made the affair a very serious thing indeed for him. He appealed to the Attorney General to say whether it would not be much better to get rid of all this? The definition of personal expenses which was proposed was altogether insufficient. The definition of "reasonable hotel expenses and reasonable travelling expenses" was most difficult, for, as had been suggested by a well-known authority, the candidate might give a dinner to five persons, and that might be held to be reasonable; but if five were to be considered reasonable, were six, seven, or eight to be considered unreasonable? In other words, where was the line to be drawn? A sum of £50 or £100 could be got rid of by the candidate very easily; and he would ask the Committee, before changing the sum from £50 to £100, to consider whether it would not be better to get rid of the provision altogether? He should like to have some definition as to what were reasonable expenses before changing the figure. Very few Members of the House would ever return their personal expenses.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken was under an entire misapprehension. The amount did not at all affect the candidate's personal expenses—he might spend as much or as little as he chose. He might spend privately £50 or £100; but anything above that would have to be put down among the election agent's expenses.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he quite understood what was the effect of the clause, but wished to have some definition of what were reasonable personal expenses.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That '100' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 35, leave out Sub-section (3.)—(*Mr. Salt.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (3) stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the object of the sub-section was to provide that where minor payments were made by persons authorized they should be returned. It was necessary that the payments under Sub-section 2 should be returned; but he was willing to strike out the words "by the candidate for his personal expenses." That would leave only the return under Sub-section 2; but it was absolutely necessary that that return should be made.

Mr. SALT remarked, that he had said nothing about the clause the other day, because he quite understood that they were to leave out the whole of Sub-section 3. His objection to the Sub-section was, that it conflicted with the first part of the clause, which left liberty to make certain payments more or less large, while the sub-section declared that particulars must be returned. That surely was a contradiction, and he understood that they had agreed to strike it out.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the payments might be made; but it was necessary that the particulars of the items should be given.

Mr. SALT said, that with regard to the effect which Sub-section 3 had upon Sub-section 1 he and the Attorney General were agreed. It was agreed on both sides that Sub-section 3 should be struck out so far as it affected Sub-section 1, and the only point necessary to be considered was its effect upon Sub-section 2. He had great doubts as to whether that sub-section was necessary at all. He would have raised an objection to Sub-section 2 at the proper time, only he did not wish to take up the time of the Committee. What was its operation? The candidate himself, or his clerk or other persons in charge of the committee room, were authorized to spend £10 on his account. That was what he (Mr. Salt) understood it to mean. If more was spent, then that surplus above £10 must be spent directly by the agent himself. Then Sub-section 3 stepped in and declared that, although the £10 might be expended upon the authority of the agent given to the clerk in charge of the committee room, a bill must be sent in containing all the details. What was the use of that? If a bill was to go in, what was the use of putting in Sub-section 2 at all? It merely made complications.

The CHAIRMAN: Sub-section 2 is already part of the Bill. It is not in Order to refer to it, except as affecting the hon. Member's argument on the Amendment before the Committee.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: It was not put from the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; but we are now on an Amendment to Sub-section 3.

MR. SALT begged pardon, if he had transgressed, and apologized; but he was obliged to explain Sub-section 2 in order to show his objection to Sub-section 3. He still thought they would be better without it. The agent might say to some clerk—"I give you authority to spend £5 in pens, ink, and stationery"—it could only be a small sum. Why not leave it so, and not complicate the Bill with details which could only lead to confusion, and in the end lead to corruption?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the confusion arose from what had been put into the clause since the Bill was originally framed. He thought it would be very much better if the sub-section could be left out altogether. They were agreed that these expenses should be limited to petty expenses, and he could not imagine why this statement should go in, as it would only deal with small fixed sums.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would give way if he did not think the sub-section essential. It was essential to check the power of spending, and all that was asked was that the man who spent the money should make a return to the election agent showing how he had spent it, so as to prevent the possibility of the money being spent wrongfully.

MR. GRANTHAM said, he thought the Attorney General was right, as Sub-section 3 was only a corollary to Sub-section 2.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought that much of the difficulty which had arisen was due to the fact that the Government had not taken the trouble to put down upon the Paper the Amendments which they proposed. That was a most unfortunate plan, which raised a great deal of unnecessary argument. If they made the Returning Officers give all the figures of personal expenditure it was intelligible that there should be some check provided; but the Committee had seen grave objections to that, and, therefore, he could see no use in complicating the clause unnecessarily. He thought the Attorney General would do well if he would tell them at once that he would drop the whole of the clause.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he was utterly at a loss to understand what the complications were. If they were going to entrust the practical carrying on of the expenditure of the election to a petty cashier, and to allow him to expend a certain sum of money, the election agent must have an account of how the money was spent, and the account should be sent in; and if they admitted that bribery had been carried on under the guise of personal expenditure, they must have the amount of personal expenditure returned. But really the difference in the matter of drafting, as to the mode in which they were to frame this 3rd sub-section, was "the difference betwixt tweedledum and tweedledee," and he was not surprised at the Attorney General growing impatient.

Amendment *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 11, line 35, to omit the words "under this section by the candidate for his personal expenses, or."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question, "That those words stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, nothing could be more humiliating for a candidate than to be compelled to set forth the particulars of his personal expenses, either for living at an hotel or entertaining his personal friends. The hon. Member opposite had introduced as an argument in favour of the clause that, under certain circumstances, there might be committed, under the guise of personal expenses, very gross bribery; and he mentioned the case of the Sandwich Election, and what had taken place there as an instance. But a long time had elapsed since then, and it was not unreasonable to suppose that bribery, in the shape of personal expenses, was the exception to the rule. It was necessary to watch very closely what would be the consequences of passing a Bill of this kind. So far as the position of the candidate was concerned, it could not be denied that, under this clause, he might be put to the greatest possible inconvenience if, as might very well happen, he could not state the exact particulars and figures of these personal expenses. Were hon. Gentlemen prepared to say that no personal expenses should be paid by the candidate except hotel expenses? Were they as sensitive about the payment of a cab fare as the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), who, in his anxiety to keep to the letter of the law at the election, paid a cab fare out of his own pocket, and accounted for it to the Returning Officer? It was desirable that the Committee should know whether the personal expenses were to be limited to the particular items mentioned, or whether other expenses would have to be returned; and they were, moreover, entitled to information on the point, not only for the reasons he had given, but for those advanced by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). Finally, he regarded the clause as wholly unnecessary, while, at the same time, it would inflict great hardship and injustice upon honest men; and for those reasons he should, to the full extent of his ability, resist it at a future stage.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that a man under the old law was able to practise a good deal of bribery under the head of personal expenses, and, at the same time, to avoid the penalties attaching thereto. It was to remedy that state of things that the clause was necessary in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. LEWIS said, if there was any waste of time on this part of the Bill the responsibility rested on those who liked fiddle-faddle instead of legislation. The 2nd sub-section of the clause, if it had any meaning, meant that a statement of the particulars of every telegram—that was to say, its cost and the name of the person to whom it went—would have to be sent in. ["No, no!"] Some hon. Members opposite dissented from that, but it was nevertheless true; it was the particulars that had to be given, not a summary in the form of, say, "Telegrams £3." This was a part of that system of vexation and harassment which seemed to have delighted the framers of the Bill. He thought it reasonable that £40, or thereabouts, should be put as the limit of expenditure under this sub-section without details being required; he trusted they would not be deliberately compelled to furnish in detail all these little matters. Personally, he felt no anxiety about any such expenses, because he doubted that any Act of Parliament would get him either to keep or furnish an account of the kind. To compel a man to keep an account, perhaps for a month, of all that went out of his pocket, was a sort of tyranny that was hardly to be agreed to. And when they came to the Report it would be found that the settlement of these matters in the way provided by the clause would occupy a considerable time, because his hon. Friends and he had no intention of allowing them to pass without first doing all they could to get rid of them.

Mr. WARTON said, that each clause of this wretched Bill brought together the most incongruous subjects. That was more strongly shown in the next clause, where two absolutely distinct subjects were brought together. The absurdity of the provision as to personal expenses contained in the 1st sub-section had been so completely demonstrated by his hon. Friend below him that he should spend no more time in considering it. He thought, however, that, owing to the many little provisions with which the Bill was encumbered, the 2nd sub-section had not received at the hands of the Committee the amount of attention it deserved.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he regretted that the Government had thought it necessary to introduce so much detail into the Bill. It seemed to him that this clause was superfluous, because it seemed to be nothing else than a repetition of what was to be found in the Schedule. One criticism he made with regard to the Bill was that many of its details were totally unnecessary. If they were to have an enactment against corruption, bribery, and illegal payments, with a maximum expenditure set forth in it, it seemed to him totally unnecessary to go into the way the money was to be spent. The effect of that must be to increase the difficulty of honest men in their endeavours to conduct their elections upon pure principles. Moreover, the introduction of so much detail added largely to the bulk of a measure, which otherwise might have passed in a shorter time, and which would recommend itself to the House more than a measure which really alarmed men by its size. For these reasons he trusted that the Attorney General would, on reconsideration, perceive that many of the small provisions in this and the subsequent part of the Bill might be dispensed with.

MR. BIGGAR said, he did not think the Government could be blamed for wanting to reduce the expenses of a candidate; but this clause was perfectly absurd. Why should not the personal expenses of a candidate not be part of the general expenses of the election, and come within the amount set forth in the Schedule? As in the case of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), it would be impossible for him to give an account of his personal expenses. He had never kept an account of them in his life. He believed the Attorney General had stated that, when a candidate went down to a constituency with his wife and family, the hotel expenses of his wife and family would be part of the personal expenses. That, he thought, was perfectly absurd. He thought the personal expenses should be the candidate's own expenses alone. Some years ago a candidate for an Irish constituency came over from London, and brought some actresses with him; and on the principle laid down by the Attorney General the expenses of those artistes might be considered as personal expenses. The clause in all its details was so absurd that he would recommend the Government to abandon it, because, as the hon. Member for Londonderry had judiciously warned them, if the clause were retained a discussion would be raised at the next stage that would considerably delay the further progress of the Bill.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he was reluctant to join in any Division against the provisions of the Bill when the Attorney General thought they were of use. But he was bound to say that, in his opinion, the present clause was so unreasonable, that it could serve no useful purpose to retain it. Sub-section 2 provided that, if an election agent authorized a person to spend £5 in stationery, a return should be made of the particular items on which the money was spent. He did not exactly suppose the person who spent the money should return the number of telegrams or sheets of paper; but it might mean something quite as unreasonable if an account was required of every shilling spent. Then, again, the 1st sub-section seemed to be absurd. The constituencies were so different, and the duration of the several elections varied so much, that it was unreasonable to apply any hard-and-fast time, because, for instance, the expenses of a candidate travelling about a county would be enormously different from the expenses of a candidate standing for and living at a small place. Reluctant as he was to take objection to what was seriously regarded by the Attorney General as an improvement on the existing law, he certainly could not support the clause.

MR. CALLAN said, he believed it impossible for any candidate, unless of a very economic turn of mind, to escape a Petition under the clause. He supposed if a man gave a shilling to a beggar, it would be part of his personal expenses.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he wished simply to point out that if the discussion of the clause were prolonged, it would be entirely the fault of the Government, who would go into details so childish, as to be altogether unworthy of a place in an Act of Parliament.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, that, while he agreed with the observation of the hon. Member opposite that the clause was unnecessary, and likely to become the cause of annoyance, he thought, as the Government were determined to insist on its retention, there would be no wisdom in prolonging the discussion.

MR. WHITLEY said, that the £100 for personal expenses provided for under the 1st sub-section of the clause would probably be insufficient in the case of a county, and a great deal too much in the case of a small borough election, where £5 or £10 would be enough. He wished to know whether a candidate would have to render an account of the items of expenditure, or simply make a declaration that he had spent the £100?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would not go into the general details of the question; but a candidate would not have to say—"I spent £1 here, and £1 there." He would simply have to return himself as having spent so-and-so on his personal expenses, and in that respect the present law would not be altered.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to point out that the 2nd sub-section was not part of the present law. He was particularly desirous of knowing whether or not the penalty of £5 a-day was still to be preserved. He imagined it would be if the 17 & 18 *Vict.* remained unrepealed.

MR. CALLAN said, that if they did not ask for the details of the personal expenses, what was the use of limiting those expenses to £100? If a candidate said he spent £100, and gave no details, how could they prove he spent only £100? A candidate might spend £200, and yet return his expenses at £100. He did not suppose that any Member of the House would make an incorrect return; but certainly they would have no means of arriving at the truth, unless the details of the expenses were required from the candidate. The moment they did not insist upon a detailed statement of a candidate's expenses, the whole efficacy of the clause was gone. In its present shape, the effect of the clause would only be irritating and annoying.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 69; Noes 22: Majority 47.—(Div. List, No. 168.)

Clause 25 (Remuneration of election agent and Returning Officer's expenses).

MR. WARTON rose to order. The clause related to two perfectly distinct matters, and, therefore, he thought it would be well if it were divided into two clauses. With that object, he would move that the figure "1" be omitted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Figure "1" really indicates a portion of the clause, and does not form any part of the Bill. I do not think the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) will be in Order in making a Motion of this kind.

MR. WARTON asked if there was no way by which the clause could be divided into two parts?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport would necessitate a re-numbering; if the hon. and learned Gentleman wished it, however, he would, at a later stage, undertake to divide the section.

Clause *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 26 (Return and declaration respecting election expenses).

Amendment proposed, in page 12, line 15, to leave out "forty" and insert "thirty-five."—(*Mr. Macfarlane.*)

Question proposed, "That 'forty' stand part of the Clause."

MR. LEWIS said, he was not present yesterday, and he did not desire to go back. He could not help saying, however, that no attention seemed to have been paid to the difficulty of dealing with an impecunious candidate. He did not know whether the Government proposed to make any provision in the case of a *bonâ fide* temporary inability to pay his debts on the part of the candidate, or whether the inevitable result must be that if the debts were not paid within 28 days, the debts unpaid must take their rank amongst disputed claims, and never could be paid except with the permission of a Judge of the Supreme Court.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if debts were not paid, they, of course, became disputed claims. If the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lewis) would look at Clause 23, he would find that the time limited by the Act for the payment of expenses should be 30 days after the day on which the candidate returned was declared elected. The 30 days, however, had by the Committee been reduced to 28. If debts were not paid by that time, an action must be brought to recover them.

MR. LEWIS said, he had known many cases in which candidates were for the time being unable to pay their election expenses. They could even conceive cases under that Bill where the expenses would amount to £2,000 or £3,000. Was it suggested that, even under the present Bill, it would not be an exceedingly common occurrence that candidates would not be able to meet their election expenses, and might desire a deferment of payment for a few weeks? The only result of such a proceeding as that would be, that a candidate would be unable to pay one penny unless an action was brought against him. He did not know there was any provision in the present law compelling payment within a limited period. Every Member of the House was not a man of fortune; indeed, there were many Members who had not paid their election expenses for the last election yet. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh, but it was nevertheless a fact. He regretted that he was deprived of the opportunity of being present yesterday, because he should then have called attention to this subject. When he came to ascertain what was done by the Committee, it struck him they had omitted to consider that which was one of the ordinary incidents in political life. They were prescribing that a man should pay his election expenses by a certain day, though pressure might be put upon him temporarily by which the money he had put aside for these expenses would be devoted to other things. It was quite possible that there might be *bonâ fide* impecuniosity. Many Members of the House of Commons were in such a position at an election time. There had been no attempt to provide for a *bonâ fide* case of that kind, and he thought it was very necessary the Committee should have some understanding on the matter.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was sorry the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) was not present yesterday, when they discussed the matter at some length. It was then proposed to lessen the time in which payment of expenses should be made. He was sorry to hear that many Members had entered into contracts which they could not fulfil. Personally, he did not see why these should not be ready money transactions. If a man undertook to pay a sum of money in a month, and then could not do so, it was only right and proper that an action should be brought against him.

MR. BIGGAR said, he raised to some extent the same question yesterday. He did not wish to allege, as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry had alleged, that there was a scarcity of money on the part of Members of Parliament; but he desired to point out that what really occurred was this this. It very often happened that candidates were subject to very unreasonable claims, and a large amount of correspondence was necessitated. A candidate who paid through an agent, and paid in a liberal manner, very often was required to pay considerably more than was fair. The intention of the Bill was good enough; but, at the same time, there was no proper provision to enable candidates to carry out the intentions of the Bill in a judicious and reasonable manner. The point raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry was a very important one, and deserved the serious attention of the Government. Yesterday the question was raised whether or not the lawsuits involved in the non-payment of election expenses could not be brought in a County Court. The decision of the Government was, that nothing less than an action in the Supreme Court could settle a claim after 28 days. The Government were certainly in this matter acting in a contradictory manner. In the first place, they limited the expenses to a very small sum, and then they made it impossible in some cases to recover the expenses without going to the Superior Court. He (Mr. Biggar) was not at all certain that all his election expenses in 1880 were paid yet, not because he objected to pay his fair expenses, but simply because he refused to meet fraudulent and unreasonable claims made upon him. There were a certain number of people in every constituency who, at an election time, made up their mind to plunder the candidate; and unless there was some protection in the Bill dealing with such people, the candidate might possibly be very hardly done by. In the majority of cases candidates were innocent persons, while there was a certain section of the community always ready to endeavour to seduce the candidates into some illegal action. Personally, he was of opinion that, instead of meting such formidable punishment out to the candidate, there ought to be very severe punishment inflicted upon anyone who attempted to encourage a candidate to commit an illegal act.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he thought the argument employed by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) defeated its own object. If a claim was not met before the expiration of 28 days after the return of a candidate had been declared, it would, in all probability, be an extortionate claim. The claimant would have to go to the trouble and expense of going to the Superior Court; and if it was found that he had made an extortionate claim, the case would, in all probability, go against him, and he would be mulcted in costs. He (Mr. Macfarlane) thought the provision was rather in favour of the candidate than otherwise.

Mr. LEWIS said, the point he had raised had nothing whatever to do with extortionate claims. He assumed the election bills were perfectly fair, and he had put a case which frequently rose in ordinary life—namely, a case in which a gentleman might find himself in the throes of a severe contest in which he was entitled to spend possibly £2,000. Before the time came for payment it might happen that one of those demands which frequently were made upon people would require him to use all his ready money. What would be the consequence? If there were 50 or 60 bills unpaid, there would necessarily have to be 50 or 60 actions. The Attorney General had said that if a debt was unpaid at the end of 28 days it passed into the category of disputed claims; and if it got there, it could not be paid except by the order of a Judge made in the Supreme Court. There was nothing at all in the Bill to deal with the state of circumstances which he (Mr. Lewis) had instanced. In addition to all the other harassments of the Bill, they placed a person who happened to be a candidate under the liability of having a number of actions brought against him if he was temporarily short of money.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he could not see why a candidate should not have an action brought against him, if he was not capable of paying his debts. As he had previously said, in his opinion it would be very much better if election payments were ready money payments.

Mr. LEWIS said, he must contend that he was perfectly consistent in his objection. At the present time there was no such fetter as was now proposed placed upon the candidate. He challenged the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to dispute that statement. This was not a question as to what contract a candidate might make with his creditor, because the Act would not allow him to make a reasonable contract with a man. An election bill must be sent in within 14 or 20 days; he forgot which—and the time was fixed when a candidate must pay, whether he would or not. That was a monstrously unworkable arrangement, and it was perfectly nonsensical.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the chief difficulty seemed to him to be that of forcing people to bring an action—namely, forcing, for instance, a party making fraudulent claims to take proceedings. No opportunity was afforded of a claimant coming to terms with a candidate without going into Court. The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) said that if a fraudulent claim was made and was not met, the claimant would be forced to go to law; if the Court found that the claim was fraudulent, a man would not get his costs. But if a decision went in favour of the defendant, it might possibly happen that he would have to pay his own costs. He (Mr. Biggar) could conceive the legal costs under this section being very excessive, and therefore he could not understand the utility of the clause.

Mr. GREGORY said, that what the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) pointed out was, that if a candidate disputed to pay a debt, the debt then became a disputed claim, and it could only be paid with the leave of the Court. He (Mr. Gregory) considered that this was a matter worthy of consideration, for it was a matter not affecting the creditor so much as the candidate.

Mr. LEWIS said, he would not press his objection further, although it would involve his attacking the whole matter on Report if this impracticable method of dealing with matters of this sort were persisted in.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'thirty-five' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. WARTON said, he wished to call the attention of the Attorney General to the construction of the clause; and he wished to propose, after line 20, to insert Sub-section (*c*) in place of Sub-section (*a*)—he wanted Sub-section (*c*) to stand first. The Bill was a very badly drawn one, and if the Attorney General would look at the clause carefully, he would see that the different items of expenditure were arranged in an order altogether different from that in which they were put in the 2nd Schedule. If they would look at the 2nd Schedule they would find, on page 47—

"Paid to E.F. the returning officer for the said county [or borough] for his charges at the said election."

And then they would find the next item to be—

"Personal expenses of the said C.D. paid by himself."

Well, in the clause, Part A of Sub-section 1 referred to the payments made by the election agent, which item corresponded with item 3 in the Schedule, Part C of the sub-section corresponding with the first item in the Schedule. He was not quarrelling with the Schedule at all; but it appeared to him to be highly desirable to pay due regard to symmetry in preparing the clauses of that Bill. There should be either a re-arrangement of the clauses, or a re-arrangement of the Bill, he did not care which. He should rather prefer the order of the Schedule.

Amendment proposed,

In page 12, line 20, after the word "candidate," insert—(*c.*) A statement of the sums paid to the returning officer for his charges, or, if the amount is in dispute, of the sum claimed and the amount disputed."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was afraid he could not encourage the hon. and learned Gentleman by allowing him to divide the clause in this manner. The question was a trivial matter of detail. He could not be answerable for the symmetry of the clause, the substance being that with which he had most concern. He must adhere to the clause as it stood.

MR. WARTON said, he would not insist upon the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 12, line 38, by leaving out the words "in connection with or as incidental to," and inserting the words "in respect to the conduct or management of."

MR. SALT said, that before the sub-section passed, the Committee should give it very careful consideration, as it was a very strong one. If it had been duly considered by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, he would not say anything more about it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was, no doubt, a very important sub-section.

MR. SALT: No doubt; but it is a very strong one.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the matter had been carefully considered.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he had an Amendment on the Paper to insert after the last sub-section—

"(*g.*) A statement of the amount of the fee paid to the election agent for his own personal services."

It appeared to him absolutely necessary that these words should be added to the section. He was afraid that if they did not insist upon this, the election agent might get more than he ought to.

Amendment proposed,

In page 12, line 40, after "received," insert—"(*g.*) A statement of the amount of the fee paid to the election agent for his own personal expenses."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the evil the right hon. Baronet had in his mind would be met by provisions in the latter part of the Bill.

MR. WARTON said, that, although this matter might be dealt with in some other part of the Bill, it ought to be dealt with here as well. They repeated other matters twice over, and he did not see why, on this point, they should be content merely with a statement in the Schedule. He thought that, at the commencement, it would have been well to have put all these things in the Schedule only; but now, seeing that they had started, they should go on to the end, and he would, therefore, support the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet if he went to a Division.

MR. CALLAN said, that if they looked at the Amendment they would see that it was necessary to insert it here. The right hon. Baronet had given Notice to move, immediately after the present Amendment, the following:—Clause 26, page 13, line 5, after "expenses," insert—

"The said return shall also include a declaration that the fee paid to the election agent is in remuneration for his own personal services solely, and that no part of it has been applied to any other purpose."

There was no such declaration or restriction in the Schedule. He hoped the right hon. Baronet would persevere with this Amendment, and also with the consequential Amendment on the next page. It seemed to him that they should have a declaration from the election agent that the fee paid to him was in remuneration for his own personal services solely, and that no part of it had been applied to any other purpose.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Committee could discuss the two Amendments separately. It seemed to him that it would be an invidious thing to make a declaration of the amount paid to the agent; and he would, therefore, urge the right hon. Baronet not to press this proposal.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE intimated that he did not propose to move the next Amendment, which was a consequential one.

MR. CALLAN said, that if the right hon. Baronet would not move the Amendment of which he had given Notice in line 5, he (Mr. Callan) would move it himself. Election agents were not persons of such sensitive character, and of such delicate sensibility, that they would feel it a slur upon them to be called upon to make a declaration that a certain amount of money was for their personal expenses. He did not believe it would be easy to get a perfect election agent under this Bill; and when they had got an agent he did not think there would be any objection on his part to make the declaration.

Amendment proposed,

In page 13, line 5, after "expenses," insert "the said return shall also include a declaration that the fee paid to the election agent is in remuneration for his own porsonal services solely, and that no part of it has been applied to any other purpose."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press this Amendment, as it would be altogether without effect. Supposing £50 were paid to an election agent, after he had put it in his pocket he might spend it how he liked—he could say he had received so much for his own expenses, and although the sum might be returned as a payment to him, nobody might know what he had done with it, as it would be impossible to trace sovereigns and notes.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. LEWIS said, he had an Amendment to propose *pro formâ*, in order to draw attention, in the first instance, to the vast change now, for the first time, made in the law—requiring a candidate to make a declaration which was equivalent to an oath as to the expenditure he had sanctioned. He wished particularly to refer to the words "at the same time," for they required a candidate to remain on the spot for 35 days. After all the accounts were dealt with he had to send in a declaration "at the same time." What he was driving at, and what he should ask the Committee to assent to by his Amendment, was this—that provided the candidate made a declaration prior to taking his seat in the House that should be sufficient. Members might naturally desire to go abroad after an election; but under this clause they would have to remain on the scene for 35 days, simply for the purpose of making a declaration. That was a tax upon an elected candidate; and this was a matter which Members should thoroughly understand. What he wished to suggest was that, in carrying out this serious alteration of the law, they should endeavour to make it fit in with the exigencies of business or habits of life, and not to keep a Member on the scene in that way. At the time of the last General Election he had a business engagement calling him 3,000 miles away; two days after the election he went away, and did not return for two months; but under this clause he would have had to give up that engagement, and also to remain more than a month on the spot. That was an illustration of what might occur to many Members; and that would be a serious inconvenience. The Government could have no object in creating this inconvenience; and he thought that it would be sufficient to require a Member, before taking his seat, to make a declaration that he had not spent more than his agent's accounts, and would not spend any more on the election.

Amendment proposed, in page 13, to omit Sub-section (3).—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (3) stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was willing to agree to the principle of the hon. Member's Amendment, and to make the clause as elastic as possible; and if the Amendment were withdrawn he would make such an alteration in the subsection as would give the candidate a reasonable time to make his declaration. As the hon. Member had said, urgent matters might take a Member away immediately after an election.

MR. LEWIS said, he cordially assented to the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. HINDE PALMER said, he had always considered that the proposed change in the law would be the most effective part of the Bill, because it would bind the candidate and his agent to a statement of the actual amount of the election expenses. That had in times past been plainly evaded. He was afraid that if the statement was only to be made by a formal declaration made to the Returning Officer it would soon become a mere matter of routine, and that due sense of responsibility and weight would not be attached to the declaration which he wished should be made at the Table of the House. He was afraid that in that way the value of the declaration would degenerate; but if it were solemnly made at the Table of the House, that would add to the value of the declaration.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SALT said, he had proposed to reduce £100 in the clause to £5; but as the Attorney General and the Committee favoured the higher penalty he would not now take up time by pressing his Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS proposed, in page 13, to omit the section—

> "If without such authorised excuse as in this Act mentioned, a candidate or an election agent fails to comply with the requirements of this section he shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

He did not wish an agent to escape punishment; but, as the section stood, a Member being elected would come at once to the House; exciting topics might arise within the 35 days, and yet the Member was to be forced to apply all his ingenuity and time to take care that the election agent sent in his Return, or, failing that, he should lose his seat. He thought that proposition had only to be stated to confute the whole cause. By the Procedure Clause it was provided that bills must be sent in in 14 days, and settled in 14 days more. It was then simply a question of getting the return sent in within a certain time, and it was pushing things too far to punish the candidate in the way proposed. If a candidate and his agent fell out the agent might keep back the Return, and the candidate might be unseated. In Clause 27 there was a rule for an application to the High Court; but he did not think a candidate ought to be subjected to a groundless Petition simply because an agent had not sent in the return. That was putting too much on the candidate when his mind was occupied with other things, although he thought it was necessary to make the agent send in the return. He would give the Court some power to enforce the provision he proposed.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 13, to omit—"If without such authorised excuse as in this Act mentioned, a candidate or an election agent fails to comply with the requirements of this section he shall be guilty of an illegal practice,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had the strongest wish that the penalty should fall on the right person. He thought he might accept a provision to the effect that if an agent, in defiance of the candidate, would not perform his duty, a penalty should fall upon him. If the right hon. Gentleman would allow the words to stand he would undertake to provide that non-performance or non-compliance on the part of an agent should not be an illegal practice as to the candidate, but that the penalty should fall on the agent. He would endeavour to carry that out on Report.

MR. LEWIS said, he thought that the punishment ought to be strong. In Irish constituencies he found that Members were great sinners in regard to their Returns at the last General Election. In an Ulster county two supporters of the Government and two opponents made no returns; in a Southern borough a Liberal and a Conservative made no return. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) made no Return, and his Colleague made no Return. In a well-known Munster county one Liberal and one Conservative made no Returns, and in the most distinguished County of Dublin two Liberals and one Conservative made no Returns. An hon. Gentleman opposite had the distinguished advantage of being returned for 10*s*., for he returned the entire amount of his costs, including the Returning Officer's charge, at 10*s*. Neither the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan), nor his Colleague, nor his opponent made any Return. A Member of the Government made no Return; but as he was not opposed it might be supposed that he was returned without cost. For wilful neglect a candidate ought to be held responsible.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had made no Returns, because such Returns were a complete farce. He did not believe there was any truthfulness in any Return by an election agent for any Member of the House. He did not suggest that any Member would not make an excellent and accurate Return; but these Returns were regarded as shams. He thought the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had not made quite a correct statement, because he found that a Return had been sent in for the County of Tyrone Election. There were a number of English as well as Irish constituencies for which no Return had been made; and he asked whether the Executive had taken any steps with regard to them? Had the House taken any notice of the misconduct of Members in not making those Returns? Had the Attorney General done so? Of course, in such places as Taunton and Gloucester it would have been dangerous not to make Returns. In his own case the Judge did not censure him for not making a Return; but said that perhaps it was just as well that he had not made one.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, with regard to his own election, he found the Return of the Returning Officer was perfectly accurate. He would also say that those Returns, whether accurate or not, showed a good deal. In 1874 he lost his seat, and the two hon. Gentlemen who unseated him advertised very candidly that they had spent £497 in a few days' contest in messengers and butchers.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the hon. Member was wandering from the subject before the Committee.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he believed they were on the subject of the Election Returns. Reference had been made to the Returns of the last General Election; but if the Chairman's ruling was that reference should not be made to any other Election Returns, he would, of course, not press the matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, there was an Amendment on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne), which would have accomplished all that the Amendment of the Attorney General suggested, and which, in the hon. Member's absence, he had intended to move. But he understood the Attorney General to say that the candidate was to be liable for the penalties, if he committed the offence without excuse, and that he was not to be liable if it were done by the agent. If the hon. and learned Gentleman brought up a clause on Report embodying that principle, he thought it would be satisfactory.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would undertake to provide that the penalty for the illegal practice referred to in Sub-section 5 should not fall on the candidate except for his own act, and also that there should be no voidance of the seat on account of a false declaration by an agent without the consent of the candidate. The candidate should only be liable for his own wilful act.

Mr. GIBSON said, it would be reasonable for the hon. and learned Attorney General to consider, in drafting the clause, two things which the Bill left very obscure. It would appear on the drafting of Sub-section 5 that if no Return were made by the candidate without the authorized excuse, he might be guilty of an illegal practice without any trial or award of any Court. Was it intended that a man should be deemed guilty *ipso facto*? For his own part, he thought there should be a decision by a Court of Justice before the great penalties prescribed by the Bill were incurred. These penalties fell not only on the candidate, but on the constituency, and, to a certain extent, affected the House itself; and he said it was not right that the House should be deprived of one of its Members, and the constituency of its Representative, and subjected to all the turmoil of a fresh election, simply because there had been a slip or a piece of bad judgment on the part of the candidate or his agent. Therefore, he trusted that, on reconsideration of the clause, the Attorney General would take care to put in words which would provide that the candidate should be "adjudged guilty" of the offence imputed to him. The second suggestion he had to make was that there should be some power given to the Court of exercising a judicial discretion; the Court, in his opinion, should be empowered either to say that the candidate was guilty of an illegal practice, and that, therefore, his seat should be voided, or else that he should be punished by a fine of £100.

MR. GORST thought his right hon. and learned Friend hardly recollected that the election would be declared void by the decision of the Court, and after a Report made to Mr. Speaker. That being the case, the seat was not voided *ipso facto.*

MR. GIBSON said, it appeared to him that the effect of the sub-section might be that, if a candidate were guilty of a corrupt practice, his seat would be vacated and void. There was no magic in the words of the clause. The seat might *ipso facto* be voided; and he considered it very undesirable that the clause should remain unaltered, and in doubt.

MR. GORST said, he did not want to carry on a controversy with the right hon. and learned Gentleman on this subject; still, he thought he would see, on examination of Sub-section 10, that an illegal practice did not *ipso facto* make void a seat. That only took place after the Report had been made to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

MR. CALLAN said, he had been reading over the list of Members who had not made any Election Returns. As something might attach to Members for not making Returns, he wished to show how the Government treated the matter. One Member in Ireland who made no Return had since been made a Judge. Then, in the case of the Radnor Boroughs, Sir Richard Green Price had made no Return, nor had the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, his noble Friend was not elected in the ordinary way. He issued no addresses; the electors of the Radnor Boroughs returned him spontaneously, and, he would undertake to say, without one farthing of expense.

MR. CALLAN said, there must always be some expense connected with an election. He had merely alluded to these matters because his own case had been singled out. The hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had referred to him as not having made a Return, in reply to which he asked what steps the Government had taken in the case of other persons in the same position; and he had shown that they made one Member a Judge, another a Baronet, and the third a Member of the Cabinet.

MR. BIGGAR said, according to the principle acted upon by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, nothing would be easier than for a candidate to say he had not paid anything, while he left someone else to meet all the obligations.

MR. CALLAN said, at the Monaghan Election last week the candidate paid nothing, and would not be asked for a penny. Did a candidate, under such circumstances, violate the law in not making a Return?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, his noble Friend took no part in the election. He issued no addresses.

MR. CALLAN said, he was then in the same position as the noble Lord, because he had issued no addresses.

MR. BIGGAR said, any candidate might, in like manner, issue no address and take no part in the election, leaving the working of it to others.

MR. R. T. REID rose to Order. Was the hon. Member in Order in the remarks he was now making?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the observations of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) appeared to him to be entirely beyond the Question before the Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. GIBSON said, he proposed to move a modification of the clause, so as to make a broad distinction between the person guilty of making the false declaration referred to in Sub-section 6 and the person only indirectly concerned in the act. He wished to amend the sub-section by making the act of the candidate alone a corrupt practice within the meaning of the Act. This point required some examination. He agreed that if a candidate made the declaration falsely he should be guilty of an offence, and that, on conviction on indictment, he should be subject to the punishment for wilful and corrupt perjury. Nor did he question that in the case of a person guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury power should be given to make him void his seat in that House. But surely it was not reasonable to say that the act of the agent who made the false declaration should be a corrupt practice within the meaning of the Act, because the effect of that would be to punish a perfectly innocent person. He should be satisfied if the Attorney General would say that when he considered the drafting of Sub-section 5 he would also consider the drafting of Sub-section 6, so as to make a distinction in the case of an innocent person, and prevent him suffering from the act of an agent guilty of falsehood in making the declaration. If the Attorney General did not see his way to deal with this matter on Report, he would ask the Committee to give power to the Court that tried the individual to consider the facts of the case, and in their discretion to say whether, besides being liable to the punishment for wilful and corrupt perjury, the accused should also be deemed to have committed a corrupt practice under the Act, and that the Court should have power to say that the case was met by the prosecution for wilful and corrupt perjury. He wanted to make the clause elastic by giving the Court power to say that the corrupt act of the agent should not tell against the candidate and the constituency. He would leave to the Court power to make the act a corrupt practice; but he would take away the absolute necessity for doing so. But, as he had before intimated, he would be satisfied not to proceed further with his proposal if the Attorney General would give the undertaking he asked; otherwise he should have to take the opinion of the Committee upon the question.

Mr. GORST said, he had understood the Attorney General to say that he would alter the sub-section in precisely the sense the right hon. and learned Gentleman wished.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had already stated, with reference to this section, that the candidate should not suffer for the act of the agent committed without his knowledge or consent. He was willing to say that the corrupt perjury of the agent should not void the seat of the candidate.

On the Motion of Mr. E. Stanhope, Amendment made, in page 13, line 35, by leaving out all the words from the word "provided," inclusive, to the end of the sub-section.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 27(Authorized excuse for non-compliance with provisions as to return and declaration respecting election expenses).

Mr. GIBSON said, he had several Amendments on the Paper to this clause relating to the discretion to be given to the Court; and he would be glad to have an intimation from the Attorney General as to the first of these, because it would be a guide to him in determining whether to proceed or not with the rest. He had gone through the section with a great deal of care, and he had some little doubt as to whether, by the words "or any error therein . . . or misconduct of his election agent, &c.," the Attorney General might not have intended to give the relief which he himself sought by the introduction into the third line of the section of the words "or, being transmitted, contains some false statement." The clause ran as follows:—

> "Where the return and declarations respecting election expenses of a candidate at an election had not been transmitted as required by this Act,"

and so on. He (Mr. Gibson) asked to amend that by introducing the words after "transmit," "or, being transmitted, contains some false statement." He was not quite clear whether those words were not intended under the word "error," because it was quite plain that Sub-section (*a*) contemplated that the Return might contain some statement that was not correct. But whether the word "error" was intended to mean an intentional error, or an error which was not intended, was open to some question. He would like to have this made perfectly clear, because he wanted to deal with one class of cases—namely, cases in which candidates or their agents, while keeping perfectly within the limits of purity—not spending anything more than was provided by the Act—yet make false statements in certain particulars—statements which to their own knowledge were false, but which did not in the slightest degree affect the purity of the election, and did not sin at all in the direction of increased expenditure. What he wanted really to do was, to enable the tribunal, when it considered such a matter, to deal as it thought fit with a statement which was false to a certain extent. If the Attorney General could see his way to accept his (Mr. Gibson's) Amendment, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would do that which would really prevent serious injustice and great hardships in many cases. He only desired to give the Court power to accept, if it chose, a candidate's excuse or explanation of a false statement. He desired to give the Court power to say that, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, they were satisfied as to the purity of the election, and that they thought the election ought to stand.

Amendment proposed, in page 14, line 21, after "transmitted," insert, "or, being transmitted, contains some false statement."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was quite prepared to accept the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson); but he would suggest that the words should be inserted after the word "Act."

MR. GIBSON asked leave to withdraw his Amendment in favour of that of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 14, line 22, after the word "Act," insert "or, being transmitted, contains some false statement."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. GIBSON, Amendment made, in page 14, line 25, after "error," by inserting "or any false statement."

Amendment proposed, in page 14, line 25, after "therein," insert "or any payment made after the proper time."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) not to press this Amendment, as it contained very different subject-matter from the Amendments already accepted, and as the matter had been already discussed.

MR. GIBSON said, he had just one word of explanation. It was true, as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had said, that the matter had been previously discussed; but, if his memory served him correctly, the Attorney General, when they were discussing the subject on a former occasion, mentioned, as an excuse for the non-acceptance of an Amendment similar to this, the weighty powers and discretion which were given to the Election Court to deal with such matters. He (Mr. Gibson), unquestionably, thought it was very desirable to enable the Election Court to say that the election had been a perfectly pure one, and that the limit of expenditure had not been exceeded. If a payment had simply been made after the proper time, surely no man of common sense would say this was a matter which should prevent the Court making an order. It was quite true, as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had stated, that this Amendment contained very different subject-matter from the two just accepted; but he, nevertheless, ventured to press it upon the consideration of the hon. and learned Gentleman. He (Mr. Gibson) only intended to prevent a man's election being upset, because a perfectly *bonâ fide* payment was made after the statutory time.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, that when the matter was discussed on a former occasion, the Government promised to provide that if payments were made after the time allowed, and they did not infringe the law as to the maximum, the candidate should not be affected thereby.

MR. GIBSON said, he was perfectly satisfied with that statement, and he would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Mr. GIBSON, Amendment made, in page 14, line 34, after "error," by inserting "or any false statement."

Amendment proposed, in page 15, line 5, after "transmit," insert "or for transmitting."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman required some more words; he would require after the word "declaration," "or for a false statement in such return and declaration."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Attorney General, Amendment made, in page 15, line 6, after "declaration," by inserting "or for a false statement in such return and declaration."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 28 (Publication of summary of return of election expenses).

Mr. H. H. FOWLER proposed, in page 15, line 21, after "in," insert "the 'Gazette' and in." The object of the Amendment was that the Return of the election expenses should not only be published in the local newspapers, but also in *The Gazette*, and he thought that if that were done it would be of great convenience.

Amendment proposed, in page 15, line 21, after "in," insert "the 'Gazette' and in."—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought that the publication of the Return of the election expenses in one local newspaper and *The Gazette* might be very well; but to insert it in two local newspapers and *The Gazette* was rather too much of a good thing.

Mr. E. STANHOPE hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would not agree to the Amendment, because it would lead to unnecessary expense. He could understand the publication of the Return in two local newspapers, because it might be desirable to have it pulished in one Liberal and one Conservative newspaper.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) had just anticipated what he was going to say. He (the Attorney General) considered *The Gazette* an expensive luxury. He had provided for the insertion of the Return in two local newspapers, because he thought it would then meet the eye of all classes of readers. He hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would not press his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Disqualification of Electors.

Clause 29 (Prohibition of persons guilty of corrupt or illegal practices, &c. from voting) *agreed to.*

Clause 30 (Prohibition of interested or qualified persons from voting).

Mr. LEWIS proposed the omission of Sub-section 1, which ran as follows:—

> "Any person who is beneficially interested (otherwise than as member of the company or society) in the proceeds of the letting of a committee room for the purposes of an election, is prohibited from voting at an election."

He could not conceive for a moment why the prohibition to vote should proceed to such an extent. A stationer who provided goods was not disqualified, neither were any other tradesmen who might supply election furniture. Why need they descend to such particulars as these? Let them take the case of a house that was in trust for six or seven people. Were they going to disqualify six or seven people, because £5 or £10 was paid for a room—in which they were interested—to be used as a committee room? Why on earth, if there was to be any disqualification at all under such circumstances, was it not carried through the whole class of tradesmen concerned? The provision was most obnoxious, for it seemed to go on the assumption that there must be some corruption or improper motive in engaging a room for the use of a committee.

Amendment proposed, in page 16, leave out Sub-section (1).—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. GORST said, that if a candidate desired to corrupt a constituency by hiring rooms, he could hire any number of rooms so long as they were not committee rooms, and the people who let them would not be prohibited from voting. As the section now stood, it would be possible for some some people to be disenfranchised against their will. Supposing a man of strong Conservative proclivities had the management of a Trust on behalf of persons who were known Liberals. If part of the Trust consisted of a room which could be let for a committee room, the Trustee had nothing to do, if he wished to disenfranchise a number of excellent Liberals against their will, but to go to a Conservative candidate and let him the room in question as a committee room. By the letting of the room the people in question would be beneficially interested, and consequently they would be prohibited from voting. Surely, this could never be intended.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had seriously asked himself where a person was to find a committee room. The committee had already decided that public-houses were not to be used as committee rooms, and coffee-houses and other such places were included in the same prohibition. In a great many districts they would probably only find one room reasonably large enough for a committee room, and it might happen that that room belonged to the most important person in the district. If the man let the room was he to be disqualified from voting? He (Mr. Labouchere) could not see why a man should be disqualified, because he let his room for a fair price, any more than the man should be disqualified who supplied stationery to the candidate or his agent. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) that this section ought to be struck out.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would accept the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 31 (Hearing a person before he is reported guilty of corrupt or illegal practice, &c.; and incapacity of person reported guilty).

MR. GREGORY said, he had an Amendment to propose to this clause, which was of some importance to the persons who came under its operation. The clause provided that certain persons might be reported guilty of corrupt practices, and that certain penalties should attach to their being so reported. In addition to the disabilities which the Bill provided in such cases, it was no pleasant thing to be reported guilty of corrupt practices. Of course, a person was not liable to imprisonment unless he was convicted by the Court subsequently to being reported; but to a professional man or to a person in a respectable situation of life it might involve very serious consequences, if his name appeared in the report of an Election Judge as having been guilty of corrupt practices, no matter whether he was subsequently prosecuted or not. Now, this clause provided that notice should be given to the person so reported "where practicable." What the words "where practicable" meant he did not know; but he, at all events, considered that the person who was reported as guilty of corrupt practices should have notice given him of the charge brought against him, and therefore he now had to propose to omit the words "where practicable." He noticed that an Amendment upon this subject stood in the name of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). That Amendment was to the effect that notice should be given to such person, "or left at his last known place of abode." That Amendment he (Mr. Gregory) would be very glad to adopt subsequent to the omission of the words "where practicable."

Amendment proposed, in page 16, line 29, leave out "where practicable."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there was just the fear that if a notice was to be left at the last known place of abode of a person reported guilty of corrupt practices, and the person had left that abode, he would escape all the consequences of his acts. He had endeavoured to meet this in Clause 59, page 36, for in that clause it was provided that—

"Such summons, notice, or document, may be served either by delivering the same to such person, or by leaving the same at, or sending the same by post by a registered letter to, his last known place of abode."

These words, he believed, would meet the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). He had, however, no objection to accept the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory).

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. GORST supposed that the Amendment of which he had given Notice—namely, that the notice should be left at the man's last known place of abode—was not necessary, and he should not therefore proceed with it.

Mr. GREGORY said, he was also of opinion that a man should have an opportunity of making a statement before he was reported of being guilty of corrupt practices. Under the clause a man would be called into Court and asked, "what have you to say to this?" And he had no opportunity of any legal assistance or of calling witnesses. He (Mr. Gregory) thought that was a proper construction to put upon the clause as it was now framed. He thought that a person who was liable to the serious consequences of being reported guilty of corrupt practices—liable to certain civil disabilities which would mean absolute ruin to a professional man—should have the opportunity of making a defence to the charge brought against him. What he (Mr. Gregory) therefore proposed to do was to strike out the words "making a statement to show why he should not be so reported," and insert "being heard by himself, or counsel, or solicitor, and of calling evidence in his defence." If the Attorney General objected to the words "counsel or solicitor," and was willing to sacrifice his branch of the Profession, he (Mr. Gregory) was ready to meet him for the sake of the main point, and to omit the words "counsel or solicitor" altogether. That would leave the Amendment very general—namely, "being heard by himself and of calling evidence in his defence." At present, he had better, perhaps, propose to omit the words "making a statement."

Amendment proposed,

In page 16, line 31, leave out "making a statement to show why he should not be so reported," and insert "being heard by himself, or counsel, or solicitor, and of calling evidence in his defence."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was almost inclined to make a bargain with the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) to the effect that if he (the Attorney General) was willing to give up his branch of the Profession, he (Mr. Gregory) would give up his. He (the Attorney General) thought that if they allowed counsel or solicitors to appear in every case, the expenses of Petitions would be such that they could not possibly be borne by any candidate, and that the Election Petition Judges would be employed in trying the Petitions for an inordinately long time. Such an enormous waste of time, both to the Election Judges and to the Petitioners would ensue, that the obvious result would be that Petitions would never be lodged. His hon. Friend would see at once the objection to calling counsel or solicitors, by calling to mind the case of the Macclesfield Petition, in which 4,000 persons were reported guilty of corrupt practices. What would have been the consequence if each of those persons had called counsel on their own behalf? He certainly agreed with the hon. Gentleman that men ought to have a reasonable opportunity of being heard, and therefore he would agree to the persons reported having the right to be heard by themselves, and of calling evidence in their own defence. If that were permitted, justice, he thought, would be done.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, at the first blush he was inclined to accept the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. If, however, the Attorney General would look at Sub-section 2 of this clause, he would find that the position of a reported person was very much more serious than was generally supposed. By the 2nd sub-section—

"Every person who after the commencement of this Act is reported by any election court or election commissioners to have been guilty of any corrupt or illegal practice, shall, whether he obtained a certificate of indemnity or not, be subject to the some incapacity as he would under this Act be subject to if he had at the date of the report been convicted of the offence of which he is reported to have been guilty;"

consequently, he was in exactly the same position as if he had been tried and been convicted. No doubt, if in the Macclesfield case each of the 4,000 persons reported guilty of corrupt practices had called counsel great inconvenience would have been caused; yet it did seem hard that persons should be subjected to exactly the same penalties as if there had been a trial, when they knew that those persons had not had the opportunity of obtaining the assistance of anyone to defend them.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Grantham) was labouring under a slight misapprehension.

MR. GORST said, that what they urged upon the Attorney General was what they had recommended at first—namely, that some tribunal should be provided for the speedy summary decision of these cases. They wanted the Election Court now to do two things, and it would be able to do neither well. First, it would have to hear the Election Petition, and that was a kind of collateral thing that would go on all the time, and, besides that, it would have to try all persons guilty of corrupt practices. He hoped it was not too late to ask the Attorney General to reconsider this matter. He believed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) proposed, before the Bill left the Committee, to make some proposal with the view of appointing some tribunal to sit for the purpose of the speedy summary trial of persons offending against the Election Law. If the Government could see their way to the establishment of a tribunal of that kind many of these unsatisfactory clauses would be removed from the Bill, because the moment the Judge found from the evidence under the Petition there was ground to believe that a particular person had been guilty of corrupt practices, all he would have to do would be to get the Public Prosecutor to appear before him and order that the person be tried, and the trial could take place at once without delay, with counsel, witnesses, prosecutor, Judge, and all in attendance. It was very important to introduce a modification to this part of the Bill; but he trusted that before the Report this matter would be considered, as he was convinced that that which was suggested was the only way out of the difficulty.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the clause contemplated two Courts. If it only included the Election Court, presided over by the Judges of the land, he was satisfied that great care would be taken to see justice done, and men against whom charges were made would have an opportunity of being heard; but the clause went a great deal further than that, and contained the words "or Election Commissioners." He did not think the conduct of the Election Commissioners had given great satisfaction throughout the country — he believed the manner in which Petitions were conducted in 1880 was not such as to reflect credit upon the administration of justice in this country. He did not wish to pursue this matter further; but certainly must express a hope that his hon. Friend would go to a Division if the clause was to continue that power to the Commissioners. It did not seem to him to be right to give these gentlemen the opportunity of inflicting the heavy punishments contained in the Bill upon a person without giving that person the bare opportunities for his defence that any defendant would have, in however small a case, before the magistrates.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not think that to send down a Summary Court to try these cases, whilst an election was going on, would tend on the whole to the best results. They must look to both sides of the question. He was willing to agree to an Amendment which should secure that substantial justice should be done in these cases; but, on the other hand, care should be taken that the inquiry should not be prolonged to an indefinite extent. It would be impossible for 4,000 issues to be tried, as would have been necessary in the case of the Macclesfield Election, whilst the Petition was going on. Counsel would have to speak in defence of the person against whom the charge was brought, and he supposed the prosecuting counsel would have to reply in each case; trials in that way might be prolonged to any extent, and the expense would fall, not upon the right persons, but upon the locality.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought that power should be given in cases of this kind to employ solicitors or counsel, if the persons employing them paid for them themselves.

Mr. GREGORY said, he was desirous that there should be no mistake about this matter. He would propose that the words "being heard" and "calling evidence" should be retained, and that the words "by himself, or counsel, or solicitor" should be left out. In that way opportunities would be given for calling evidence if it were thought necessary. He did not suppose a person would require it, or ought to require it; still it would be well to give a man the power of obtaining it if he so desired. His reason for moving this Amendment he would briefly state. There were penalties of a novel description contemplated under this Bill in addition to the incapacities to which he had adverted. In Sub-sections 4 and 5 of this clause they found that the Public Prosecutor, where a barrister or solicitor was proved in evidence before the Election Commissioners to have been guilty of, or privy to, any corrupt practice in reference to any election, whether such person had obtained a certificate of indemnity or not, had to bring the matter before the Inn of Court, High Court, or tribunal having power to take cognizance of any misconduct of such person in his Profession; and such Inn of Court, High Court, or tribunal might deal with such person as if the corrupt practice of which he had been guilty were a misconduct in his Profession. Furthermore, the Commissioners would have to report the case to the Director of Public Prosecutions. No doubt, these provisions were with the view to the finding a professional person disqualified from practice; therefore, he was not far wrong in saying that the clause might lead to the ruin of these persons. In the case of barristers, solicitors, Justices of the Peace, and persons of that character, they would be exposed to professional disqualification; and it was on that ground, therefore, that he pressed his Amendment.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was afraid that if the words "being heard" were inserted, they might be taken to confer the right to appear by counsel or by a solicitor. That would not be giving up a right; and if a person had a right to be heard, he had a right to call evidence, and have his case conducted by counsel or solicitor. When the hon. Member gave as a reason why the Amendment should be inserted, that the person against whom the charge was brought should be, if he chose, represented by counsel or solicitor, he would point out that the sub-section referred to a person who was a barrister or solicitor, or who belonged to a profession the admission to which was regulated by law; and when it was provided that the person accused should appear personally, looking to the nature of the profession, it was hardly necessary that provision should be made for others to appear for him. A barrister or solicitor could appear before the Election Court and state his own case in such capacity. [Mr. Gregory: No.] He (the Attorney General) was willing to agree that such a person should have an opportunity of being heard or calling evidence. Would his hon. Friend accept words which would give the person an opportunity of calling evidence and making a statement to show cause why he should not be reported? If such an Amendment were agreed to, he would be able to appear in person, and it would obviate the necessity of allowing him to employ a barrister or solicitor. It would, therefore, be seen that he (the Attorney General) met the hon. Member in all but the matter of allowing a barrister or solicitor to appear. The person charged would have an opportunity of calling evidence, and, no doubt, substantial justice would be done.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would consider some other classes besides barristers and solicitors. These were not the only persons affected by the clause; surely the 4,000 cases which it was said would have had to have been heard in Macclesfield were not all barristers and solicitors? [An hon. Member: None of them.] Exactly. If the Attorney General had his way, what would happen? The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had stated that he had only confidence in one of the tribunals. Well, if this sort of preliminary inquiry took place before the Judges, they would see that justice was done; but there was no security whatever that, if a trial had to take place before a Court of Commissioners, that Court would do what the Judges would do—namely, see that justice was done. Let them observe how unequal the provision was with regard to the different classes of offenders. No doubt, the barristers and solicitors, for whose good fame his hon. Friend seemed to be so solicitous, would be able to protect their own interests. In the case of some ignorant man, however, who knew nothing about Courts of Law, or trials, or equity, or anything of that kind, if a charge were brought against him, how was he to cross-examine those who brought an accusation against him? Were they not going to allow such a person as that to avail himself of the services of a barrister or solicitor; but would he have to make his own statement, cross-examine his own witnesses, and so on, before the tribunal? Before his hon. Friend (Mr. Gregory) accepted any compromise such as that suggested by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, something of the kind suggested by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) ought to be done. That was to say, they should take care that the tribunal was of such a kind that a poor and ignorant defendant should not suffer from being precluded from availing himself of the assistance of a barrister or a solicitor.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he wished to call attention to one point—namely, that it seemed to him that the present Amendment would not satisfy all that was required. If cases were only to come before the Election Judges there would be no reason to fear anything; but, according to the clause, these cases were to be allowed to come before the Election Commissioners in addition to Election Judges. He must protest against the conduct of the Home Secretary, who seemed to be engaging his Colleague in conversation whilst he (Mr. E. Stanhope) was addressing them and the Committee on the subject of this clause. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) attended to this Bill quite as much as the Home Secretary, and surely he might be permitted to make his suggestion without having the attention of those before whom he was putting it diverted in this way by the right hon. and learned Gentleman. His suggestion was that the Committee could not be perfectly satisfied with the decisions that were likely to be arrived at by the Election Commissioners, and, that that being so, there ought to be some provision in the Bill for an appeal to be allowed in these cases. The Attorney General said there would be thousands of cases to hear at some elections, and had drawn attention to the case of Macclesfield. Well, although there might be a great number of cases where illegal acts were committed, it was perfectly clear that, with the great mass of these cases, there would be no difficulty whatever. In most of these cases the evidence would be plain and incontrovertible, and it would not be necessary to have intricate trials; but, on the other hand, in some exceptional cases, injustice might be done unless there was a careful trial; therefore, it would only be reasonable to give an appeal to some tribunal which would command the confidence of the country.

MR. WHITLEY said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member who had just sat down with regard to the Commissioners. He did not believe they commanded the confidence of the country; and the Committee generally, he was sure, could not help thinking that it was a very serious responsibility indeed which would be incurred by the unfortunate people who would be called up before the Commissioners, as they might be unable to defend themselves properly, and might, through an imperfect defence, subject themselves to most severe penalties. He was sure his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General was the last man in the world to wish such a thing as that. The hon. and learned Gentleman would see that some men could not make a fair statement of their own case. He knew that men of his own Profession would, in all probability, be able to defend themselves very well; but there were an immense number of people, whose conduct might be made the subject of inquiry during or after an election, who would not have the faculty of defending themselves, and it was for them he was now pleading. He could hope that the hon. and learned Gentleman would see his way to confining the power of hearing these cases to the Election Judges. To confer upon the Election Commissioners the power of inflicting the severe penalties in this clause would be a very serious matter, and he did not think it was one of the things which the Committee should allow. He therefore hoped and trusted that the Attorney General would agree to the suggestion of the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), or adopt the modifying suggestion of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler).

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he could assure the hon. Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) that it was not out of any disrespect to him that the Home Secretary, himself (the Solicitor General), and some other Colleagues were conversing together just now. It was clear that sometimes they must discuss points amongst themselves to see what course could be adopted, or what suggestion could be made; otherwise they would never be able to get on. Well, an operation of that kind was going on when the hon. Member had complained of a want of attention of the Attorney General and the Home Secretary. The provision to which reference had been made would not, he thought, be attended with the serious consequences that some hon. Members anticipated. The question was one of incapacity, and not of serious disabilities, and he agreed with the hon. Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) that if his suggestion could be carried out—that was to say, if it were perfectly practicable—it would be a good thing to adopt it. No doubt, in 99 cases out of every 100 there would be little question as to the guilt of the person accused of the offence, and if there could be some kind of appeal provided where persons insisted that they had not committed the offence, all difficulty would be removed. But where the difficulty lay in the present case was in the discovery of a proper tribunal to which those persons could appeal. He believed that to allow counsel in all cases would be likely to lead to great abuse. If that were permitted, they might have cases where persons would endeavour to cause delay and expense—they might so draw out the proceedings as to render them altogether abortive; for instance, they might have someone appointing counsel to make a separate speech upon every case of illegal practices complained of; they could conceive relays of counsel taking up the cases and endeavouring in that way to delay the proceedings. That would be a very serious difficulty; at the same time, if an efficient Court of Appeal could be suggested, the idea of appointing it would be one well worthy of consideration.

Mr. RAIKES said, he was encouraged to hope, by what had just been said, that the Government had really opened their minds to the desirability of giving some kind of appeal; at any rate, if they did not give some assurance to that effect, he trusted his hon. Friend (Mr. Gregory) would press his Amendment. The Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) had justly appreciated the serious consequences which were to follow, under the 2nd sub-section, on the offence indicated in the 1st sub-section. He did not know whether the Committee had grasped the fact that the Government were asking them to establish a new principle in law—namely, that a man was to be deprived, it might be for life, of his political status—of not being able to exercise the franchise in the constituency—and subjected, if he were a professional man, to a great number of disabilities on the mere *ipse dixit* of, it might be, three briefless barristers. Was the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General serious in asking them to give a power to these gentlemen—the exercise of which would be frequently meritorious in the eyes of a particular Party—of pronouncing a sentence of exclusion from all political rights for the future, without giving the persons so sentenced the privilege that the commonest applicant enjoyed of being able to employ counsel and to call witnesses in his defence? There were Commissioners and Commissioners. No doubt there were some gentlemen who had done their duty extremely well, and had shown the highest capacity; but, on the other hand, there had been some gentlemen who had not equally well shone in the capacity of Election Judges. He saw the difficulty admitted by the Law Officers as to the protracted proceedings that might take place; but that difficulty would be met if the suggestion of the hon. Member for Lincolnshire were adopted — which suggestion, it seemed to him, the Solicitor General was inclined to adopt if the Attorney General would allow him to do so. Some appeal should be allowed from the decision of these Commissioners. Take the decisions of the Election Judges—and he did not want to regard this in the same light as the decisions of Election Commissioners—the question before them was as to the validity of the return, and the finding of a person guilty of a corrupt practice was merely an incident in these proceedings. It was not the main point to which their attention was directed, and though the candidate might be found guilty of corrupt practices, they might also, in the course of their report, find various other persons guilty of corrupt practices. They did that as the result of their inquiry. Well, he should regard with horror such power being given to Election Commissioners without an appeal—he should even regard with grave doubt the justice of giving Election Judges the power of pronouncing political ostracism in these cases when the proceedings they had had to consider had been the election at large, and not the cases of these persons incidentally found guilty of corrupt practices. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would frame some provision to meet the difficulties suggested.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this discussion, which had been a most interesting one, had not been without profit. He hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite would not insist upon the services of a solicitor or counsel being allowed to a candidate. The hon. Member had distinctly offered to sacrifice them, and he (the Attorney General) hoped he was going to do so, and would point out that if the words "being heard" were retained he would not make the sacrifice. As to the Court of Appeal, the Solicitor General and himself had discussed the question, and his impression was in favour of such an arrangement if it could be provided for. It would, indeed, assist them in the disfranchisement of persons who were reported. If such persons were given a chance of appeal it would be assumed that the report against them was justified; and, therefore, in that direction an appeal would be useful. He should be ready to confer with hon. Members who took an interest in this matter to see if they could not hit upon a Court of Appeal which would be satisfactory—probably they might be able to do so upon the Assize which would next take place. At any rate, he would do his best to meet his hon. Friends; and on that undertaking he hoped they would allow him to proceed with the clause.

MR. GIBSON said, that nothing could be fairer than this statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman. The matter was of great importance, and particularly to professional persons would be one of very great importance. It was all very well to say the question was one of incapacity, but to his mind it meant absolute ruin to large classes of people. It might lead to absolute ruin in the case of men holding public or judicial offices, or gentlemen professionally employed. In these cases the effect of the clause might be called incapacity if they liked, but it was incapacity that amounted to absolute ruin. If they gave a man, accused of some petty offence in a police court, power to defend himself by solicitor or counsel, surely they should give the same power to a professional man charged with an offence, the establishment of which might lead to his ruin. They might have either of two alternatives in this case, and he should be satisfied with one or the other, though he thought he should prefer the appeal. It was just that a man should have all the professional assistance he could get; but it might be very inconvenient to have a number of people taking advantage of that. Another argument was that it would be unfair to a candidate, who would have to bear all the expense; but that could be met by providing that a portion of the expenses should be borne by the candidate, and the remainder by the locality or the public. If the Attorney General pressed the argument of inconvenience, he was bound to undertake to find a proper appeal; and he should prefer to move that there should be an appeal against the report of Election Commissioners in the manner to be prescribed, and then the Attorney General could apply himself to finding a tribunal for appeal. It might be another Election Court, or it might be some of the Judges on the rota. He did not ask for any hasty decision to-night on the question of what was to be the appeal tribunal; but he thought there should be some such words as these added to the sub-section—

> "When any person is reported by the election commissioners to have been guilty of any corrupt or illegal practice, he shall have the right of appeal against such report in the manner hereinafter prescribed."

That would not bind the Attorney General to anything whatever except that he would provide in a subsequent part of the Bill what was to be the prescribed Court of Appeal. He threw this suggestion out for the Attorney General to consider before the sub-section was finally disposed of.

Mr. GORST wished to say a word in protection of the Government from the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had suggested that the Government should find a Court of Appeal; but he would remind the Committee that some years ago, when the late Government were in Office, a Committee of the House sat upon the subject of Election Petitions and made a Report strongly advocating a Court of Appeal. He believed that the Conservative Government, of which the right hon. and learned Gentleman was a distinguished Member, found it so absolutely impossible, with the whole Session before them and abundant leisure, to frame a satisfactory Court of Appeal, that they gave the matter up in despair and established a Court of two Judges to try Election Petitions. Although he was always glad to see the Government persecuted and harassed as much as was reasonable and fair, he thought it was rather hard to call upon them in July to invent a Court of Appeal which the late Government was unable to obtain in a Session of many months.

Mr. LEWIS said, he thought the memory of the hon. and learned Gentleman was rather deceived upon this matter. As far as he recollected the Report of that Committee was not on the subject of appeal at all, but was a Report in favour of trial by two Judges, and the hon. and learned Member was wholly wrong in his enthusiastic desire to, on all occasions, involve himself in a controversy with the Front Opposition Bench. He himself intended to move either the entire or the partial omission of Sub-section 2, for it was open to the gravest objections. If this matter went to a Division, he should vote with the hon. Member, simply because he thought it was absolutely necessary to do so in the interests of justice; but he was opposed to the section altogether.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, the objection made to the Commissioners would apply with still stronger force to Sub-section 6, and he should prefer to strike out the sub-section altogether.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) asked how the hon. Member proposed to move the Amendments?

Mr. GREGORY said, he proposed to move "leave to be heard and to call evidence." He did not think it fair to leave a man in any position in life without assistance, and he should not care to be his own advocate. He felt considerable difficulty with reference to this Amendment, for while he was desirous to meet the views of the Committee as far as possible, he had some difficulty in gathering what those views were. Some Members were for a Court of Appeal; but he did not see that any such Court could be instituted which would meet the case, and he was afraid he had no alternative but to stand or fall by the Amendment.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he agreed with the Attorney General as to the extreme difficulty of Commissioners having to go through a series of trials with counsel and solicitors; but it was obvious that the Committee were desirous of meeting the difficulty in one way or the other, and so they had to choose between the practical difficulty of administering the law by the Commissioners, and some Court of Appeal. He did not see any difficulty in arranging for an appeal. The appeal which it was, in the case mentioned, found difficult to make provision for was an appeal from the judgment of the Election Judges on the validity of an election; but he did not see the difficulty of making arrangements for an appeal in the few cases in which there would be an appeal, because, as the Solicitor General had said, in 99 cases out of 100 there was no doubt about the matter, and the person admitted his offence. He hoped the Attorney General would endeavour to frame some kind of appeal to meet the difficulty, and then he should not support the Amendment.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) suggested that the words "solicitor or counsel" should be omitted, and then the Amendment might read—"heard by himself and of calling evidence in his defence." He hoped that would meet the view of the hon. Member. He would do his best to find some Court of Appeal; and if he failed, then he would sooner give up the sub-section than come into conflict with the Committee.

Mr. GREGORY said, he thought the hon. Gentleman had met the case, and he would accept the suggestion.

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. E. STANHOPE proposed to leave out "whether he obtained a certificate of indemnity," and to substitute "unless he obtained a certificate." The object of this Amendment, he explained, was this. A certificate of indemnity would protect the person from ulterior consequences under this clause. Hon. Members did not seem to know what a certificate of indemnity was. Where a man was compelled by the Court to give answers which would incriminate himself, and the Court was satisfied that he had answered truly, it gave him a certificate to protect him from the consequences of his having incriminated himself. At present, a man would be subject to penalties, and to incapacity, whether he obtained a certificate of indemnity or not; but he thought it was hard upon a man that, having been compelled to answer questions, he should be subject to incapacity, and suffer the penalties imposed by the various subsections of this clause.

Amendment proposed,

In page 16, line 36, to leave out "whether he obtained," and insert "unless he obtained."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had given way as far as he possibly could; but he could not do so upon this point. At present persons who were guilty of corrupt practices obtained certificates of indemnity on giving evidence, and he could name cases in which men who had declared that there had been no bribery had, when a Commission was issued, admitted bribery and betrayed the persons they had bribed, and yet, obtaining a certificate of indemnity, they walked away free from all punishment. A certificate of indemnity protected a man from criminal proceedings; but surely, because a man went into the witness-box and admitted having bribed, he should not escape all consequences. If he was protected from criminal punishment he ought not still to have the power of voting. A magistrate who had been guilty of bribery was struck off the Commission of the Peace; and all that this clause did was to call the attention of the Law Society to the circumstances, and they would do what they thought proper. He hoped the Committee would not accept the Amendment.

MR. LEWIS said, he thought it was quite right that any persons who had committed bribery should not be allowed to administer justice; but that was a different thing from inflicting incapacity to vote on people who were not magistrates, and he hoped the hon. Member would proceed to a Division.

MR. MELLOR said, he was glad that the Attorney General intended to stand by the clause, because this was a very serious matter. It seemed to him that the object of these inquiries was to ascertain the truth; and he thought it would be a great misfortune if any man should be able to refuse to answer questions on the ground that he would incriminate himself. He hoped the giving of certificates of indemnity would not be carried further than was absolutely necessary. A man who required a certificate before he answered questions in a Court of Justice ought never to be allowed to administer justice, or to remain a member of an honourable Profession; and, so far as he was concerned, he hoped the Government would be firm upon this clause. In his experience he had found that the Commissioners discharged their duties fairly and carefully, and he thought there could be no objection to allowing them to compel a man to answer questions and then give him a certificate of indemnity; but if he got that certificate it ought not to protect him beyond criminal punishment.

MR. E. STANHOPE thought the clause would rather tend to defeat the object of ascertaining the truth, because witnesses would come forward and give evidence if they knew they would get certificates protecting them from any penalty or punishment. He would, however, withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 17, line 3, to leave out from "appear" to "appears by evidence," and insert "is reported by."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) thought that if this tribunal did report, they ought not go behind that, and therefore he would accept the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'is reported by' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. GORST, Amendment made, in page 17, line 5, by inserting the words "or privy to."

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he proposed to move the Amendment next on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt). The reason why he desired to move the omission of the sub-section to which that Amendment referred was because it proposed to add additional punishment to the severe penalties provided by the Bill in the case of members of particular professions. If the clause were allowed to stand in the present form, a barrister would not only be liable as a criminal for the offence committed by him, but the Director of Public Prosecutions was to lay a sort of *acte d'accusation* against him before the Inn of Court, High Court, or tribunal having power to take cognizance of any misconduct of such person in his Profession, who were empowered to inflict upon him a punishment which amounted to the absolute ruin of his prospects in life. He submitted that at present there was no case whatever made out for these extraordinary penalties, and for putting the functions of the Director of Public Prosecutions in operation in this way, and therefore he begged to move the omission of Sub-section 4.

Amendment proposed, to leave out sub-section 4.—(*Mr. Edward Clarke.*)

Question proposed,

"That the words 'where a person who is a barrister or a solicitor, or who belongs to any profession the admission to which is regulated by Law' stand part of the Clause."

MR. SALT said, he thought the Bill already contained sufficient penalties against persons who committed offences under the Act without going beyond them, and attacking a man in his profession, to the destruction of his professional prospects.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, his object in framing this clause was to deal with those who had special facilities for committing these offences. Why had the Committee dealt in a special manner with publicans? It was because they had special facilities for committing corrupt practices. And if a publican were to say to him—"Why do you deal specially with the class to which I belong?" He would answer—"Because you have special facilities for committing offences under the Act." And similarly in regard to the present case, if the publican asked if he would apply the same law to his own profession, he could not look him in the face and say "No." He could give an instance of a solicitor who, having managed an election, had corrupted the whole borough, and whose punishment, notwithstanding, was nothing at all. He was found to have marked off 950 voters, whom he took care should be paid; and that man practised his profession at that moment, and no punishment could be inflicted on him. He did not wish to mention any names, but hon. Members would know to whom he referred; there was no case throughout the whole inquiry which took place of such gross misconduct, but the solicitor in question had obtained a certificate of indemnity, and received no punishment whatever. Why should not the tribunals referred to in the sub-section deal with professional men guilty of corrupt practices at elections in the same way as they dealt with every other person over whom they had jurisdiction, who had committed a criminal offence? If a solicitor committed a crime so small as to subject him to a day's imprisonment, he would be struck off the Rolls, and there would be no appeal. But, under the present Amendment, hon. Members would not allow him to be so dealt with if he committed an offence which rendered him liable to nine months' imprisonment. He asked his hon. Friends not to shrink from passing this sub-section, which was intended to reach men who, having been guilty of corrupt practices, if they liked to betray their fellows would, by obtaining a certificate of indemnity, altogether escape punishment. Finally, he pointed out to the Committee that the sub-section only provided that attention should be called to the fact that an offence had been committed. If the heads of the Profession said they would take no notice of it, so let it be—the responsibility would rest with them; while those who made it possible for them to deal with corrupt practice in the same way as they dealt with professional misconduct, would have the consciousness of having done their duty.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he had no doubt the Committee had been much impressed by the speech of the Attorney General, and particularly with that part of it in which he held certain members of his own Profession up to condemnation. The hon. and learned Gentleman was, no doubt, right in dealing in the manner proposed with barristers and solicitors; but why did he bring in members of other professions? Why should a doctor be shown up to the Royal College of Surgeons, or the College of Physicians; or a clergyman, a military man, or a Secretary of State, be shown up to those bodies who took cognizance of their several professions; while a private gentleman remained quite unscathed from the operation of the clause. He was willing that barristers or solicitors should be cognizable by the Law Institution, the Inns of Court, or by any other competent authority; but he was quite unable to conceive why persons belonging to other professions, which the clause did not specify should be brought under these special penalties. It was an absurdity in the case of the other professions he had referred to, to tell the Governing Bodies to take cognizance of offences under this Act. While he agreed that the authorities specified in the clause should have control over the members of the Legal Profession, he thought it would be wise to leave out the words "or who belongs to any profession the admission to which is regulated by Law."

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had not the least doubt that it was a wrong thing for a barrister or a solicitor to bribe; but because the Attorney General had found out some bad cases, that was no reason why the hon. and learned Gentleman should brand an honourable Profession. But he contended that the sub-section was wholly unnecessary, because, if a barrister or a solicitor were guilty, the heads of their Professions could deal with them without the intervention of the Director of Public Prosecutions. If that were so, and he believed the Solicitor General was not in a position to dispute the proposition, he thought they should proceed to a Division on the Amendment before the Committee which he should feel it his duty to support.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON said, it was difficult to speak against anything in the Bill which was held to be necessary by the Attorney General; but he thought in the present case, under the influence of the hon. and learned Gentleman, they were about to commit a grave error in principle—that was to say, they were going to inflict an exceptional punishment. The rule for centuries had been that there should be the same law for the rich as for the poor; but they were now about to reverse that policy by making a severe and exceptional law for the rich which they did not make for the poor. They were about to punish by a fine of £100 and imprisonment, either with or without hard labour, during the space of a year, certain offences under this Act; whereas they had seen of late the most grievous and horrible offences ever committed in the country punished by a year's imprisonment only. But, besides this—and in a manner quite unknown to the Criminal Law up to this time—it was now proposed that an illegal act committed, perhaps by a young man under the influence of excitement, should be reported to the Inns of Court, or to the High Court, the consequence of which might be that the young man's professional career would be at an end. The House was asked to empower a Court which had not heard the case to initiate proceedings anew after the charge had been heard and disposed of. He believed that provision would be productive of a great amount of harm, that it was cruel, and that it would be better to run the risk of some electoral impurities which must occasionally exist, than to make an enactment of this kind. He thought that, in calmer moments, hon. Members on that side of the House would perceive some wisdom in the words he was using in advising them not to follow the course marked out by the Attorney General on that occasion.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he could assure his hon. Friend who had just spoken that, although he was in the calmest frame of mind, it was his intention to support the sub-section which the Amendment proposed to strike out. His hon. Friend contended that an act of corruption committed by a man in a moment of excitement was excusable, and that the individual who committed it ought not to be liable to the consequences of having his conduct taken cognizance of by the heads of the Profession to which he belonged. But did his hon. Friend mean to suggest that barristers would be such harsh judges of barristers, that they would cut short the career of a number of their Profession without the most grave reason for so doing? Precisely the same argument applied to the case of solicitors. The sub-section did no more than provide that the heads of the Profession should have the conduct of the barrister or solicitor brought before them. The existing law with regard to the conduct of a solicitor was that if he committed a felony, his offence entailed upon him the penalty of being struck off the Rolls, in addition to the punishment inflicted for the crime itself. They consented to that law because solicitors were intrusted with particular privileges which had not been conferred upon others, and because they had opportunities of occasioning mischief which did not fall to men who had not the same powers conferred upon them. It would rest with the tribunals specified in the sub-section to say whether the case of an individual was one which called for no punishment, some punishment, or severe punishment, and he believed his hon. Friend would see that, under those circumstances, no injustice was involved in the proposal.

Mr. GIBSON said, he could not think that the canon laid down by the Attorney General was borne out by the sub-section. The objection of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) was that the proposal of the Government was unequal and unjust to men of a particular class. The early clauses of the Bill set forth the social and official disqualifications, as well as the possibility of criminal prosecution which attached to persons guilty of corrupt practices; but it was not until this sub-section was reached that they found a provision to punish persons with absolute ruin and loss of bread. What, he asked, was the reason for singling out the two branches of the Legal Profession for special punishment? The Attorney General said he had picked out those two classes for special treatment, because they had special facilities for the commission of corrupt practices. But, what special facilities had barristers in that direction? He was not aware of their being possessed of a single facility of the kind, and the Attorney General had only been able to illustrate his argument by a reference to two cases of corruption on the part of solicitors. The hon. and learned Gentleman had not given a single instance in point in which barristers were concerned. The Solicitor General said the clause dealt with classes who had not only special facilities for the commission of corrupt acts at elections, but upon whom special privileges had been conferred. Well, he asked what those privileges were?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell): I did not say special privileges in regard to corruption, but that special privileges were conferred upon barristers and solicitors by law.

Mr. GIBSON: There were no cases or examples given where members of the Bar had especially come forward and particularly challenged criticism. There might have been cases; but none, however, had been cited. It therefore came to this—why was it necessary to single out for special mention two branches of the Legal Profession, and hold them up to this particular obloquy? Was it fair to single them out in that way, and to say that, in addition to subjecting them to criminal proceedings and to civil incapacities, they should also be subjected to the possibility of being deprived by other Governing Bodies of the opportunity of earning their bread? A point had also been made as to the abuse of the certificate of indemnity. Owing to the course the Attorney General had pursued, a person in future could not rely upon a certificate of indemnity. He (Mr. Gibson) was of opinion that this clause should either not be in the Bill at all, or else it should be drafted in a general way which would grasp all classes of trades and professions. It was not fair to single out the Legal Profession. The Legal Profession they treated invidiously, while they had general words for other professions. Why were they not satisfied with the general words to cover the Legal Profession, if they intended other professions to be equally covered? He, of course, accepted the statement of the Government that they did intend to cover all professions; but he doubted very much whether any person reading the clause for the first time would interpret it as covering all professions. The clause ought not to be in the Bill at all, or it should be a great deal wider and more grasping; it should have a general reference to all professions to which admission was obtained by law; it should have reference to all professions which were controlled by law, by licence, or otherwise. He challenged the sub-section as being exceptional, as containing an unworthy and exceptional stigma; and therefore, in the absence of any statement from the Attorney General or the Solicitor General in support of it, as it was at present submitted to the judgment of the Committee, he had no option but to support the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth.

Mr. MELLOR said, he was sure the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) did not mean to suggest that a barrister who committed a corrupt practice was fit to continue in his Profession. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) had spoken of the privileges intrusted to the Bar, and the privileges intrusted to the solicitors. The hon. and learned Gentleman had, for instance, shown that a barrister had great power intrusted to him in the way of free speech in a Court of Justice, that he had great confidence reposed in him, and that he discharged most important functions, especially in a Criminal Court. He (Mr. Mellor) considered that a man who had to discharge such important duties ought to be extremely particular as to his conduct; and he could not see why if a barrister committed a corrupt practice, his conduct should not be brought to the notice of the Governing Body of his Profession. There was not the slightest danger of this clause being unfairly worked. It was proposed to bring a barrister's conduct before the Benchers of his Inn. The Benchers had never shown themselves to be an unfair tribunal; but, apart from that fact, a barrister who was charged with being guilty of a corrupt practice had got an additional safeguard, because from the Benchers he could appeal to the Judges, and if the Benchers had committed any error, the Judges had ample power to rectify it, and re-instate the gentleman in his old position. The punishment of the solicitors, too, was in the hands of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, and they could deal with it exactly as they pleased. It was a jurisdiction which was exercised before the whole world, and he (Mr. Mellor) had never heard any complaint of the way in which that jurisdiction was administered. He hoped this sub-section would be passed, because he considered it was very important, particularly in the interest of his own Profession, which was so much concerned in elections, that the public should be satisfied that the Legal Profession wished to put a stop to electoral corruption quite as much as any other class of the community.

MR. LEAMY maintained that a barrister ought not to be punished twice for an offence for which they punished other men once. It was said that a barrister who committed a corrupt practice ought not to be allowed to continue any longer at the Bar. If this was the opinion of hon. Gentlemen, why had not such a practice been put in force before now? The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) had said that barristers had exceptional privileges—that they had exceptional privileges at the Criminal Court; but the Committee were not dealing with barristers acting in Criminal Courts, they were dealing with barristers and solicitors acting at an election just as other people did. If a barrister was guilty of a corrupt practice, he could be sent to gaol for 12 months, deprived of the franchise, and subjected to other civil disabilities. He (Mr. Leamy) submitted it was invidious to impose a double penalty on these men because they happened to belong to the law. He desired fair and equal justice; and if a man was found guilty of a crime, subject him to a certain punishment, but do not increase it because he happened to be of one particular profession. It might be said that this clause not only referred to solicitors and barristers, but to many other professions, because the words of the clause were—

> "Any person who is a barrister or a solicitor, or who belongs to any profession the admission to which is regulated by Law."

He supposed that the words would include the case of a doctor. He, however, strongly objected to the invidious mention of barristers and solicitors, and on that ground he intended to oppose the clause. ["Divide, divide!"] He did not know why hon. Members should display such impatience. He had only spoken three times upon this Bill, but certainly he intended to-morrow to take other opportunities of interfering in the discussion.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had stated that this clause proposed to inflict a certain stigma upon the Legal Profession. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) did not hesitate to say that this stigma should be inflicted. He wished to regard the clause simply as one relating to barristers and solicitors; and having regard to the facts and circumstances of both English and Irish elections, he considered that barristers and solicitors who were guilty of offences specified in this section ought to be exceptionally punished. It was on the distinct ground that this was an exceptional punishment, and a severe punishment, that he, as a member of the Legal Profession, intended to vote for this clause. They knew very well from the revelations of Election Commissioners that where corrupt practices had prevailed, the instruments of these practices had, in many cases, been connected with the Legal Profession. He was sorry to have to say it, but it was no use hiding the truth on this question; and it would be a piece of hypocrisy on the part of the Legal Profession if they objected to put this mark on the members of the Legal Profession who did wrong. An educated barrister, or an educated solicitor, knew perfectly well when he was doing wrong; and he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) was of opinion, having regard to the special trust which the law imposed upon the Legal Profession, that if any member of that Profession conducted himself improperly at an election he deserved the exceptional punishment of being brought before the heads of his own Profession, so that they might deal with him as they thought proper, and decide whether he was fit to continue, either temporarily or permanently, in the discharge of his professional duties. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) hoped the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) would not consent to any relaxation of this clause.

Mr. WARTON said, his first objection to this sub-section was that it was totally unnecessary, and encumbered the Bill. Although there was a great difference in the style of the two Law Officers of the Crown, there was a great similarity in their arguments. Speaking of solicitors, the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) mentioned two cases of solicitors who misconducted themselves, and the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) dwelt upon the peculiar privileges of legal gentlemen. Now, if solicitors were as bad as it was endeavoured to paint them, why should all the Professions, the admission to which was regulated by law, be grouped together? What was the real object of this section? It was to preserve that cruel severity which prevailed all through the Bill. Would doctors, and dentists, and veterinary surgeons, come under the operation of this clause? Or was it the object of the Attorney General to provide that many men should be debarred? This was a perfectly scandalous clause, and it seemed to him that there was no ground whatever for its appearance in the Bill. He could not conceive for a moment why all professional men should be subjected to this cruel punishment, because on two occasions solicitors had misconducted themselves. He objected to the clause on the ground of common humanity.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he thought there was great misconception in reference to the origin of this clause. They must all admit there had been a few solicitors who had subjected themselves to the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General; and the object of the clause was to enable the Courts to deal with the cases of solicitors who misconducted themselves in the manner described by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. It must be remembered, however, that the two solicitors whose cases the Attorney General had cited werea cting as *quasi*-solicitors. If this clause had merely been formed for the purpose of enabling the Court to deal with men who, acting as *quasi*-solicitors, had acted in an improper way, he did not think anyone would have raised the slightest objection. He objected personally to the roundabout way in which it was proposed to arrive at the result desired. Why should it be the duty of the Public Prosecutor to bring these matters before the Court? If they turned to Clause 36, they would find it was the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to attend there himself, or by his assistant, at all election trials; and in another clause they found that where the trial was before Election Commissioners, the Election Commissioners were, first of all, to communicate with the Public Prosecutor as to whether misconduct had been proved against those gentlemen, and then the Director of Public Prosecutions was to communicate with the tribunal. All that would be necessary, in his (Mr. Grantham's) opinion, instead of inserting this long sub-section, would be to give the tribunal power to take cognizance of misconduct, notwithstanding the fact that a certificate of indemnity might have been given. He hoped the Attorney General would deal with the matter in a more satisfactory way than was now proposed. He had great objection to the clause because by it it was proposed to deal with barristers and solicitors who were not acting at all in their professional capacity.

MR. CALLAN said, that no one who heard the remarkable speech of the Attorney General would be in any doubt as to the insufficiency of the punishment which at present could be imposed upon members of the Legal Profession who misconducted themselves. He considered the punishment provided was not severe enough.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE desired to say a few words to the Committee before they went to a Division; and he meant to take a Division as a protest against this outrageous clause. The speech the Attorney General made was chiefly based on a single instance, with regard to which he was justly indignant; and he showed the Committee how, in one case where a professional man had been the instrument of very much bribery, he remained without any punishment at all. The Committee had provided that a certificate of indemnity should leave a person open to all the disqualifications and incapacities, and should only protect him from actual criminal prosecution. He could not help thinking that the Attorney General and the Solicitor General had misled those who had not read the clause. They had said that the facts of the case were to be brought to the knowledge of the Profession. Now, the last words of the sub-section were these—

> "It shall be the duty of the Director of Public Prosections to bring the matter before the Inn of Court, High Court, or tribunal having power to take cognizance of any misconduct of such person in his profession; and such Inn of Court, High Court, or tribunal may deal with such person in like manner as if such corrupt practice were misconduct by such person in his profession."

It was not misconduct by such person in his profession, and therefore they were passing an Act of Parliament to give the Benchers of an Inn of Court power to deal with a member of that Inn for misconduct outside of his profession. This was a monstrous proposition, and he made that assertion as a Bencher of one of the Inns of Court. There was no excuse for casting that stigma upon the Profession, and he hoped to find some of the hon. Gentlemen opposite join him in protesting against this most unjustifiable proposition.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he approached the consideration of this clause with a mind perfectly free from bias, because he did not happen to be included in any of the Professions which were subject to the pains and penalties set forth in this clause. He, however, opposed the clause as one of the most illogical, unjudicial, and preposterous interferences with natural justice and equity that could possibly be imagined. The clause was extremely vague, and slovenly drawn in its wording—

> "Where a person who is a barrister or a solicitor, or who belongs to any profession the admission to which is regulated by Law,"

is to suffer so-and-so. What on earth was the meaning of the phrase "belongs to any profession the admission to which is regulated by Law?" They ought certainly to have from the Government a Schedule of the Professions the admission to which was regulated by law. Last year a proposition was brought in the House, after which, he believed, the authors were still hankering—a proposition for making a provision that schoolmasters, for instance, should be dependent upon a system of registration. If this proposition were carried, schoolmasters, under this vague clause, would be liable to all the pains and penalties provided by the Bill. As a matter of fact, the clause actually set a premium upon professions that were unregulated by any tribunal, and it would be a positive advantage to belong to such professions. Was there any special reason in the past history of the Legal Profession for the introduction of penalties of this description? If there was any special reason, and if the Legal Profession had been adorned by too many members who were unworthy to belong to it; if the traditions of the Profession in election matters were corrupt and disgraceful—and that was the innuendo contained in the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James), and accepted by the ex-Member for the virtuous borough of Oxford—he considered it an extraordinary thing that they should calmly propose for the future to bring accused members of the Legal Profession before a tribunal of hardened sinners. They were told that down to the present day the Legal Profession was stained through and through with corruption; and, forsooth, it was before the senior members of this stained Profession—successful candidates, though no longer Members of Parliament—who had gained their seats by all kinds of corrupt practices and had escaped detection—it was before the tribunal of Benchers, composed of men who had gone through all the gross experiences that were to be forbidden for the future, that the erring members of the Profession were to go in the future to be tried! Just imagine what a scandal that would be. Suppose some member of the Legal Profession in the future was accused by the Public Prosecutor of having committed some corrupt practice, and his name was mentioned to the Benchers, and supposing it became known that amongst those who inflicted punishment upon him were lawyers who had been notorious and scandalous offenders in the past; in such a case the punishment would be an infinitely greater injury to public justice and respect for the law than any amount of continued indulgence towards offenders belonging to the Legal Profession. And when they were asked in this way to hand over a large class of Her Majesty's subjects to this tribunal of Benchers of the Inns of Court and so forth, they were entitled to ask what guarantee had they that this tribunal, of which, down to the present they had had no official cognizance, of which they had had no legal knowledge, would act with justice and propriety? They were entitled to ask what was there in the constitution of this tribunal which was to be set up for the future, to lead that House to grant this unlimited power with regard to a portion of Her Majesty's subjects who happened to belong to the Legal Profession? Were they not aware that some of the most scandalous offences against public morality were committed by persons in that Profession, such as taking fees and doing no work for them; and were they not aware that conduct of that kind was winked at by the infallible tribunal of Benchers that were to be armed with the powers of this Act? He contended that they knew nothing in the history of the Inns of Court which should lead them implicitly to trust to them in this matter. He contended that when, under this clause, a man was brought under an Inn of Court, it would depend very much upon his social relation to his Judges—that was to say, upon the amount of his private acquaintance and friendship with them, and the amount of influence he could bring to bear upon them—whether or not he should be made subject to the heavy punishments of the Bill. As was generally the case with exceptionally coercive legislation, this would be calculated to create a prejudice that would defeat the object with which it was proposed. Let the Committee imagine the position of two persons implicated in Election Petitions before the Election Judges; one a member of the general public, and the other—if hon. Gentlemen opposite would adjourn to the Smoking Room or some more congenial place than the House he might be able to finish his observations.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to address his observations to the Chair.

MR. O'DONNELL said, it was through the Chairman, then, that he would make that observation. He had been prevented from addressing the Chair by a continued buzz of conversation; and it was in order to prevent that that he had made the remark. What he had been saying was this—what would be the position of two persons against whom charges were brought in regard to an election contest, one of them being an ordinary member of the public, and the other a gentleman who would be subject to these exceptional penalties because of his connection with the Legal Profession? Would it not be a fruitful theme for appeals to the Court that one man more than another was subject to exceptional treatment? For the very reason that a man was liable to exceptional treatment a strong appeal for clemency would be made. If a lawyer and a non-lawyer were accused, in the very interests of equity the Judges dealing with these two cases would be led to give the man who was liable to a double penalty every possible benefit of every loophole, and every chance of escape; and in that way the very provisions introduced into this Bill for the purpose of doubling the penalty against the lawyer would always lead to their being treated with exceptional leniency, because, from the fact that if they were found guilty they would be treated with exceptional severity. That was a course of policy which could be illustrated to any extent in general history. He thought the best Her Majesty's Government could do would be—[*Interruption.*] He had called the attention of the Chairman—or, at any rate, had endeavoured to call the attention of the Chairman—to a buzz of conversation on the opposite side; and he was sorry to say that it had not been rebuked, and that it was even now continuing without rebuke on the Chairman's part. This deliberate disturbance—which, to his mind, was contrary to the Rules and Orders of the House—rendered it impossible for him to make himself heard; therefore he was obliged to sit down; but, in doing so, he would move that the Chairman report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

MR. CALLAN said, he would ask the hon. Member not to persevere with his Motion, but would direct the attention of the Chairman and the Commitee to the fact that when the hon. Member who had just sat down had addressed himself to those who were interrupting him, he was met with a rebuke at the hands of the Chairman. The hon. Member continued his speech; but the interruptions became so loud as to drown his voice and prevent the reporters in the Gallery from hearing him. But, notwithstanding that this noise continued, he (Sir Arthur Otway), acting as Chairman, did not rebuke the misconduct—or, rather, the not creditable conduct—of the Radicals sitting below the Gangway on the opposite side of the House.

The Committee proceeded to a Division.

The Chairman stated he thought the Noes had it; and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Ayes to stand up in their places, and Nine Members only having stood up, the Chairman declared the Noes had it.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he believed he had only spoken two or three times during the progress of this Bill—[*Cries of* "Divide!"]—but the conduct of hon. Members opposite convinced him that they disapproved of his reticence; and he therefore trusted that they would not have reason to complain of his want of appreciation of his public duty for the future. This clause was not sufficiently definite, and it was only due to the members of that Profession, the admission to which was regulated by law, that it should be made so. What was the provision according to the view of the Government? He had heard it stated that a barrister was nothing more than a trades unionist. Well, he wanted to know, under the clause, whether it would be the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to bring the conduct, during an election, of every member of a trade society under the notice of the council of that society, and to give them power to impose special penalties upon him, irrespective of the penalties laid down by the law of the land? He should like very much to know what, in the eye of the law, or, rather, in the eye of the Attorney General, was the difference between a corporation of solicitors or a society of barristers, and a corporation or society of stone masons and slaters? Unless the Attorney General introduced words defining what he meant by a Profession, he wanted to know what there was more legal in the Profession of solicitor than in the Profession of stone mason or slater? It was all very well for the Government to affect an air of extreme purity, and draw up a number of clauses in the most ambiguous form; but, before they passed the Bill, they ought to arrive at some distinct understanding as to what was meant by these provisions. Before they passed laws exposing members of Professions to definite penalties they should know what was meant by "Profession." To his mind, the words of the clause expressly included ordinary trades unions, because these words were—

> "Or tribunal may deal with such person in like manner as if such corrupt practice were misconduct by such person in his Profession."

There were hundreds of Professions throughout the Kingdom governed by tribunals regularly in the habit of imposing penalties for what was considered to be unprofessional conduct; and he wished to know—was every trades union throughout the Kingdom which happened to have a council to be able to impose penalties on its members for improper practices at elections, in addition to the penalties which were imposed by the law of the land?

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 117; Noes 67: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 169.)

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he really thought they might now ask the hon. and learned Attorney General to agree to report Progress. It was now nearly a quarter-past 1, Members had been in the House during the whole of the day, and they had to be in attendance again at 2 o'clock to-morrow. He, therefore, thought it most reasonable to propose that they should now report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, there were only two formal Amendments to this clause, both of which he was ready to accept; and he, therefore, thought the Committee might be allowed to conclude the section before reporting Progress. He would not ask them to go further than this clause, which had been under discussion now for nearly three hours. He trusted the hon. and gallant Baronet would not press his proposal.

Mr. LALOR begged to remind the hon. and learned Gentleman of a very important Bill which the Government had decided upon bringing forward that night—namely, the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill. That was a measure upon which a long discussion was very likely to arise; therefore he thought it would be well for them to at once report Progress.

Mr. CALLAN said, he thought that if they acceded to the Attorney General's request, and passed these two Amendments, they should allow hon. Members to go home. They would be utterly unfit to go on with the discussion of the Bill which the Government had expressed themselves determined to proceed with that night. He would suggest that the hon. and gallant Baronet should withdraw his Motion, and that they should go on with the Bill, provided that the Irish Poor Relief Bill was not continued at this late hour. Irish Members were the same as English Members. ["No, no!"] Well, for his part, he should be very sorry to be like any of the Radicals opposite; but what he meant was that Irish Members, like English Representatives, required rest. He should certainly give every support in his power to the Motion of the hon. and gallant Baronet, unless the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan) would assure them that now that the House was thoroughly exhausted, at a quarter-past 1 o'clock, he would not go on with the Irish Bill.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was impossible to leave the Committee in the dark as to what were the intentions of the Government, for Members might say there had been a breach of faith. On Monday evening the Government forbore to press this most essential, but, at the same time, extremely minute Bill, on the understanding that it was to be proceeded with to-night. He would not insist on the word "understanding," however, because he was not certain that an assurance was given by hon. Members on the matter; but it must have been distinctly understood that the Government would press the Bill to-night. It would be impossible to carry on the Business of the House, and to make any progress with the large number of Irish Bills before the House, unless a stage were taken nearly every night on a Bill.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, there was no understanding, and the assurance was on the part of the Government, who asked the House to discuss at this time of night a Bill of the utmost importance. If it was to be a Draconian rule that the Government must make progress with every Bill, he would suggest that some other Government Bill should be proceeded with.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had referred to Irish Bills.

Mr. O'DONNELL thought Ireland must be very much obliged; but he did not think that at this hour of the night Irish Members were much disposed to enter into the large question raised by this Bill, and into all the new matter which was to be opened up by the pending international questions between the United States and England under the Bill. He should offer every opposition to such an important Bill being taken at such an untimely moment.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the Chief Secretary seemed very much disposed to follow in the footsteps of his Predecessor; and, if so, he would prophesy that the end of his career would be of a similar nature. The right hon. Gentleman had broken the distinct promise he had given with regard to this Bill, and now he said there had been an understanding. There was no understanding that this Bill was to be discussed at such an untimely hour. The Leader of the Irish Party was absent, and there were other Irish Members absent who would wish to discuss this question, and who were more competent to do so than the Members who were present.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, that, speaking merely for himself, he was willing to go into the Bill, if there was any chance of getting something substantial for the Irish poor out of the Bill; but the hour was late to begin what he was afraid would take a long time.

Mr. WARTON pointed out that, although there were at present only two verbal Amendments to this sub-section, he had to move another Amendment of importance. He hoped the Attorney General would consent to report Progress.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. H. H. Fowler, Amendment made, in page 17, line 17, by leaving out from "appears" to "before," and by inserting "is reported by."

On the Motion of Mr. Gorst, Amendment made, in page 17, line 18, by leaving out "or privy to."

Mr. WARTON moved to omit the sub-section. It was bad enough, he said, that professional gentlemen should be brought by the Public Prosecutor to the notice of the High Court, or this undescribed tribunal; but it was far worse to prevent people ascertaining from professional men what they were to do. He protested most strongly against this, in the interests of the Profession, and also in other interests. It was casting a stigma and a slur on the Courts to require them to go through the farce of assuming that a man had been guilty of misconduct who had not been guilty. As to the drafting of the clause, it would end very well with the word "profession" in line 23, and then these independent bodies could act in the matter if they thought fit, and not be directed to do so by a falsehood or a Jesuitical approach to a falsehood. They could take care of their own honour; but they would be humiliated by this unjust clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 17, line 23, to leave out all the words after "profession."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. GORST said, he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not persist with this Amendment, although he was of his way of thinking. He voted against the whole clause, and he should have been glad if the Attorney General had struck out the sub-section; but the Committee had decided, by a considerable majority, against his view, and in favour of the sub-section. If it was to be maintained, these words were absolutely necessary, because it was no use calling the attention of a tribunal to the conduct of a professional man, unless it was to be allowed to deal with the question of corrupt practice as if it had been misconduct in the Profession. Although he should be glad to see the whole sub-section struck out, it was no use making nonsense of it.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the Committee had discussed this question throughout the evening and taken a Division upon it, and it was not reasonable that they should be now asked to discuss it a second time.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

[BILL 154.] COMMITTEE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [2nd July], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee on Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill).

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Power to make grants to distressed unions).

MR. O'BRIEN said, he desired, in moving the Amendment standing in his name, to steer clear of any controversy or any recriminatory speeches. His Amendment was framed with a special view to two Unions in Donegal, Glenties and Dunfanaghy. The population in those two Unions had, since November last, been supported by private charity, and neither the Government nor the Poor Law had done anything for them. He did not wish to go back to that now, but merely to mention that, as a matter of fact, no relief whatever had been given to those poor people from either of those two sources. Private charity had kept them out of the prison; it had purchased seeds which enabled them to re-sow a great portion of the land. There was a promising crop in the ground; a good many of the people had gone away to Scotland for employment; and the object of the Amendment was to preserve those who remained behind, and who had no means of subsistence, until their potatoes were ready, which, in this barren region, would not be until the end of August. The funds which had hitherto supported them were now exhausted, and he did not think it was too much to ask the Government to come to their rescue even now, at the eleventh hour, and for a few weeks to take up the work which the priests and other persons had been doing for the last six months. Nobody could question the reality of the distress in these two Unions. The Chief Secretary visited a mere strip of these districts in January last, and was horrified at what he saw—that was, when he trusted to his own eyes, and not to the obsequious officials in Donegal. In March last the Poor Law Inspector, Dr. Woodhouse, admitted that in one of these districts one-third of the people had no means of subsistence. Nothing had happened to alter their situation in the least, for Dr. Woodhouse admitted that none of the people had migrated from Glencolumbkill to Scotland. Mr. Macfarlane, another Inspector, admitted that the Rosses was the most distressed part of Donegal. Father Gallagher, the parish priest, had stated that the Government had given the people no assistance whatsoever, and they had been left to struggle alone with the monster, Famine. There were, he said, 3,500 people on the poor relief list, and that immense number of human beings were dependent entirely upon him for support; but he was not able to give them half sufficient food. Men were fainting at their work, and, but for Mrs. Lalor's assistance to the children, many of them would have died. The other day he (Mr. O'Brien) had directed attention to a letter in *The Daily Chronicle* from a lady whose authority he should have thought would have outweighed that of a great many interested officials, Mrs. Ernest Hart. In that letter she mentioned that a Captain Hill had sent his bailiff to collect the rents of tenants who were reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty. She said—

> "While Captain Hill is pressing for his rents, hundreds of wretched tenantry are being kept from starvation by doles of a pennyworth of meal per day, and all the paupers are kept by two biscuits a-day. The poverty seen is enough to make the most stony-hearted weep."

Mrs. Hart showed the extreme distress existing in Gweedore; how from November to May, 800 persons had been receiving relief in the shape of Indian meal. Of Captain Hill's 600 tenants 400 were so relieved; and in Glencolumbkill, on June 22, there were still 600 poor recipients of such relief. Father M'Fadden, last week, wrote to the effect that the funds at his command were gone, and that the allowances of food would have to be stopped. If the Government, he said, would step in with relief during the next six weeks, a few hundred pounds would bring the people safely through; but, unless something was done, he did not know what might happen. If there were any prospect of outdoor relief, the danger might be dealt with; but he was sick of appealing to landlord Guardians, who would not give it. He (Mr. O'Brien) did not contend, and never had contended, that the distressed area in Donegal was not very circumscribed; but that was all the more reason why he implored the Government to have regard to these claims of these impoverished people and of probable starvation. While this Bill proposed to give £50,000 for the relief of Irish poverty, he, if it was of any use, adjured the Government to insure that some portion of that should go to the people most pressingly, most cruelly in need of relief. In these miserable Unions there was no outdoor relief, because the Guardians who were withholding it were those who would have to pay it out of their own pockets; but it would be a different thing if a grant of public money was made in aid of their own resources, and if their powers were enlarged to embrace every case of honest destitution during the next six weeks, then they might exist until, please God, a bountiful harvest took the poor people off the Guardians' hands. He earnestly hoped that the Government would not, for the mere sake of sticking to a theory, leave these poor creatures for the next six weeks utterly helpless. They had suffered enough already, much more than the House would ever know; they would feel it in their emaciated constitutions. He hoped the Government would step in now, after private charity had done so much for the past six months, and do something for them, and, in that hope, moved the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 13, after the word "union," to insert the words—"It shall be lawful for the guardians of any union to whom a grant shall be made under the Act, or, in their default, for the Local Government Board, to grant relief, either in the workhouse or outside the workhouse, as to them shall appear expedient, to destitute poor persons, whether such persons are disabled from labour or not, for any time not exceeding two calendar months from the passing of the Act."—(*Mr. O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. LEAMY said, he had an Amendment upon the Paper altogether separate from that which had been proposed by his hon. Friend; but, in the course of the evening, he had handed in a copy of an Amendment he intended to move to this part of the Bill. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had seen it; but, if he had, he would see that the same reasons and arguments used by his hon. Friend would tell in favour of his Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney): I may inform the hon. Member that I have looked at the Amendment handed in in manuscript, and it appears to me to be identical with the Amendment now before the Committee, and could not be moved. Though I give this information, it would be irregular to discuss it now; the discussion must be addressed to the Amendment before the Committee.

Mr. LEAMY said, as the Chairman had ruled his Amendment was identical with the present, he should wait until he could put an Amendment before the Committee for discussion.

Dr. LYONS said, he regretted to trouble the Committee, and he very much regretted that the measure had been brought on at such a late hour, because it involved a question of vital moment in regard to the position of a portion of the people of Ireland. He was not very sure that the question that had been raised came properly within the scope of the Bill; for, as he understood, the purpose of the Government in bringing in the Bill was with the object of legitimatizing the action of those Guardians who had got into a false financial position, and they calculated that the amount of the grant in aid would be something like £50,000. Therefore, if for the relief of those Unions by loans to that amount the Bill was limited financially, it was impossible to afford any relief for any other object under this measure. He should have preferred that this question had been raised in another, and an independent shape. He could speak in regard to several of the Unions in Ireland from personal observation. For certain reasons with which he would not now trouble the Committee, it became his duty to visit considerable portions of Ireland during the present year, and some of the distressed districts he had had an opportunity of re-visiting at a recent time; and he was justified in stating that the amount of distress prevailing in these districts—and into which he had inquired in the closest possible manner with every feeling of impartiality to arrive at the real facts of the case—that the state of destitution was really appalling. Nothing but the superhuman efforts made by a number of individuals acting from feelings of humanity had enabled the people to be kept alive. He visited Donegal, and made a circuit of the whole county in the early part of January; and having made a very close inspection, having visited the houses of the people, having himself made inquiries in every possible way to exclude error and exaggeration, he could state that such was the state of destitution that, but for the exertions made in Ireland, and the charitable contributions there and elsewhere, the House would have had to face an appalling state of starvation there. From all that he saw, and from all his inquiries, and after examination and cross-examination, he was satisfied there was an absolute want of food at that time, and nearly a complete failure of seed potatoes. But for the exertions of the charitable we should be facing, not only famine in the present, but a condition of things infinitely worse in the coming winter, and for some time subsequently. He could not but mention with all honour the exertions made by a lady whose name was now widely known, Mrs. Power Lalor. She undertook the feeding of a number of poor people, a number that reached to 5,000, poorly clad, and who, while experiencing the effects of the storm that swept over the country, had little protection from the weather. He could not fail to recognize that the people must have been swept off in vast numbers, but for the exertions of this most charitable lady, prompted by feelings of charity, and assisted by an amount of personal energy and ability, enabling her to do what in other hands would have been impossible, the work of keeping the people alive. Nor could he speak too highly of the exertions of the local clergy in the districts of Gweedore, Glencolumbkill, the Rosses, and on the West Coast, but for which there would have been a large mortality to face; or the exertions of that very distinguished and accomplished man, the Catholic Bishop of Raphoe. His efforts were unceasing and untiring.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. COURTNEY): I must point out to the hon. Member that the proposal before the Committee is to amend Clause 1; he must confine his observations to that Amendment.

DR. LYONS said, he understood the Amendment dealt with the subject of workhouse relief. Of course, he bowed to the ruling from the Chair; but he was leading up to his point by showing the exertions made to keep the people alive, and in a manner different from that now proposed. He would come to what he wished to say in that respect. He was briefly alluding to the exertions made to keep the people alive by giving them employment—that was the point he was coming to. The exertions of the Catholic Bishop and the clergy, and the contributions made, were all utilized in giving occupation to the people. He wished to bear testimony in favour of this principle, which was instituted in all cases except those of children and those unable to work. Donations were applied under the direction of the distinguished ecclesiastic and his clergy to whom he had referred in the direction of giving employment. The invariable feeling on the part of the people was for occupation, for honest work, not for doles of charity. The point to which he wished expressly to address himself was this—He did not think the Amendment placed before the Committee by the hon. Gentleman went in a direction which would be acceptable except as a *dernier ressort*, and to meet the wishes of Bishop, clergy, and people. He had travelled the whole of the county, and in no single instance did he find any disposition on the part of the people to avail themselves of workhouse relief in any shape whatever. Their cry was invariably in the direction of work—honest payment for honest work. He thought it most desirable the Committee should fully understand that there was, undoubtedly, a creditable spirit of independence growing up and finding expression in all parts of Ireland, to which statesmen should give full recognition. This was one of the reasons why he expressed regret that this question had been raised in the form in which it had been sought to raise it, and under a Bill strictly limited to an amount of money to be applied, and having for its object the relief of the pressing financial needs of Unions which had, wisely or unwisely, rightly or wrongly, on this or that principle, by outdoor or indoor relief, undoubtedly got themselves into a position of financial distress from which a sum of money must relieve them. He regretted that this discussion should have been taken upon this particular Bill and in this particular shape. It was of the greatest importance, in a statesmanlike point of view, that the Government should take some steps to meet the condition of distress that existed at present; but he did not see how anyone could hope to do it under this Bill, strictly limited in amount and object. Therefore, he regretted that the question was not raised in an independent manner. It would be worth the attention of Government in some other way to deal with it.

THE CHAIRMAN (Mr. COURTNEY): Again I must point out to the hon. Member that he is not addressing himself to the Amendment before the Committee.

DR. LYONS said, he was endeavouring to address himself to the Amendment before the Committee. That Amendment might not be in strict accordance with the principle of the Bill; he did not think it was, and he was surprised that the Chairman had put it; but he was endeavouring to point out how any attempt to relieve the people from their present position in a manner uncongenial to their feelings was not in the direction in which it was desirable the Government should give aid.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not the Question raised by the Amendment. The Question is the expediency of giving certain powers to Guardians they do not now possess. The hon. Member must address himself to that Question.

DR. LYONS said, the Amendment was that where relief was proposed, it should be given the workhouse or outside, and he was arguing that this was not congenial to the wishes and feelings of the people in the County of Donegal and other parts of Ireland; and he begged leave to say that he dissented from the principle sought to be established by the Amendment. That was the object to which he was directing himself. He believed it would be quite possible and quite proper for the Government to deal with the distress actually existing, and almost certain to be intensified in the next two or three months; and in regard to that, he thought to contemplate six weeks as the probable duration was to take too short a period, for he believed, having regard to the lateness of the harvest, which at present promised to be a bountiful one, the people must be carried on to the first week in September, for the crops would not be available for the support of the people until then. He challenged the principle which was implied in the Amendment; he was opposed to the principle of outdoor relief. He believed it was not necessary to have recourse to the workhouse, and he believed that Government could readily find means of employing the people on works that would be reproductive, while the people would be raised in every essential point of view from their condition of wretchedness, and a new stimulus would be given to industry throughout the whole of Ireland. That, however, he did not desire to enlarge upon; it was a problem to be solved; but he believed it would be possible, and it was desirable that the Government should take some steps to employ the people in the period that must intervene before the harvest was available for their support. It was not possible that the harvest could be utilized until towards the end of August at least, and in some instances much later; therefore the necessity existed for something being done. He did not believe that what was proposed in the Amendment was the right or the best way, or that most congenial to the people. But at that late hour he would say no more. Anyone who knew the condition of the people could not but feel the duty imposed upon him to make their real condition known to the House, even at the risk of exciting those expressions of impatience which his observations had called forth. He could not support the Amendment before the Committee, and could only express his surprise that it was allowed to be put.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, he did not know whether it was absolutely necessary to bring into an Act of Parliament a provision for affording outdoor relief to the poor in Ireland between the finishing up of one harvest and the commencement of the next; but one object he had was to shorten the debate, for no Irish Member was more anxious than he was that relief should be given if required, and to have it voted as quickly as possible. He had heard there was some misapprehension about the Bill, and he rose for the purpose of getting some explanation from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, not in reference to the Amendment. There was an idea that the Bill was being passed for the purpose of paying off old debts; and if that point were cleared up when the Chief Secretary rose, it might possibly enable the Bill to pass in a few minutes. The 4th clause seemed intended to cover a multitude of sins.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney): It would be quite irregular to enter upon the 4th clause; the hon. and gallant Member must address himself to the Amendment before the Committee.

Captain AYLMER said, he would ask leave of the Committee just to mention one thing which was outside of the Amendment; and he desired to say that, if he was allowed to mention it, and an answer was given, it might be that the Bill would be got through in a few minutes, and, otherwise, might take two or three nights.

Mr. CALLAN rose to a point of Order. There was a Chairman of Committees, and, without any disrespect to the present occupant of the Chair (Mr. Courtney), he wished to ask whether this Bill was not a Bill dealing with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and whether it was right or proper, on a Bill dealing with Treasury interests, that the Secretary to the Treasury should occupy the Chair?

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney): That is not a question of Order.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was not quite certain if he understood the mysterious hint of the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer); but, no doubt, the difficulty would be cleared up when Clause 4 was reached; but certainly there never was a Bill which more completely contained on the face of it its nature and scope.

Captain AYLMER said, he wished o assist in getting it through quickly.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had raised a point which he knew the hon. Member had much at heart, in a speech which did not surprise him by its earnestness—for he knew how earnest the hon. Member was—but which did surprise him, to a certain extent, by its extreme brevity in putting his case, which enabled him to put the opposite case without a long speech, which he would be unwilling to inflict upon the Committee with reference to the Bill. The hon. Member had spoken several times upon this question of outdoor relief when it had been raised by Resolution; and he could hardly complain that now, when the hon. Member saw an opportunity, not of abstract debate, but of embodying his views in an Act of Parliament, that he should ask the Committee to insert a particular clause in the Bill. But though certainly he did not complain of the course taken, he did not propose to follow by arguing at great length this most important question of dealing with prevailing distress by means of outdoor relief or workhouse test. It had been discussed—he would not say until the House was tired of it, for it was a question too full of interest not to carry the House through two or three debates—but it had been more thoroughly discussed than any other question during the Session. There had been two debates of what he might call first-class order, one in the month of February, and the other last Friday. On the first occasion the House, by a majority which at the moment he had forgotten, but which he fancied was somewhere between 90 and 120 to a minority of 32, decided, after a long debate, that the policy of the Government with regard to outdoor relief should be supported; and on Friday the House came to a similar decision by 82 to 22. It must be remembered in regard to this Division that the majority represented, to a considerable extent, the feeling of the House of Commons, because it was an occasion upon which hon. Gentlemen who took the view of the hon. Member for Mallow were pretty sure to be present in as large numbers as they could muster. On the last occasion he spoke for nearly an hour, and expressed his opinion upon the bearings of this question of outdoor and indoor relief, both as applied to general and normal distress and to exceptional periods of distress, and he did not intend to repeat the arguments he then used. The hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons) had quite rightly described the Bill as definite and limited in its purpose; it was a Bill for enabling Unions which, with the permission of the Government, had met distress during the winter months by borrowing money on the local rates, to be indemnified, and in addition, in cases where they required it, to enable them to borrow further; and in cases where the Government considered these Unions had placed themselves in an impoverished position by no fault of their own, to enable the Government to make a grant of the amount of the sum they had borrowed; and this was a power of which the Government intended to avail themselves. In a Bill of this sort he could understand why the hon. Member should raise the question of outdoor relief, for this was the first practical opportunity he had of getting his view inserted into a Bill; but he thought the hon. Member would understand—and he was sure the majority of the House would understand—that the Government could not possibly, at that late period of the Session, and at a late period of the distress, the method of meeting which had been so much discussed—they could not quite suddenly face rightabout, and accept an Amendment which would stultify everything they had said in the House and everything they had done in Ireland. He felt, and he respected very much the sympathy which the sufferings of the people of Donegal had raised in the mind of the hon. Member for Mallow; but he had different accounts of the condition of Dunfanaghy. The accounts he had were to the effect that there was ten-fold more labour in the neighbourhood of the Union, and that the condition of the people was such as would enable them to pass through the time between this and harvest in a state which could not be considered one of very exceptional distress as compared with the state in which they had been for the last three or four months. His accounts were decidedly more hopeful, though, he allowed, they came from other quarters than those from which the hon. Member derived his information. He respected the motives with which the hon. Member had brought forward his Amendment; but it was impossible for the Government to accept it. He earnestly trusted that, although the hon. Member was disappointed on a subject he had very much at heart, he would allow the Bill, against the principle of which he did not understand the hon. Member had objection—[Mr. O'BRIEN: Oh, oh!] He (Mr. Trevelyan) did not know what the objection was, except so far as the hon. Member thought any of this money was to be expended in workhouse relief. He earnestly trusted the hon. Member would accept the decision of the Committee on the Amendment, and allow the Bill to go forward.

MR. LEAMY said, it appeared that the impression on the mind of the Chief Secretary was that the Amendment proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) would impose an obligation on Boards of Guardians to proceed at once to grant outdoor relief in distressed Unions; but it would do nothing of the kind. Simply the Amendment said it should be lawful for the Guardians of any Union receiving a grant under the Bill to grant outdoor relief during the next two months. Here was a sum of money about to be granted to certain Unions in Ireland, granted from an Irish fund, not from the pockets of English taxpayers; and his hon. Friend moved an Amendment giving these Guardians the power to grant relief to destitute poor persons, in or out of the workhouse. This was the Amendment the Chief Secretary said he could not accept, because, he said, it would be turning back from the position he took up a few months ago. Why did his hon. Friend ask for this Amendment? Because he knew that in the Unions where a great deal of distress prevailed a large number of the distressed people were small farmers, who could not go into the workhouse except at the price of breaking up their homes and demoralizing their families. His hon. Friend asked that a discretionary power should be given to Boards of Guardians in these Unions, to give some of this grant from an Irish fund to assist these poor people during the next two months, while they were waiting for the harvest to ripen. In these Unions these small farmers had been kept alive for six or seven months, not by the action of the Boards of Guardians or the Government, but by money contributed by charitable people. As a matter of fact, on one estate in Donegal, there were 400 tenants whose land had been seeded by the money of charitable people, poor miserable farmers, watching their seed ripening while they and their children were starving. He did not ask the Government to put its hands in the pockets of ratepayers, and to give the money to these people, or to impose an obligation upon the Guardians to give this relief; he simply asked that the Guardians should have the power to give from this grant if they thought it expedient to do so. This the Chief Secretary refused, and he was not surprised at this from a Government which months ago adopted the course they had pursued in Ireland; of course, it would never do to admit that their Irish policy had been mistaken for a moment. Of course, the Irish Members present were small in number, and the Bill could be passed by the votes of English Radical Members. But Irish Members were asking nothing from them; they were only asking that Irish Boards should use Irish money to meet the needs of the starving people of Donegal. This request was denied, and the denial would be sanctioned by the votes of Members who never set a foot in Ireland, and who, bad as they were from a political point of view, and hostile as they were to Irish Members' views, would, he believed, if they saw the condition of the people, be the first to come forward and support the claim. The Amendment of his hon. Friend fell short of what he desired. Did hon. Members know what it was? By the law in Ireland, Guardians could give outdoor relief in cases where a man was disabled from work by sickness or accident; and the Amendment proposed that the Guardians should have power to give that relief to the destitute who were not disabled, but starving from want of work, and yet this discretionary power was refused. This grant of £50,000 was to be taken from an Irish fund; they did not seek to have it said how it should be distributed, but only that a discretion should be given to Guardians to dole out a few hundred pounds in the wretched mountain districts of Donegal, and also that the Guardians should not have this power for more than two months. Care would be taken that the privilege should not be abused; the Amendment said the grant might be made, but it did not compel it; the Guardians might grant the relief until the harvest ripened, and then the Guardians would no longer have the power, because the people would have the means of supporting themselves. And this was to be refused. Of course, the Irish Members were too small in number to make an impression upon the Government that night, and it was a sad thing to think that hon. Gentlemen should come down to the House and remain until 3 in the morning, to refuse a concession for which Irish Members could gain no credit if the Amendment were put in the Bill. There was no political reason for their action, that Englishmen, who had sympathy for suffering people in every quarter of the globe, and extended their charity to every part of the world, should come down to the House to prevent a discretionary power being given to Irish Guardians to use Irish money on behalf of starving Irish people.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) did not make full allowance for the attitude of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. His hon. Friend seemed to think that the condition of the poor starving people in Donegal, watching the grain ripening while they suffered the pangs of hunger, had escaped the notice of the Chief Secretary; but he did not think there was anything in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman from which his hon. Friend could form that conclusion. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had, he thought, told the House that it would be an object of contemplation — an interesting subject for contemplation, so long as he had the privilege of misgoverning Ireland from that official Bench. Some months ago, he informed the House that the Government had adopted a certain line of policy; and as the result of the treatment in Donegal, charitable priests and ladies were obliged, by begging in charitable quarters everywhere —of course excluding Government quarters — to make up for the neglect of Government, and by their action they saved the lives of hundreds and of thousands in Donegal and other parts of Ireland; and while the Government made up its mind three months ago to face the risk of the people starving, they were now prepared to add a couple of months more; for, said he, in those tones of satisfaction that found an echo from the Radical admirers of the Chief Secretary, even if they were in a starving condition they were not in a very much worse condition than they had been in so for several months previously. That was the position of the Chief Secretary. If these sentiments were held by a Cossack savage they would be regarded as barbarous and atrocious; but, coming from the right hon. Gentleman the Liberal Representative of a Liberal Government in Ireland, they were humane and like an Englishman. It was quite clear that argument was thrown away; it was apparent that it was utterly useless for Irish Members to appeal to a Radical Party whose consciences were in the possession of a Liberal Whip; and he did not know really what was to be done, except that it might assist his hon. Friends to make use of those Benches to talk to the Irish people if they were disposed to continue the subject to a length at which it might properly be discussed, when, perhaps, it might help to bring about another Monaghan Election before long. But it was quite clear that, although nothing was asked but that the Boards of Guardians, or, failing them, the official Board in Dublin, should have the power of relieving persons who were disabled from starvation during a short space of two months, though nothing more was asked than the power to relieve grievous cases during a limited period, this was refused because the Chief Secretary said, having laid down certain rules three months ago, the Government could not withdraw those rules now, and if the people went on to starvation, well, they had always been near starvation under a British Government, but the subject would continue to be one for interesting contemplation. The position of the Irish Members was merely to protest, and he was exceedingly sorry they could do no more. Such conduct as Her Majesty's Government were adopting in Ireland, if adopted anywhere else in the world, would be regarded as ample justification for insurrection and rebellion; it was a policy of spoliation, of cruel murderous torture of women and children; it was a policy of detestable barbarity and meanness; it was a policy that deserved the execration and curses of every honest man. But the curses and execrations of honest men would always be matter of mirth to Her Majesty's Government, until honest men had got physical force on their side.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he did not wish to detain the Committee at that late hour; but certainly he would, if only as a protest, carry his Motion to a Division, and see how many Members would follow him into the Lobby. Bitter as had been the words of his hon. Friend who had last spoken, he did not in the least exaggerate the feeling that the attitude of the Chief Secretary would create in Ireland. He had represented that thousands of unfortunate people were admittedly without means of support, and he defied the Government to point to anything that the Government or the Poor Law had done for them. He wanted no victory over the Government in the way of putting outdoor relief in an Act of Parliament, but some sort of pledge that something would be done for these unfortunate people, who, up to the present, had been trusting to private charity for support. In official Reports there had been a misrepresentation of facts, he would not say an amount of lying, though that might be justified. On these Reports the Chief Secretary relied, when he said that things were not quite so exceptionally bad as in the past four months; but during all this time the distress had been in full swing. The Chief Secretary seemed to think that he (Mr. O'Brien) had no objection to the Bill; but he must say that the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman on the subject convinced him that, whether wisely or not, it was only part of the plan to substitute for help the expatriation of the Irish people, to the discouraging of any other mode of dealing with the distress. What was the Bill for? The right hon. Gentleman had admitted, in plain terms, that the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer) had hit the right nail on the head when he said the Bill was to pay off old debts. It was a Bill to pay some debts already incurred by Boards of Guardians, and whom would it actually relieve? It was admitted that there were thousands wanting relief; but would this Bill buy one pound of meal towards relieving starvation? Would it give any relief until the people went into the workhouse, and it was known they would die before they would do that? It would relieve the ratepayers, not the people in distress. But for the Bill, there would be nothing left but to declare the Union bankrupt, and the landlords would be the losers—the persons who all along had made light of the distress that they might not be called upon to relieve it, but who made a long face when there was a chance of getting relief from Government. It was the Boards of Guardians—the landlords and their agents—who had persistently followed the Government programme, denying the distress, enforcing the workhouse test, refusing outdoor relief, getting up long lists of emigrants, getting the people into a better mood for closing with the offers of emigration agents—these were the people who were to have this present of £50,000. All he could say was, he was heartily sick of appealing to the Government on this subject. He did not care in what way they phrased it, or gave the guarantee; but that the process of starvation should not continue among thousands of people for two months longer—that was his object.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney): The hon. Member for Waterford did not move an Amendment, I think, though he intimated his intention of doing so.

Mr. LEAMY said, he did not intend to do so. His Amemdment was simply to confer a greater discretion upon Boards of Guardians; but he did not think it was any use moving it. He would, however, bring it up on Report, when Irish Members would be prepared to support it, and to have a discussion of some length.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 13; Noes 59: Majority 46.—(Div. List, No. 170.)

Mr. LEAMY said, he would move the Amendment of which he had given Notice. He did not know whether the Government had any great objection to it.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 17, after the word "pounds," to insert the words "and no portion of such grants shall be applied to the purpose of aiding or assisting emigration."—(*Mr. Leamy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. O'Brien

Mr. TREVELYAN said, on this point he was able to explain to hon. Members the peculiar transactions on account of which the Bill was introduced, to show them there was no hidden purpose behind the Bill, and, at the same time, to show them how very small a Bill it was to attract so much attention. Had the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) inserted his Amendment, it would not have been a small matter; but what remained was a very small Bill indeed. There were three financial principles in the Bill, under none of which could any money, or would any money, be spent in emigration. On the principle contained in the 4th clause certain Unions had borrowed money, with the approval of the Local Government Board. Of these Unions, three out of four were Unions that had not contributed a single penny from their funds, or borrowed a single penny for emigration purposes—Belmullet, Clifton, and Newport—and in the fourth Union £500 had been borrowed, and none of that had been applied to purposes of emigration. The 3rd clause contained the power to borrow in the future, under the sanction of the Local Government Board; and he was able to say positively that with regard to Unions who might seek to exercise that power in future, the Local Government Board would not give its sanction to their so charging themselves for purposes of emigration. Then, the other object of the Bill was the relief of the four Unions which had borrowed from their debt; and he gave an absolute pledge for the Government that not one single halfpenny of the money should be spent, directly or indirectly, upon emigration. He should consider it a gross breach of faith on the part of the Government to extend a system of emigration which had created so much approbation, and, at the same time, some disapprobation, without giving hon. Members full and fair opportunity of discussing the question again, and of refusing or granting any further contribution from public funds. He was unwilling to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member; because it appeared to him, among other things, that it could scarcely be introduced without appearing to imply that the House disapproved of the system of emigration. He hoped the hon. Member would be content with the explanation and the assurances he had given.

MR. LEAMY said, the right hon. Gentleman's strongest objection was that it might appear to some people that if the Amendment were accepted the House disapproved of emigration. Now, what was the Amendment? The Bill proposed to grant £50,000 to certain Unions, and the Amendment proposed that no portion of such grant should be applied or spent to aid or assist emigration. That was merely a declaration that a particular fund should not be devoted to purposes of emigration; but in no way did it express disapprobation of emigration, or refer to any other fund. The Chief Secretary said no part of the fund should be so applied. Then, where was the substantial objection to the Amendment? He was not calling in question the right hon. Gentleman's word; he was quite willing to trust him; but suppose the present Government went out of Office—such a thing might easily happen—and another Chief Secretary came in, he might not consider himself bound by the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman. He might probably say to Irish Members who got up and said there was a promise that none of this money should be applied to purposes of emigration—"Oh! many things have happened since then. Besides, the right hon. Gentleman has gone into the cold shade of Opposition." Without offering any disrespect to the right hon. Gentleman, and without lessening the value of his word ever so slightly, some better, some stronger assurance, must be asked for. Of course, if the word of a Minister was to be taken as sufficient, then the House might give up passing Acts of Parliament altogether.

MR. FINDLATER said, he understood the undertaking given by the right hon. Gentleman was given on behalf of the Government; and it was well known that if a change of Government took place such undertakings were always recognized and acted on.

MR. CALLAN said, the assurance carried no weight whatever. For weeks the House had been discussing the Corrupt Practices Bill, and the Attorney General day after day gave assurances and opinions; but, to carry out such assurances, he had been obliged to put them into words in the Bill. The Attorney General made statements to the Committee as clear and explicit as that made by the Chief Secretary, as to what was the intention of the Bill; but he had to put words into it, clearly showing the limitations of the Act, simply because the Judges would not, in construing the Act, have any regard to what the Attorney General might have said; they would only have that before them which was contained within the four corners of the Bill. In the same way must the word of the Chief Secretary be regarded in relation to this Bill. How unscrupulous Poor Law Commissioners in Ireland were was well known, and they would have the working of the Act. The Chief Secretary said there would be no intention so to use the Act while he was at the head of the Board; then, why should he object to put that assurance in the Bill? His assurance would bind himself in the House; but they wished to bind his successors.

MR. J. N. RICHARDSON said, he should like to point out that, in effect, the Act would expire on March 31, 1884. Surely, the hon. Member would allow the Government to remain in Office until then.

MR. DILLWYN said, he did not think that anyone reading the Bill could suppose that the money could be used in the way hon. Members apprehended. The objects of the Bill were clearly stated, and he did not think any stretch of the wording would allow it. It was clearly imagination on their part.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he wished he could agree that it was distinctly stated what the money was for; he was at that moment utterly bewildered as to the destination of the money. The right hon. Gentleman mentioned four Boards of Guardians as the destined recipients, so far as he understood, of grants under the Grants Clause of the Bill; but he (Mr. O'Brien) did not know what was to be done with the margin of the money at all. Of course, anyone would accept the guarantee of the right hon. Gentleman; but they knew very well he was only one partner—a sleeping partner — on the Local Government Board, which directed its policy to the object of driving the people from the country by stress of hunger. If, as the Chief Secretary said, beyond all doubt, it was not the intention of the Government that any portion of the money should be devoted to emigration, he could not, for the life of him, see what was the difficulty in putting it in black and white to bind himself, his subordinates, and successors.

Mr. CALLAN said, the hon. Member for Armagh (Mr. J. N. Richardson) directed attention to the fact that the Bill would only be in operation to the end of March, and surely, he said, the Government would be allowed that length of existence; but he (Mr. Callan) did not know that he would allow them even that length of time, if the hon. Member interested himself in many more elections with such disastrous results as attended his efforts at Monaghan.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he did not wish to interfere; but he must confess his experience of the conduct of the Chief Secretary did not encourage his inclination to believe his statements with regard to this or any other question. He had already broken his word once in regard to this Bill.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney): I must call the hon. Member to Order. He must retract that statement.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he did not know what the hon. Gentleman meant.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Courtney): The hon. Member must retract the statement.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he would withdraw the statement that the right hon. Gentleman had made a false statement; but, at the same time, he stated he would not bring on the Bill after half-past 12, and he had done so.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 8; Noes 59: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 171.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Mr. O'BRIEN said, before the clause was passed, he would like to elicit some definite information as to the destination of the money. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned four Unions, and these were not the most distressed, which were to receive the benefit of the Act. He would like to know how it had been arranged, and whether any other Unions would receive anything?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the operation of the Bill upon what had taken place was confined to the four Unions named, and the sum borrowed was very small, in amount about £3,000. These the Local Government Board would assist by the 1st clause; but when the accounts for past distress were wound up, distress which had involved a certain number of Unions in an amount of expenditure that might be fairly called unusual, the Local Government Board would take into consideration, with the object of seeing, in addition to the grants of 1880, whether they should assist any embarrassed Unions, or Unions in the way of becoming embarrassed, out of this sum of money. Hon. Members would remember that after 1880 a sum of something like £19,900 was, under the Relief of Distress Act, given to embarrassed Unions. This sum of £50,000 was named when the Government thought the necessities of the Unions would be greater than would probably be the case now, and it would enable Government to assist Unions to get through a period of embarrassment and start afresh. The four Unions he had referred to would, no doubt, be assisted.

Mr. LEAMY said, according to the right hon. Gentleman, the debt incurred was not more than £3,000; so power was given to the Commissioners to grant £47,000 to other Unions. He had mentioned only four Unions as being in a distressed condition, and the amount of the debt incurred by them did not exceed £3,000; so it seemed to him the sum named was too high, seeing that the Church Fund might be applied to many other legislative objects. The maximum might, he thought, be lowered from £50,000 to £25,000, and he did not quite see the object of asking for £25,000 when the debt incurred was only £3,000.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 8: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 172.)

Clause 2 (Extension of borrowing powers).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 8: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 173.)

Clause 3 (Power to borrow).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 8: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 174.)

Clause 4 (Confirmation of borrowing by Boards of Guardians).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 8: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 175.)

Clause 5 (Short title).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. CALLAN said, he had an Amendment to propose, which he hoped the Government would agree to. It was, in fact, to make the Act in consonance with its title. It was to make temporary provision for the destitute poor in Ireland, and the short title was the "Relief of Unions (Ireland)." He would move to leave out "Unions," for the purpose of substituting "Destitute Poor."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Unions," and insert "Destitute Poor."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Unions' stand part of the Clause."

MR. TREVELYAN said, the title in the 5th clause properly expressed the contents of the Bill. It was precisely the purpose of the Bill, which had as its main object the relief of distressed Unions.

MR. CALLAN said, if the title "Relief of Distressed Unions" was the proper title, why was that title not given when the Bill was introduced? Was the first title given to mislead? The short title should be in consonance with the title of the Bill when introduced.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he was not in favour of christening the Bill with a dishonoured title. It would not be decent to say it was for the relief of destitute poor in Ireland. It had not been very pleasant to the Irish Members to press their opposition; but they would have failed in their duty if they had held any compromise with a Bill they considered a cruel evasion of the duty of the Government towards the people, thousands of whom were in such deep distress in Ireland. Month after month had the Government been face to face with this destitution; the Chief Secretary had witnessed and confessed it; the Poor Law Inspectors had confessed it, admitting that the Poor Law was inoperative; and then, when the supporters of the Government cried shame on the Government, after all the Government came down with this miserable shuffling little Bill, seizing £50,000 of Irish money, not to feed the Irish people—he did not care what was its purpose; its effect would be to relieve Unions that were injuring and banishing the people.

MR. LEAMY said, the Bill was not for the relief of the destitute poor. It was nothing of the kind. He was certain that some of the money would go to Unions which joined in the exportation of the people to America.

MR. O'DONNELL said, assuredly the objections of his hon. Friends were well founded; but his hon. Friend the Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) was probably actuated by a desire to maintain the symmetry of the Government proposition. Of course, the Bill was not for the relief of the destitute poor; but, the Government having started the Bill with that description, his hon. Friend tried to preserve the hypocritical character of the Bill from the first line to the last. It was more with a view to artistic effect that he had brought on his Amendment. The Bill undoubtedly was of a deceptive character. It appeared as a Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill; it went on to say it was expedient to make temporary provision for the destitute poor in Ireland, and it was not a Poor Relief Bill; but, on the contrary, when an Amendment was moved to make temporary provision for two miserable calendar months the Government opposed the suggestion. However, though it was almost a pity that the truth should be allowed to come in in part of the title, on the whole he hoped his hon. Friend would consent to withdraw his Amendment, and let a Division be taken on the clause. It would be impossible for him at this stage to invest the Government proposition with any more merit than it already possessed.

MR. BIGGAR said, there was one thing in regard to the Bill that should be noticed, and that was that the first two lines and the last two lines diametrically contradicted each other. He did not think that hon. Gentlemen should think it strange that he should raise doubts as to the veracity of Gentlemen who directly contradicted themselves in a document they introduced into the House.

Captain AYLMER said, the Chairman had prevented him putting a question, some two hours ago, by which he then hoped to prevent a long discussion; but the discussion had now been raised upon the title. He was particularly anxious to know from the right hon. Gentleman—and this was the question he wished to put before—whether this money was wanted to meet distress between the present time and the harvest, or whether it was all to be devoted to the relief of former distress?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had stated the sum which had been borrowed, the total amount being £3,000. That was the total amount of borrowed money which would be paid off. If there were other Unions which had hampered themselves, which could not pay their way, or come near paying their way, the Government would consider whether they should be relieved. The Unions sure to be relieved were the four he had named.

Captain AYLMER said, then four-fifths of the money would be devoted to relieving distress between now and the taking in of the harvest. He knew there was a misunderstanding on the subject among hon. Members below the Gangway, they believing that the money was going to the payment of old debts. If the Chief Secretary would say that £40,000 out of £50,000, or, at all events, a very considerable proportion, would go to relieve distress existing, or likely to exist, in the next two months, it would stop a long discussion.

Mr. CALLAN said, his sole object in his Amendment was that if the Bill was honestly intended the title should be that under which it was introduced. By his Amendment he had marked the divergence in title, one falsifying the other. The probable effect of the Act would be equally to falsify the assurances with which it was introduced and the pledges given. He begged to withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he was sorry the Chief Secretary had not yet cleared up the point raised by the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer). The hon. and gallant Member was plainly under the impression that the Bill made provision for distress actually existing, and which would continue to exist for the next two months. Now, he would ask the Chief Secretary, was there any provision in the Bill that would give 1 lb. of meal to anyone actually starving at the moment, or was the Bill meant to do more than to clear off the liabilities already incurred?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the probable effect of the Bill would be to clear off the liabilities already incurred. The Bill gave power to Unions that might find it necessary for the relief of distress to borrow between this and the 25th of March, 1884, to do so. He hoped and trusted that there would not be such distress in Ireland as to give occasion for that clause being brought into operation; and he thought it probable that, as the Government provided against a much greater amount of embarrassment than had actually occurred, that £50,000 would not be needed. Such of it as was spent would be spent in relieving those four Unions, and any others that had embarrassed themselves in the relief of distress.

Mr. LEAMY said, the right hon. Gentleman was a great master of language; but he might have said "Yes" or "No" in answer to the question of his hon. and gallant Friend. That question referred to Clause 3, which gave to Boards of Guardians power to borrow money, and that was altogether independent of the £50,000. He wanted a specific answer to the question—was any of the £50,000 the Commissioners took power to lend to Boards of Guardians to be spent in the relief of distress existing at the moment, or likely to exist in the next two months? "Yes" or "No."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it might be spent in relieving such distress; but spent in relief under the present Poor Law.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, the effect would be, in those Unions which were of all most affected, that of which he had complained all along. In those Unions, owing to extreme poverty, the landlords were in dread of being mulcted for outdoor relief; therefore, in those Unions the Act would have no effect at all, but an encouragement even would be given to those Boards of Guardians who had been refusing to relax the Poor Law rules. Nothing absolutely would be done for the relief of distress; but some thousands of pounds would go to remunerating Guardians.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, he had voted with the Government on the assumption that some of the money was going to the relief of distress in Ireland; but, as he had got to the fact that the money would simply go to pay off debts that had been incurred, he would give the Government Notice that he would oppose the Bill on the third reading.

MR. O'DONNELL said, when that was confessedly the object of the Bill, he wanted to know why the Bill was introduced under a deceptive title? Here was a Poor Relief Bill, and it gave no relief to the poor. It was described in the most hypocritical and mendacious manner as a Bill to make temporary provision for the relief of destitute poor. Why, next day there would be leading articles in the Press denouncing the conduct of Irish Members who opposed a Bill for the relief of destitute poor in Ireland! Thus, by false pretences, was the opinion of the country turned against sympathy for distress in Ireland in a scandalous and disgraceful manner.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would not answer the epithets of the hon. Member. The title of the Bill was perfectly justified. The debts these Unions had incurred were debts to flour and potato merchants, debts incurred for the support of people in the workhouses and the infirm and persons incapable of labour outside, and therefore the Bill was described justly as for the relief of destitute poor. He quite allowed that hon. Members did not agree in the mode of spending it; but every penny was well spent in feeding and clothing destitute poor. As to confessions being wrung from the Government, he would remind hon. Members that he gave the same explanation last Monday when he moved that the Bill be allowed to go into Committee.

MR. LEAMY said, he would point out that the Bill was described as a Bill to make temporary provision for the relief of the poor; and did that not convey the meaning that it was to meet immediate pressing wants? But now the Chief Secretary admitted that its object was to merely pay off old debts. They had no objection to the Chief Secretary granting as much of the £50,000 as was necessary to pay off debts; they had not fought the Bill on that ground. What they asked from the first stage of the Bill was that, while taking £50,000 of Irish money, the Government should give some of it for the temporary relief of the poor in Ireland. What other object had they in their speeches that night?

MR. O'BRIEN said, no charge could be brought against them that they had any wish to obstruct Business; their action in regard to this Bill was because they felt that miserable people in the North of Ireland were starving. He could not, for the life of him, understand why the Chief Secretary should object in a Bill taking £50,000 to spend £1,000, £2,000, or £3,000 to keep the people from starvation. It was not the first time that the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer), who usually differed from Irish Members in politics, had voted with them on questions relating to Ireland of a practical nature; but he was grieved to find the Liberal Members from Ulster opposed. But he supposed the Government were persuaded that so long as the Liberal Members from Ulster backed them up, they must be right, and that they had the approval of the people of Ireland. He hoped they would regret their harsh conduct to the miserable starving people of the North of Ireland.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question put, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 58; Noes 9: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 176.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be reported without Amendment."

MR. O'BRIEN gave Notice that on the Motion for third reading he should move that the Bill be re-committed, with a view to the insertion of clauses making temporary provision for the destitute poor in Donegal County.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 7: Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 177.)

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

DETENTION IN HOSPITALS BILL.

(*The Marquess of Hartington, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Arthur Hayter.*)

[BILL 247.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading [9th July] read.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, owing to an inadvertence there was an error in the Votes in the description of this Bill. The Votes did not agree with the Notice he gave, and which was assented to by the House. In order that the Bill might be re-constituted, he would move that the Order be discharged, with the intention of introducing a fresh one.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

Leave given to present another Bill instead thereof.

DETENTION IN HOSPITALS (NO. 2) BILL.

Bill to provide for the Detention in certain Hospitals of persons affected with Contagious Diseases, and to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1866 to 1869."

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 259.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Four o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 6*th July,* 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — Tramways Provisional Orders * (110).

Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6)* (122); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8)* (123); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10)* (117).

Third Reading—Registry of Deeds (Ireland) * (97), and *passed.*

LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—THE CLYDE DISASTER.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH: My Lords, seeing the noble Earl opposite in his place, I beg to ask him a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether the Government intend to take any steps to ensure that an inquiry will be made into the Clyde catastrophe? From all the information that has been published, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that there must have been gross mismanagement; and I think the Government should take immediate steps to see that a searching investigation into the circumstances should be made.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, on receiving the Notice of the noble Viscount I communicated with the President of the Board of Trade, but I found it was not a case that will come under the Board of Trade. The matter is one that will have to be considered by the Procurator Fiscal in Scotland, and I have not had time to communicate with him since I received Notice of this Question.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH: I understand an investigation is being made, and I should like to know if the Report will be laid on the Table before the House rises?

EARL GRANVILLE: If the noble Viscount will revert to the usual practice of giving Notice of his Question, I will be glad to do my best to answer him. It is very inconvenient to be called on to answer Questions of this kind without Notice.

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC —THE NEW HEBRIDES — OCCUPATION BY FRANCE.—QUESTION.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH: I hope I may be allowed to ask a Question on another matter. On coming down to the House a telegram from Sydney was put into my hands, stating that a French gunboat had been sent with orders to hoist the French flag on the New Hebrides. I should like to know Whether the Government have any information on the subject?

EARL GRANVILLE: I have not had time to communicate with my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby). If the noble Viscount will give Notice, according to the usual practice of the House, I have no doubt that my noble Friend will answer the Question on another occasion.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH: I will repeat the Question on Monday.

INDIA—CRIMINAL LAW—PUNISHMENT OF FLOGGING.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD TRURO, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, What steps (if any) have been taken in regard to the abolition of the punishment of flogging for minor offences in India; and to ask whether any returns on the subject will be furnished, and, if so, when? said, that it was not until last year that an assurance was given in that House which led him to believe that some activity had been shown on the part of Her Majesty's Government with the view of remedying the evils to which his Question applied. An assurance was given by the then Under Secretary of State for India that the subject was receiving the attention of the noble Marquess who at that time presided at the India Office. He was inclined to believe, from observation of the Indian journals, that the noble Marquess had acted in the matter with his accustomed energy and promptitude. Flogging in India was in itself a punishment that inflicted the deepest indignity upon the Natives, and was the cause of far more grievous suffering than corporal punishment inflicted in this country. The Returns showed that sentences of flogging were passed in India for the most trivial offences; while in this country flogging was only used to punish the most heinous offences, such as robbery with violence. He wished to bring before the attention of the country the dreadful horrors which were perpetrated under the British Government in India by the indiscriminate infliction of flogging for trivial offences. He had collected information on this subject from public journals enjoying, and rightly enjoying, the respect and confidence of the Indian public—*The Englishman* of Calcutta, *The Madras Times*, and *The Bombay Gazette*—and the cases which he had selected were not old ones, but had occurred as recently as 1882. For stealing eight annas, value 1*s*., a sentence of 30 lashes and three years' rigorous imprisonment had been inflicted. On a previous occasion he had been told that severe punishments were inflicted because the subjects were old offenders. The House should remember that they were administering British justice in India according to English law, and there was no such thing in English law as accumulative punishments. But even if there were, unless for offences of a most grave character, such a punishment as 30 lashes, administered with a cat or rattan, in addition to three years' rigorous imprisonment, ought not to be inflicted. The theft of a bottle of whiskey was punished with 20 lashes and two years' imprisonment; for stealing seven annas, value 10*d*., the sentence was 30 lashes and two years' imprisonment; stealing cloth, value 6*s*., 25 lashes and one year's imprisonment; the theft of a tiffin box, 35 lashes; stealing gold ornaments, value £15, 50 lashes and two years' imprisonment; the theft of a pocket-handkerchief, 18 strokes with a rattan; stealing a bottle of brandy, 10 lashes; stealing a pocket-handkerchief, 15 strokes and two months' imprisonment; while a boy of 12 years of age received 12 strokes for stealing a bottle of Eau de Cologne. The theft of a pair of shoes was visited with three years' imprisonment; and stealing 3*d*. was punished with eight months' rigorous imprisonment and one month's solitary confinement. Stealing a necklace was punished by three years' imprisonment and two months' solitary confinement; stealing 9*d*., three years' imprisonment, with two months' solitary confinement. To show the inequality of the punishments, he would point out that for stealing £2 10*s*. only two months' hard labour was given; and for stabbing, only six weeks' imprisonment. The theft of £150 and other articles was punished with four months' imprisonment; while three years' was given for stealing 3*d*. He did not suppose the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India would justify these cases on the ground of cumulative punishments. What was the cause of these small offences? The cause was the most lamentable that could be conceived. It was admitted on all hands that these trivial thefts took place because 40,000,000 of the population were in a state of chronic starvation. Many of the thefts that were committed and punished with flogging were committed by the offenders for the purpose of relieving the chronic hunger from which they suffered. Labourers were only paid 4*s*. a-week. Out of every sum of 5*d*. expended in the purchase of salt, 4½*d*. went to the Government. It was further to be remembered that this was in a country where £4,000,000 out of the £60,000,000 of Revenue was paid as pensions and deferred pay to persons not resident in the country. These circumstances explained how it was that the working people were sometimes driven to commit theft. Hunger was the cause of their misconduct; and that being so, the British Government deserved severe censure for having permitted the practice of flogging to extend to such proportions as it had reached in late years. In a recent year there were 17,032 cases of corporal punishment for offences committed in gaols. That was an enormous number; and what made the matter worse was that the flogging in those cases was ordered to be inflicted by the prison officers, without the intervention of any magistrate. He trusted that the Secretary of State for India would give the House an assurance that the punishment of flogging would, in the future, be much less frequently resorted to, if not abolished altogether.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, it was quite understood in that House that when a noble Lord had given Notice that he would call attention to one subject he was allowed to speak on all other subjects, however remote their relevancy might be. But his noble Friend behind him had extended their Lordships' privilege very greatly on that occasion, for he had referred, not only to the subject of flogging in India, but to questions that had very little connection with the subject matter of his Question — such questions as the condition of the population of India, the food supply of that country, and its taxation, not one of which subjects could be discussed adequately in less than a whole Sitting. If his noble Friend wished to have them discussed, perhaps he would be good enough to give Notice of his intention. Passing by the figures of his noble Friend, which were not all of them accurate, he said that he feared that the noble Lord could not have read the Papers presented to the House last August on the subject of flogging, because in those Papers, although he did not say that they would remove all the censure which the noble Lord had passed upon the Government of India, there was very full information upon the whole question; a statement of the inquiry made by the Indian Government on the subject; the answers of the Local Government; the view taken by the Indian Government; and the despatch of Lord Hartington stating his views upon the whole question. In order to understand the present position of the matter it was absolutely essential that those Papers should be referred to, and his natural answer to the noble Lord, therefore, would be—"Read those Papers." He was not prepared to deny that the great amount of flogging which had been inflicted in India for minor offences was a subject deserving of attention, and that it was most desirable to diminish the number of such punishments. His noble Friend would find, if he would look at the Papers, that the Government of India quite recognized those considerations; but the replies received from the local Governments disclosed practically an unanimity of opinion as to the propriety and necessity of retaining whipping as a form of punishment. The inhabitants of India had always been familiar with that form of punishment, and in the opinion of the Indian Government the advances made by the people in civilization were not yet such as would justify the Government in abolishing flogging. It was for reasons connected with the question of caste, a less severe punishment than imprisonment, and it relieved the gaols. It was also preferable to imprisonment in that it left the bread-winner, supposing him to be the offender, with his family. The Indian Government, however, thought that magistrates of the second class should alone have authority to order a prisoner to be whipped, and suggested other limitations to the punishment. The Governor General added that indiscriminate flogging should be checked, especially in times of distress. Lord Hartington approved generally the views taken by the Governor General; but he added that he desired that the Viceroy in Council should take into consideration the question of a further reduction in the class of offences to be punished by flogging. That was the last despatch on the subject. He had no doubt that Lord Ripon's Government would consider whether a diminution could not be effected in the number of offences for which whipping was inflicted; but while it would be necessary to preserve in India a punishment which would not be necessary in this country, where the ways of life and the habits of the people were very different, at the same time he strongly felt, as everyone must feel who considered the subject, that every effort should be made to diminish the number of floggings. There was one piece of information which would be satisfactory to his noble Friend, and that was the number of corporal punishments for gaol offences had been largely diminished. While in 1880 the number was 17,057, in 1881 it was 8,921, or a reduction of 47 per cent. Further and more complete Returns would be shortly received. The ordinary Returns had been received already, but not those for which Lord Hartington called, distinguishing the kinds of offences and the nature of the punishment. When his noble Friend saw those Returns he would be better able to judge how far an advance had been made towards the object he had in view.

LORD TRURO said, that he had been in communication with a medical man who had been 10 years in India, and who told him that after seven or eight lashes of the rattan, he had seen the flesh fly from a man's back, and that he had witnessed scenes really disgusting and horrible. It was partly owing to his representations, and the terrible nature of the punishment, that he had brought the matter before their Lordships. He had no doubt that Her Majesty's Government would do their best to reduce the punishments; but he hoped they should be able to see their way to substituting some other punishment for that of flogging.

RAILWAY SERVANTS—HOURS OF DUTY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD FORBES, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, If a Return could be obtained of the number of hours in the day or week that the railway servants were on duty? said, the subject was one of national importance, inasmuch as now-a-days all the community were, if not travellers themselves, at all events deeply interested in the convenience and safety of those who were; and it was well known that many of the accidents that occurred were attributable to the long hours that railway servants were employed. Quite recently the Irish mail escaped from a terrible accident by an engine with two men asleep on it being providentially discovered just in time to be removed. While asking for information on this subject, he would like to know the powers of the Board of Trade in regard to signals, brakes, composite trains, and other matters of that kind. In regard to brakes, he thought we were far behind Continental countries; and as to the danger of forming composite trains of passenger carriages and goods waggons, they had a strong proof in an accident that occurred on the Alford Branch of the North of Scotland Railway. He did not make any charge against any particular Company, but thought he was justified in urging on the Government the necessity of introducing more stringent regulations.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, that, before his noble Friend answered this Question, he should like to be allowed to make an observation. The number of railway servants in the United Kingdom was about 240,000, and, therefore, the information referred to in the Question would indicate a vast mass of statistics. He did not mean to suggest that it would be impracticable for the Board of Trade to obtain from the various Railway Companies a copy of their time-sheets during some given week; but the items ascertained would, if they were to be turned to any practical purpose, require so many explanatory qualifications that the result might become somewhat uncertain and complicated. A pointsman at some local station might be nominally on duty for, say, 20 hours; but that might be occasioned by the fact that he had to start an early goods train at 3 o'clock in the morning, and he might then be without actual work till many hours later when the regular traffic commenced; and the Railway Company would, of course, be entitled to insert all such extenuating circumstances. At the same time, the general fact remained that it was exceedingly common for railway servants to be employed for periods which were undesirably long. That might be explained partly by the varying and peculiar requirements of railway traffic, but also he thought by the fact that there was a certain attractiveness in railway work, which secured a constant and superabundant supply of applicants for that kind of employment, and that enabled the Railway Companies to make terms of a more stringent kind than those which were practicable in other kinds of business. What he would suggest, as he could not, of course, put a formal Question to his noble Friend without Notice, was whether it would not be quite feasible to arrange that, as every casualty on a railway, however slight, was by regulation reported to the Board of Trade—in the year 1881, for example, there were 3,734 cases of injury to railway servants duly reported —it should be at the same time stated in the Report for how many hours the railway servant, or servants, concerned had been employed at the time of the occurrence, or what was the average length of their day's work?

LORD SUDELEY: My Lords, this question of the hours of employment of railway servants has been brought before Parliament on several occasions. In 1877, the noble Duke (the Duke of St. Albans) brought in a Bill to limit the length of time during which railway servants could be employed; it being stated to be—

> "Detrimental to the proper working of railways, and dangerous to the public, that the hours of employment should be excessive."

That Bill was discussed by the House at some length; but it was thrown out as likely to cause needless interference with Railway Companies, and because it would, to a great extent, reduce their responsibility. The Board of Trade have no legislative authority, and can lay down no special binding rules in the matter; but they have indirectly great moral power. It is found that, when accidents happen and inquiries are made, the publicity given by the Inspectors to cases of working overtime is far more efficacious on the Companies than any law on the subject could possibly be. As a matter of fact, the Board of Trade have reason to know that, on the whole, the Railway Companies are most anxious to prevent this sort of irregularities happening, and take stringent steps to prevent them; but it is clear that sometimes under special circumstances they will happen, as, for example, when goods trains are delayed from fog, snow, and other causes. A few cases, therefore, do sometimes arise, though the Board of Trade are convinced they are very rare. The case to which the noble Lord refers appears to have been due solely to the great desire of the men to get back to their homes; and they distinctly made a wilful mis-statement to the night porter to the effect that they came out at 12.45 mid-day instead of 8 o'clock that morning. The London and North-Western Company state to the Board of Trade—

> "The delay to the Irish mail was caused through an engineman and fireman falling asleep on their engine when returning empty without waggons. They reported themselves at Bangor to the night foreman and were allowed to return to Chester. This would not have been done if the men had not wilfully made a mis-statement to the effect that they had commenced work at 12.45 mid-day instead of 8 o'clock. The men stopped in obedience to signals at Llanfairfechan and fell asleep. The signalman at Llandudno exhibited great presence of mind, when the light engine ran through that station, in telegraphing to Colwyn Bay for the protection of the line. Both driver and fireman were asleep, but perfectly sober. . . . . Although a delay of 22 minutes occurred to the mail owing to its being stopped at the various block points, no danger whatever could arise, as the signalman and other servants on duty took the usual precautions necessary under the block regulations, nor was there any possibility of the engine exploding, as the fire had naturally died down."

There is no doubt the signalmen deserve the greatest credit. The policy of Parliament has always been to show that it thought it would be a dangerous precedent to interfere between the employer of adult labour and the employed as to the number of hours he was to work. It has always considered it far better to leave the responsibility on the right shoulders —namely, on those of the Railway Company. The whole question of Government taking additional responsibility and interfering with the Railway Companies was also most fully discussed before the Royal Commission in 1878. As regards the question raised by the noble Lord on the judgment of Major Marindin, one of the Board of Trade Inspectors, about three years ago, I have not the Report by me; but I can say that it is the practice of Inspectors to point out all matters connected with accidents that appear to have tended to cause them. There are several occasions on which it has been pointed out that mixed trains are an element of danger. I have one here, in which it is stated that—

> "Mixed trains are always more or less an element of danger; but the risk of accident is far greater when the goods waggons are in front of the passenger carriages, although, doubtless, it is more convenient to place them there for shunting purposes."

This is not done because the Board of Trade have any legal power to enforce it, but merely, by giving full publicity, to let it operate on the Railway Companies. It must be remembered that it is the direct interest of the Companies to prevent accidents; and up to a certain point there can be no doubt, provided you obtain uniformity of practice, it is far better for a Public Department not to interfere more than is absolutely necessary. In the present instance, where a strong case has been brought to light of a fireman and engineman working over hours, the Board of Trade consider that it is their duty to point it out as a caution to all other Railway Companies, to show the great and urgent care that is required to prevent overtime. They propose, therefore, to issue a special Circular to the Railway Companies, calling their attention to this case, and to the necessity of providing for the regularity of the hours of labour. I have only to add that I hope the noble Lord will not press for the Return for which he has moved. It would be a most voluminous document, and, besides being very difficult to obtain, would, I believe, be found altogether useless.

LORD NORTON said, he agreed with the noble Lord that, if the Board of Trade were to obtain such powers of interference, it would be undertaking the conduct of the railways, and with it the responsibility of their management. The Return asked for might very probably not be as voluminous as the noble Lord opposite supposed; but there could be no objection to a Return of the hours of labour of such classes of workmen as engine-drivers and signalmen, whose long periods of duty were often injurious to their health, as well as dangerous to the safety of the public. The rule of dividing the 24 hours into three sections of eight hours for signalmen had been departed from by the Companies, except in the neighbourhood of London and other large towns. The time was now often divided into two equal parts, and thus a signalman had to remain in the box every day for 12 hours continuously, with, perhaps, a good many signals constantly to attend to. He knew of several cases in which this stress of duty had injured the health and even the sanity of those employed. This, of course, involved serious risks to the public. He thought there was great cause for a general Circular on the subject of hours; and, as in the case of continuous brakes, the Board of Trade would do well to lay down some general standard rules, which would serve as tests of responsibility in inquiries about accidents.

LORD COLVILLE OF CULROSS said, that the ordinary practice was that the drivers and firemen of passenger trains were employed from seven to ten hours a-day, and those of mineral trains from nine to twelve hours; but the fixed hours were subject to exceptional delay by reason of bad weather. Passenger guards did 10 hours' duty. It was now rather the exception for signalmen to work the long hours that had been stated. At all important stations the time was eight hours; at some out-of-the-way places it might be longer. If attention were turned to some other employments, it would probably be found that the hours of work were longer than they were on railways. For instance, omnibus-drivers in London were on duty from 12 to 15 hours a-day. As to the inspection of works and bridges by the officers of the Board of Trade, as he was a Director of the Company that was building the new Forth Bridge, commenced three months ago, he might say that the officers had been there and had made a rigid inspection of all the material that was to be used in the work.

OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN, in rising to move—

> "That the Select Committee on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod be directed to inquire into the department of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with the view of ascertaining whether the appointments in that department, or some of them, may not in future be conferred upon persons who have served with distinction in the army or navy or some department of the public service,"

said, he could not bring forward the Motion without expressing his deep regret, in which he was sure their Lordships shared, that they would never again see Sir William Knollys take his place in that House. The late Sir William Knollys led a long career in the service of his country and in the service of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and when he was appointed to the Office of Gentleman Usher of the

Black Rod, the general feeling was that he well deserved the tribute that had been paid to his services. Sir William Knollys was the personal friend of most of their Lordships, and, therefore, it was not necessary for him to say anything further; but he was sure that his name would never be mentioned in that House with any other feeling but that of the deepest esteem and regret. This was not the first time that the propriety of making this Motion had occurred to him; but for obvious reasons he had postponed it until it could be discussed on some such occasion as that, when nothing of a personal character could be supposed to be attached to it. The offices attached to their Lordships' House were valuable offices. There were two principal door-keepers who received a salary of £300 a-year; one who received £250, and 18 who received salaries from £70 to £170 a-year. These appointments were formally made by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. He himself was not in the primary sense an officer of the House; he was senior Gentleman Usher of the Queen, and was deputed as such to attend upon this House. In point of fact, he was the representative of Her Majesty in that House. Formerly, he was paid by fees, which were commuted into a salary. Originally, when there was only one door, he was the only officer admitted into the House during the debates, until the increase in the number of doors had involved an increase in the number of door-keepers. The appointments were made under the authority of the House, which at no time relaxed its control over them, and they were in no sense attached to the office of Black Rod. They were made by him simply because the House had permitted him to make them. In early times the offices were disposed of by sale, and a Committee reported with satisfaction that the practice had ceased, intimating that it ought not to be revived. The duties attached to the offices were not laborious. With regard to that portion of his Motion which alluded to the Army and Navy, he thought it would be admitted that there was a growing desire in the country to do what was possible to elevate those two great public Services in public estimation by reserving for those who distinguished themselves in those Services appointments of the character of those under consideration. The civil employment of soldiers and sailors had occupied the attention of both Houses of Parliament; a Committee of the House of Commons had reported strongly in favour of it; the Commander-in-Chief had advocated it; some of the Public Departments had recognized the claims of soldiers and sailors; and preference was given to them at the Admiralty and at the War Office respectively. Their claims had been urged on a Committee of the House of Commons, which had not yet reported. If it was urged that the appointments in that House must be filled by responsible persons, what better guarantee of responsibility could there be than the training of the Services and the recommendation of the commanding officers? It seemed to him that there was every reason in favour of this Motion. There were many of their Lordships, and he was one of them, who owed their seats in that House to the services rendered to the country either by themselves or their Predecessors in the Army and Navy. Therefore, he thought it was only right that they should seize every opportunity of recognizing the debt they owed. Large numbers of commissioned officers would, he believed, be keen candidates for such places. For his own part, he would far rather be a principal door-keeper of that House with £300 a-year than the Governor of a gaol. Yet whenever the Governorship of a gaol became vacant there was sure to be a large number of candidates for the post, including many officers in the Army and Navy. He was certain that both Services would consider the acceptance of this Motion by their Lordships as a very great compliment. He had proposed the Motion simply for the reasons he had stated, and without any reference to any of the present officers of the House. If there were anything in the terms that might seem to be too stringent he should be perfectly willing to accept a change in the words. He might mention that he did not wish to limit these appointments necessarily to persons who had served in the Army or Navy. All he desired was that candidates from the Army and Navy should have a preference given to them. In conclusion, he begged to move the Motion of which he had given Notice.

Moved, "That the Select Committee on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod be directed to inquire into the department of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with the view of ascertaining whether the appointments in that department, or some of them, may not in future be conferred upon persons who have served with distinction in the army or navy or some department of the public service."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE said, he entirely agreed with every word the noble Lord had said. He had no wish to find fault with anything that was going on now; but he was of opinion that if this Motion were accepted an opening would be given to the valuable men who were now serving their country in the Army and Navy, and there would be an immense inducement to men to enter and continue in those Services. It would, he thought, be a great pity if they did not attempt to introduce a system of giving such appointments as these to naval and military officers. At the same time, he should be sorry if it were made an exclusive system; but the noble Lord distinctly guarded himself against that. He hoped the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty would, on behalf of the Navy, support the Motion. For his own part, he cordially approved it.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, that during his connection with the Civil Service Commission it had fallen to his lot to see the excellent characters and the creditable examinations passed by the pensioners both of the Army and Navy. These very deserving non-commissioned officers came before the Civil Service Commissioners for the very small number of appointments which they were now able to receive. Such appointments were very few, both at the Admiralty and the War Office. He felt certain that if some scheme, such as his noble Friend had sketched forth, could be entertained by those in authority, it would constitute one of the greatest inducements possible to recruit even a better class of men than we had at present in the Army and the Navy. The excellent testimonials of soldiers and sailors produced in Cannon Row had come under his notice, and it was a subject of regret to the Civil Service Commission, of which he had the honour to be the head, that there were so few of these appointments that could be given to them. If the scheme proposed by the noble Earl could be entertained, it would be viewed by the Civil Service Commissioners with the most hearty approbation.

THE EARL OF NORMANTON said, there was one point on which he could confirm everything the noble Earl had said. The noble Earl had remarked that he would far prefer to be a doorkeeper of that House than the Governor of a gaol. It had been his evil fortune more than once during the last few years to act on a Committee appointed for the purpose of choosing the Governor of a gaol. On one occasion there were upwards of 300 candidates, and he was astonished to find that among them there were not only subordinate officers of the Army and Navy, but officers of high rank—General Officers and Admirals of the Fleet—who were most anxious to obtain the appointment. On one occasion he was so astonished that he spoke to one of the candidates—an Admiral who had since held a high command. He at first thought it was impossible that he could be aware of what could be the duties of the office; but to his surprise the Admiral told him that he was prepared to go through them all, that he could get nothing to do, and that he was in the greatest possible distress. If this Resolution were carried, he believed it would be found that a large number of applications would be received, not only from non-commissioned officers and men, but also from commissioned officers of Her Majesty's Army and Navy.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, the evidence adduced before the Select Committee of 1876 was strong and conclusive as to the important effect on recruiting that would be produced by giving civil appointments to non-commissioned officers. It was recommended that more of these places should be placed by the Government at the disposal of deserving non-commissioned officers. At the War Office the number of military clerks was very small as compared with the number of civil clerks. He thought that the War Office should be entirely manned by soldiers; and that even the higher appointments in that Department of the State should be filled by officers. Many officers would gladly compete for such appointments, especially if they found promotion in the Army slow. In Germany and France the War Departments were wholly manned by soldiers.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, that the late holder of the Office was an officer in the Army, and his Predecessor was an Admiral, and there had been no impediment to their appointment because they were in the Army and the Navy; but it might be carrying the matter a little too far to say that the Office should not be conferred upon any others than officers in the Army and Navy. It was surely fair that domestic servants throughout the country should have opportunities of getting these places. The evidence was clear that these appointments rested with Black Rod, and down to the present time there had been no dissatisfaction as to the manner in which they had been filled up. He did not resist the Motion, though he was a little sorry that new restrictions should be placed upon a public officer at the time of his appointment.

Earl GRANVILLE said, it was impossible not to sympathize with those who had advocated the cause of the Army and Navy on the present occasion. He thought, however, that other officers in the Public Service besides those in the Army and Navy were entitled to consideration. He was glad the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale) had given them some advice upon the matter. No doubt, the habits of discipline acquired by officers in the Army and Navy rendered them peculiarly fitted for certain situations; but he understood that the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown) who made the Motion only wished for an inquiry into this matter. He thought, however, that one subject of inquiry should be not only the rewards given, but what would be most for the convenience of the House. Some noble Lords had pushed their arguments to an extreme length. Some of the officers of the House had to perform duties of a menial character; and he should himself be very unwilling to order a retired Admiral or officer in the Army to perform duties of that class. It was, he thought, necessary to appoint men who could deal with distinguished foreigners and ladies when they visited the House; and that, no doubt, required a certain amount of training, which was not necessarily, but might be, possessed by a gallant soldier or sailor. Though he

adopted the Motion, it would be quite understood that it should be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire, not only into the character of the rewards, but also as to what was most for the convenience of their Lordships' House.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, he disclaimed any intention of interfering with the convenience of the House, and expressed his gratitude at the manner in which his Motion had been accepted; also his willingness that the Motion should be adopted in the sense placed upon it by the noble Earl.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 6*th July,* 1883.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.] — Private Bill (*by Order*) — *Third Reading*—Goole, Epworth, and Owston Railway, and *passed.*

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Settlement and Removal Law Amendment [152], *deferred.*

Committee—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Sixteenth Night*]—r.p.

Committee—Report—Companies (Colonial Registers) * [185-260].

Report—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) * [197].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

ENNERDALE RAILWAY BILL [*Lords*].

INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. E. S. HOWARD moved—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public, who annually visit the Lake District, by injuriously affecting the scenery in that neighbourhood, or otherwise; and that they have power to receive Evidence upon the subject."

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that on the part of the promoters of the Bill, he was authorized to state that they did not intend to offer any opposition to this Instruction; but he thought it was right that he should take advantage of the opportunity to explain the circumstances in which he found himself yesterday. A most unusual course was then taken by several hon. Members. The case had been brought under his notice shortly before he entered the House, when he was informed that there would be no opposition to the Bill. He was, therefore, very much astonished to find that an opposition was raised by the hon. Member for West Cumberland (Mr. Ainsworth), who had presented a Petition on his own account against the Bill. He held a copy of that Petition in his hand, and the grounds on which the hon. Member opposed the Bill were that the Railway would intercept his property in an injurious manner and impair its value, and also the value of the property of other proprietors in the neighbourhood. The hon. Member had further alleged that the Bill was not promoted for the public interest, but for the benefit of private individuals, and that the House ought to reject it.

Mr. SPEAKER wished to point out to the right hon. and learned Gentleman that he was wandering from the point before the House. He must confine himself to the Instruction which had been moved.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he was coming to that; but, unless he stated the circumstances, he did not see how he was to make the House comprehend the position in which the matter was placed. All he desired was that the House should know that the opposition to the Bill was merely a landowner's opposition. After the hon. Member for West Cumberland had addressed the House yesterday, up rose the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who made another and an altogether different statement in regard to the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman said the proposed Railway would have the effect of spoiling one of the most beautiful pieces of scenery in the Kingdom; and the question before the House to decide on the second reading of the Bill was whether it would allow one of the most beautiful features of the Lake District to be spoilt without further inquiry? Now, that was a question to which the hon. Member for West Cumberland, in introducing his opposition to the Bill, had never referred in any way. The hon. Member himself had never suggested that the proposed line of Railway would interfere in any respect whatever with the scenery of the district. That suggestion came entirely from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. Unfortunately, he (Mr. Bentinck) had exhausted his power of addressing the House yesterday; he was unable to say a word in explanation, and that was the reason why he desired to do so on this occasion. He totally denied the suggestion that the line would in any way interfere with the scenery of the district, and it was a question for a Committee on that Bill to decide. It ought not to have been allowed to be raised in a mere harum scarum manner upon the *ipse dixit* of a single hon. Member. He, therefore, reiterated his statement that the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was most unusual. But the matter did not rest there, because he found, to his great surprise, on going into the Lobby that there were with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford several Members of Her Majesty's Government—namely, the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), the political Under Secretary of the Board of Trade (Mr. J. Holms), and the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), and he believed some others. He altogether protested against such conduct as this, for never during his Parliamentary experience had he seen anything of the kind. It was a principle of the House to give the promoters of such Bills an opportunity of being heard, and not to reject such a measure as this on the second reading on account of the personal grievance of any hon. Member. He desired to add that he was not one of the promoters of the Bill; but he knew the locality very well—no one better—and he was perfectly satisfied that it would not do any injury to the scenery. However, on behalf of the promoters of the Bill, he was authorized to say that they courted the fullest inquiry in every way; and therefore, on their behalf, he did not object to the Instruction which had now been moved.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN wished, before the Question was put, to ask whether there was any precedent of a similar Instruction? During the time that he had been in the House he had never heard of any Instruction of this kind being given to a Committee, and the House ought to be informed whether there was any precedent for the proposal now made?

Mr. E. S. HOWARD said, there was a precedent in the case of the Manchester Corporation Water Bill. He believed that Clause 13 of the Bill required the Corporation of Manchester to enter into a certain undertaking in regard to making certain plantations, in order to prevent the scenery from being interfered with; and if they failed to comply with that provision, there was a power to take them before the Justices of the Peace.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON knew nothing of the Bill; but the hon. Member who moved the Instruction ought to say whether there was any likelihood of the scenery being destroyed, if it was not passed. They ought to have a distinct statement whether that was likely to be the case or not. He understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) to state that the promoters did not propose in any way to interfere with the scenery, and that they altogether disclaimed any intention of interfering with it.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that was perfectly correct.

Mr. W. H. JAMES pointed out that there was an Instruction given to a Committee almost identical with the one which had been moved by the hon. Member for East Cumberland (Mr. E. S. Howard). It would be found that in the case of the Bill promoted by the Corporation of Manchester, which proposed to take certain portions of the Thirlmere Lake, an Instruction was given to the Committee to strike out the provisions of that Bill which might have the effect of destroying the scenery; and unless an Instruction of the same kind was given before the present Bill was sent to a Select Committee, it would be impossible for the Committee to consider the matter.

Question put.

The House *divided:* Ayes 78; Noes 42: Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 178.)

PARLIAMENT—SELECTION.

Leave given to the Committee of Selection to make a Special Report:—

Sir Edward Watkin

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY accordingly *reported* from the Committee of Selection, That they had discharged Mr. Samuel Smith from the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures, and had appointed in substitution Mr. Wills.

Ordered, That the Special Report do lie upon the Table.

QUESTIONS.

—:0:—

THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT—STATISTICS.

Mr. DUCKHAM asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Agricultural Department will obtain returns in December showing the estimated produce of grain for the year, and the number of the different kinds of live stock in the Country at that period; and, if so, whether he will give instructions that the Report of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, which is now only obtained on application, shall be circulated with the December Agricultural Returns?

Mr. DODSON: I quite agree with my hon. Friend as to the importance of obtaining not only a Return of grain produce, but of produce of other kinds; and several years ago I publicly called attention to the fact that Great Britain is, as I believe, the only country possessing a civilized agriculture which is destitute of such Returns. Since the Agricultural Department has been established, Lord Carlingford and myself have had the whole matter under our most careful consideration. But to obtain reliable grain statistics—and if we are to have Government statistics, they must be reliable—it will be necessary for the Government to begin to collect them very much earlier in the year than December, and I can hardly say that we could this year obtain satisfactory Returns. As regards the other part of the Question, that of obtaining Returns of the different kinds of live stock in the country in December, I should like to be satisfied as to the advantage of obtaining a second census of animals in the course of a year, as it would involve troubling occupiers with a second set of Schedules. Before committing myself to that, I should like to assure myself that it will be worth the trouble and expense it would involve. With regard to the latter part of the Question, I think the Report of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council might usefully be circulated when it is issued; but I will make inquiries and see what can be done.

VACCINATION LAWS (GERMANY).

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to a statement in "the Königliche Privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung," regarding certain tables recently issued by the German State Health Office, illustrating the working of the Vaccination Laws in Germany; and, whether he will have the goodness to procure a copy of the tables for the Library of the House?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The attention of the Local Government Board had not previously been called to the tables referred to; but they have communicated with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with a view to a copy being obtained for the Library of the House.

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—MAILS TO MAURITIUS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Postmaster General, Whether a contract has been signed with the Mauritius Steamship Company, Limited, to run a line of steamers to carry mails between Aden, Réunion, Seychelles, and Mauritius; and, if so, when the contract will commence?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend, I may say that in September, 1881, an arrangement was entered into with the Mauritius Steamship Company, Limited, to carry mails by steamers which they announced their intention of running between Aden, Réunion, the Seychelles, and Mauritius; but after much delay, it was found a few weeks ago that the Company were not in a position to fulfil their engagement in a satisfactory manner, and notice was given them to consider the negotiations as at an end.

INDIA (BENGAL)—LAW AND JUSTICE —MR. BANERJEE.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Government have received Mr. Sundranath Banerjee's memorial, praying that the question of the legality of his committal for contempt of court should be referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and, whether he has come to any decision in the matter?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Mr. Banerjee's Memorial has been received, and is under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council at the present time.

DRAINAGE AND INLAND NAVIGATION (IRELAND)—DRAINAGE OF LOUGH NEAGH.

SIR RICHARD WALLACE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government propose to take any action with respect to the drainage of Lough Neagh and the Lower Bann, having regard to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1880 on Inland Navigation, and to the deputations which recently waited on the Lord Lieutenant?

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has seen the report of Mr. Barton, the eminent engineer, with regard to the drainage of Lough Neagh and the Lower Bann, and the resolution of the Grand Jury of the county of Londonderry founded on that report, passed at Spring Assizes 1883; whether he is aware that a large area of land on Lower Bann was taxed for drainage purposes for the benefit of lands on Upper Bann, which lands on Lower Bann are also taxed for navigation purposes both inland and to the sea, which taxation, to repay large expenditure, would be of much less advantage if the inland navigation were destroyed; and, whether the Government have decided upon the course they intend to pursue?

MR. COURTNEY: In answer to the hon. Baronets the Members for Lisburn and Coleraine, I have to say that Her Majesty's Government have been fully informed of the views held by the various districts and persons interested in the question connected with the River Bann. The second of these Questions well illustrates the conflicting character of the claims to be reconciled. The matter is one which should be settled by mutual agreement between the parties concerned; but with a view to suggesting a solution, the Government have ordered an immediate and careful survey of the Lower Bann, in the hope that it may be found practicable to alleviate the floods without destroying the navigation, to which some importance seems to be attached.

The numerous engineering schemes which have been forwarded will not fail to receive their due share of consideration before a decision is arrived at.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE REPUBLIC OF STELLALAND—MURDER OF MR. J. W. HONEY, A BRITISH SUBJECT, BY DUTCH BOERS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the murder in February last by Dutch Boers, in the so-called "Republic of Stellaland," of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British subject; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government have taken, or propose to take, in order to secure the punishment of the murderers, who are well known?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The only news the Government has is that this man Honey was one of the freebooters in Bechuanaland, and that he has been murdered. He was proclaimed an outlaw by the Government of Stellaland. [Mr. ASHMEAD BARTLETT: What Government?] The self-constituted Government of Stellaland. The information we have is that his murderer is supposed to be a man named Ireland, who has come into Griqualand West, and the officer administering the Government there has issued a Commission under 26 & 27 *Vict.* c. 35, which is entitled an Act for the Prevention and Punishment of Offences committed by Her Majesty's Subjects in South Africa, under which, if evidence was forthcoming, the men would be arrested and tried.

MR. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT: I should like to ask whether we are to understand that Her Majesty's Government regard Honey as one of the freebooters of Bechuanaland? [Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes.] And, secondly, whether we were to understand from the answer that Her Majesty's Government recognized the so-called Republic of Stellaland, or the so-called Government of Stellaland?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The only reason why I said anything about the self-constituted authorities of Bechuanaland is, that this murder was brought about because Honey had himself served up to that time as an ally, and then when he was proclaimed as an outlaw he was murdered by the people.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: But is it not a fact that the self-constituted authorities of Stellaland are the Dutch freebooters who deprived Montsoia and Mankoroane of their territories?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I believe the hon. Member is right.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: What we want is an explanation of the sort of Government that was established in Stellaland. We ought to have some clear notion of what it is, and if it was recognized in any way by Her Majesty's Government?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It is a very simple matter. [" Oh, oh!"] I have been giving a narrative of facts. I cannot see what complication there is. The Government have had sent to them this proclamation of this so-called Republic, issued by a man called Niewkirk, styling himself President of the Provisional Republic of Stellaland, and Honey's name was mentioned as an outlaw, and soon after that he was murdered.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: What we want to know is the sort of people Her Majesty's Government have been corresponding with?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: You cannot say we have corresponded with them. The document was forwarded to us as a public document by the authorities.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—CROWN LANDS BILL.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will undertake not to take the Committee stage upon the Crown Lands Bill at a time when the opponents of the Bill would not have time to state their objections previous to the Speaker leaving the Chair?

MR. COURTNEY: I believe the opposition to this Bill is, in reality, directed to a couple of clauses, and I would undertake not to take these clauses in Committee without due warning to those who opposed them. At this time of the Session, I must avail myself of any opportunity that offers to move that the Speaker leaves the Chair.

STATE-AIDED EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES — IRISH EMIGRANTS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any of the emigrants forwarded to America by Mr. Tuke's Committee were persons who had been inmates of the Belmullet Union Workhouse?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have applied to Dublin, and am informed that the authorities are in communication with Mr. Tuke; but that the right man for information is my hon. Friend the Member for Peterborough (Mr. S. Buxton), who has worked with such extraordinary and disinterested energy in the West of Ireland. He informs me that out of the 2,500 emigrated, with the circumstances of all of whom he made himself intimately acquainted, he knows but two families who had been in the Belmullet Workhouse. In one case the father, Henry Barrett, went out to his son at Rose Mountain, Wisconsin; he received £9 on landing in America, and my hon. Friend has heard from the son that the party have arrived safely, and are doing well. The other family went to Minnesota, and got £6 on landing. They left as long ago as March 30. There was, perhaps, a single woman besides; but my hon. Friend is pretty sure there were no more.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, in reference to a previous reply of the right hon. Gentleman, that these persons were not ordered to be returned by the American Government on account of their poverty, he would like to ask him was it not a fact that the only money they had on landing was the £1 or so left after paying for their passage money, &c.; and he would like further to ask him whether any proposal would be made to the United States Emigration Commissioners to allow these unfortunate people to land, with some provision for their maintenance, instead of having them sent back again to the workhouse?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In consequence of the suggestions of my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) last night, I have drafted a letter, the result of which will be that we shall ascertain whether the suggestions he made can be carried out. Until we obtain full information I shall be unable to inform the House on what grounds these poor people have been sent back. They are so few, and the circumstances are so very different, that I cannot but think that it is not a question of a few pounds, but that the United States authorities see something about them which make them not satisfactory settlers. It is impossible to say anything further just now.

Mr. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that some of the Irish emigrants whom the American Government have ordered to be sent back to Europe are coming back in a ship bound for Antwerp; and, if this is so, whether the Irish Government intend to send anyone to Antwerp to look after the returned emigrants, and to provide for them a passage to Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have requested the Foreign Office to ascertain how this matter stands. Her Majesty's Representative has been communicated with, and has been asked to watch carefully what are the steps taken in each individual case.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE SHANNON TRUST.

Mr. KENNY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the Bill dealing with the Shannon Trust, and which was stated to be in the hands of the draughtsman some months ago, will be introduced this Session?

Mr. COURTNEY: I am sorry to say that I must abandon the hope of introducing this Bill in the present Session. A Bill was drawn; but unexpected difficulties have presented themselves in working out the details, which I will do my best to settle in the Recess.

PETROLEUM ACTS—STORAGE OF PETROLEUM.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been directed to the storage of petroleum in and near the Metropolis; whether he is aware that at the present time there is stored at the seven wharves in the Metropolitan area 335,000 barrels, equal to 13,400,000 gallons, and that at one wharf alone on the Thames over 80,000 barrels, equal to 3,200,000 gallons, are stored, mostly in the open air, 15 to 20 feet above the level of the surrounding property, without any adequate protection to prevent inflammable material flowing into the river and neighbourhood in case of accident; whether such storage is under the control of either the Government, the Metropolitan Board of Works, or the Thames Conservancy;

and, if the mode of storing has been sanctioned by the Home Office?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, this was, no doubt, a matter of great importance, but it was one in which the Secretary of State had absolutely no authority. The storage of petroleum was regulated by the Act of 1871. Under that Act the Secretary of State was not responsible in any way for the storage of petroleum, and had no official cognizance of the extent or condition of the storage in any particular locality, nor had he any authority in regard to the inspection of the stores. The storage was entirely controlled by licences granted by the local authority, which, in the Metropolitan area outside the City, and outside the jurisdiction of the Thames Conservancy, was the Metropolitan Board of Works. The high-test petroleums were not subject to any legislative restriction. It was only the more highly inflammable petroleum which was subject to any legislation whatever. The only authority the Secretary of State had was if a licence was refused to a trader he might appeal to the Secretary of State to enlarge his rights, but not restrict them. He had made inquiries as to the state of affairs, and the Metropolitan Board of Works had informed him that the figures given by the hon. Baronet were not very far from the mark; that the storage took place mainly in the open air; that in the case specially referred to in the Question the petroleum was surrounded by high embankments, which would prevent it flowing on to the adjacent lands or into the river. Control was only provided by the Act over petroleum which flashed at lower than 73 degrees. Samples were occasionally taken to test it in the stores; and it had been ascertained that out of 155 samples taken in the present year, not one flashed below 73 degrees. He confessed that he had long been of opinion that this was an unsatisfactory state of things. Some time ago he prepared a Bill on the subject of petroleum, and it was carefully considered, in conjunction with the scientific authorities of the Metropolitan Board. He need not say that he should be glad to introduce such a Bill; but it would not be possible to pass it through that House, for directly he put the Bill down it would be blocked. What he proposed to do was to introduce the Bill into the House of Lords, and to see what course was taken with regard to it by their Lordships, and afterwards, if possible, to bring it before the House of Commons.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked whether, a short time ago, the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not get a Dynamite Bill through both Houses in three hours?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes; and if the hon. Member can promise that I shall have the same facilities, I will endeavour to do the same with this Bill.

In reply to Mr. Arthur O'Connor,

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that petroleum was regulated by the Act of 1871.

Mr. CALLAN asked whether it was a fact that the Home Secretary had been in Office three years, and had taken no measures to remedy the state of things that he had just confessed now existed? [" Order, order! "]

[No reply was given.]

THE IRISH BOARD OF WORKS—LOANS.

Mr. KENNY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that Mr. Michael Quigley, of Knockjames, Tulla, county Clare, applied for a loan of £200 to the Irish Board of Works as far back as February 1880, but has not yet obtained it; if it is a fact that Mr. Quigley is owner in fee of the farm upon which he proposed to expend this money, and that he also gave two respectable farmers as sureties, but that he was informed by the Board of Works that they required "unquestionable security," and what is meant by " unquestionable security," whether it refers to repayment or application of loan, or both; if it is a fact that a sum of £1 13*s.* 4*d.* is now claimed by the Board of Works from Mr. Quigley as " preliminary expenses," besides his having to pay an engineer £2 10*s.*; and, if it is a fact that delays of this description are of common occurrence in the transaction of Board of Words business, and that preliminary charges are in all cases so exorbitant; and, if so, whether any steps will be taken to remedy these defects in the administration of so important a Department?

Mr. COURTNEY: Mr. Quigley applied for a loan in August, 1880, which, after due inquiry, was sanctioned in October of that year. In accordance with the Rules, he was called upon to name sureties for the due application of the money, not for the repayment of the loan. He first named a man whose security was not considered satisfactory; then, after a very long delay, he named a priest, who, however, was forbidden by ecclesiastical regulations to sign the bond; but at last, on the 18th of June, he named a sufficient surety, to whom the bond has been sent for execution. The first instalment will be issued as soon as the bond is returned. The preliminary expenses, for which £1 13*s.* 4*d.* will be deducted from the first instalment, are the cost of the advertisements required by law and of the registration. The Board of Works have no knowledge of the other payment mentioned.

DWELLINGS OF THE POOR—LEGISLATION.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will give an opportunity this Session for a discussion upon the dwellings of the poor, and especially for the consideration of a scheme for the provision of houses with land and recreation ground in the rural suburbs of the large towns?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In answer to this Question, I am bound to say that the Government could not engage, in the present state of Public Business, to set aside any other Business for the purpose of such a discussion, or I think I may say generally of any discussion, except that having regard to legislative measures which it is intended to proceed with during the present Session.

SUEZ SECOND CANAL — RUMOURED AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. BOURKE: I wish to ask a Question of the Government, which is of some urgency, and of which I gave private Notice to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs about two hours ago. It is with regard to the following notice which appeared in the newspapers this morning:—

"The following Official Note, drawn up and signed by the Secretary of the Suez Canal Company, was yesterday posted up in their offices at Paris. It was previously submitted to the English Delegates for their approval:—'The bases of the accord between the Suez Canal Company and the English Government being established, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, in compliance with the express desire of Her Majesty's Ministers, leaves for London with his son, M. Charles Aimé de Lesseps, for the consecration of that accord.—Marius Fontane, Secretary General.'"

The Question I wish to ask is, whether it is true that Her Majesty's Government have come to an agreement with the Suez Canal Company as to the point mentioned in the notice I have just read?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The information that I have to give on the part of the Government is as follows. In the first place, M. Charles de Lesseps has actually arrived in London, and M. Ferdinand de Lesseps is expected in London this afternoon, and their arrival here is on the express invitation of Her Majesty's Government—Her Majesty's Government having thought that matters have reached a stage at which personal communication between the Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Company and themselves will be conducive to a satisfactory settlement. The stage is this—that bases have been provisionally agreed upon, which gives, as we think, reasonable ground—I do not wish to go any further—for hope of arriving at a conclusion that may be satisfactory to all parties; but, of course, the engagement I previously gave of the arriving at no final conclusion without publicity still holds good.

Mr. BOURKE: Can the right hon. Gentleman tell the House what those bases are?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No advantage would arise from entering into that. We have not arrived at the point when that information could be given.

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—OCCUPATION BY FRANCE.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have not been able to give Notice, Whether there is any truth in the report that the French have taken possession of the New Hebrides?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have received a private Notice of a similar Question from an hon. Member opposite. No information has been received at the Foreign Office; but I may say that it is probable that information would arrive in the first instance at the Colonial Office; and, having communicated with the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, I have his authority to state that no information on the subject has been received.

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to put another Question to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have offered or given any assistance to the Government of Egypt with a view to suppress the cholera; and, if so, what steps have been taken?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the House desires information as to the measures taken for the suppression of the cholera in Egypt, it would be better that I should give a short statement on that subject on Monday.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked whether, when he came to answer the Question on Monday, the noble Lord would be good enough to say whether there had been any increase in the number of deaths from cholera at Damietta and Mansourah; and, whether there had been any cases in the Egyptian Army or among English soldiers in Egypt?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The last figures I have received of the number of deaths are in a telegram from Mr. Cookson, at Alexandria—namely, the number of deaths from cholera on July 5—at Damietta, 109; Mansourah, 68; Samanoud, 10; Cherbin, 4; and Alexandria, 1; about which there was some doubt. As to the other part of the Question, we have not heard of any deaths from cholera in either the Egyptian or English Army.

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—AUSTRALIAN COLONIES—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA BY QUEENSLAND.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: In consequence of a reply that was made to a Question of mine yesterday, I beg to give Notice that I will, on the earliest opportunity, move the following Resolution:—

> "That in view of the unanimous desire of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies for the establishment of a British Protectorate over New Guinea and the adjacent Islands, and the importance of Preventing any Foreign Power taking possession of these Islands, this House prays Her Majesty's Government to establish a Protectorate over them."

Mr. CALLAN: In that case I give Notice that I shall ask whether the French have not just as much right to take possession of the New Hebrides as the English had to take possession of New Guinea?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a matter of opinion which I could not answer.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[Bill 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 5th July.*]

[SIXTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Disqualification of Electors.

Clause 32 (List in register of voters of persons incapacitated for voting by corrupt or illegal practices &c.) *agreed to.*

Clause 33 (Notice of paid polling agent, &c. and preventing his voting).

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, they were imposing, by this clause, an immense number of difficulties upon the candidate, as well as the Returning Officer and other persons engaged at elections. The enormous details involved in these operations would impose great labour upon these individuals, and could not fail in some cases to end in default. He thought it must be accepted that the object of the candidate and election agent was to conduct the election with due regard to the spirit of the law.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that there was an Amendment on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Hollond), dealing with the first part of the clause; and, until that Amendment had been disposed of, the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman appeared to be premature.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, his sole object was to save the time of the hon. Gentleman opposite, and of the Committee, in discussing this clause. He had a strong impression that the multitude of details set forth would impair the efficiency of the measure; and if some of them could be got rid of, he believed it would be of the greatest advantage to the working of the Bill. He would like to see the clause withdrawn, for the purpose of reconsideration.

Mr. J. HOLLOND said, he rose to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Mr. CALLAN wished to put a question to the Chairman on a point of Order. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

The CHAIRMAN said, there was no Question before the Committee.

Mr. CALLAN said, he was about to propose an Amendment. It would be quite time enough for hon. Members to call him to Order when he had transgressed the Rules of the Committee; but he was perfectly within his right, and was, moreover, acquainted with the Bill, of which it appeared to him a good many Gentlemen opposite knew nothing.

The CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member must confine himself to the Amendment which he intended to propose.

Mr. CALLAN said, there was a great difficulty already in counting the constituency even under the Ballot Act. Under the present Bill a candidate would have to appoint, under his own hand, a polling agent, a clerk, and messenger for every polling booth, who must make a statutory declaration before a magistrate, and whose appointment must be made by 8 o'clock in the morning. It would be impossible to carry out this portion of the Bill. Let the Committee consider for a moment the county of Cork, which was 70 miles in length, and see how it was possible for the provisions of the clause to be complied with. At the present day a candidate was bound to sign the appointment of every polling agent who entered the booth, and that agent must produce to the Returning Officer a statutory declaration as well as his appointment in writing. He believed that in the Universities of the country the candidate, relying on the discretion of his agents, signed these appointments in blank. He wished to have omitted from the clause the words which provided that the election agent should send to the Returning Officer before the day of the poll a list stating the name of every person appointed on behalf of the candidate to be a polling agent, clerk, or messenger, and specifying whether such person was paid or not. As to that part of the sub-section which required that the list should contain the description of every such person, and, where he was an elector, his number in the register of electors, that he admitted to be right and fair; but he foresaw the impossibility of handing to the Returning Officer before the day of the poll the name of every polling agent, clerk, or messenger. It would be utterly beyond the power of any candidate or his agent to comply with the requirements contained in the 1st sub-section. He was not speaking in any obstructive spirit; he was addressing himself, through the Chair, to the President of the Local Government Board particularly, because he knew that he was acquainted with the working of the Ballot Act, and was, therefore, aware of the enormous difficulties placed in the way of candidates in complying with the Act. Referring again to the county of Cork, he pointed out that there were 27 polling places, for every one of which the appointment of three separate individuals would have to be signed. Again, if it were possible to supply the names of the polling agents, clerks, and messengers to the Returning Officer, the election agent would be certainly unable to supply them to the candidate on the opposite side. He challenged any Member of the House, who was acquainted with the management of elections, to say that it was possible in any but the very smallest constituency—Portarlington, for instance—to comply with the requirements of the section. Nothing could possibly result from the clause but vexation and trouble; for instance, what was the use of sending in on the day before the poll a list containing all the details mentioned, and requiring that a copy of it should be sent to the agent of every other candidate, who would probably not receive it until 48 hours after the election? The clause imposed such enormous difficulties in the way of everyone engaged in the conduct of an election, and it was, moreover, so unnecessary, that he believed the mere statement of the case to the Attorney General would secure the alteration which he desired. At present, a candidate had simply to appoint a polling agent, clerk, and messenger, and send in their names with the statutory declaration to the Returning Officer; but if a personation agent were appointed, not only his name, but his address must be given. He thought it would be an improvement of the present law if a candidate, or his election agent, were compelled to give the name as well as the address of the persons employed at the polling booth; but he could not agree to the proposal to place upon the candidate and his agent conditions with which it was utterly impossible to comply. He, therefore, proposed to leave out the words "before the day of the poll."

Mr. J. HOLLOND said, that, in that case, his Amendment would take precedence of that of the hon. Member. He, therefore, begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 19, line 17, after the word "officer," to insert the words "one clear day."—(*Mr. J. Hollond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was always ready to listen to suggestions coming from any Members of the Committee. As persons employed as polling agents, messengers, and clerks were disqualified from voting, it was necessary that some information should be given as to the persons employed in the manner specified by the clause. He was prepared to consider whether, within a reasonable time after the election, there might not be a Return made with regard to these persons; and with that object he was willing to adopt the suggestion of the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) to withdraw the clause.

Mr. CALLAN said, the Amendment put down by the hon. Member for Brighton was an instance of the complete ignorance of Members of that House with respect to the actual working of elections. One might take a morning stroll over the whole constituency represented by the hon. Member; but it would take a day and a-half to go over his constituency, and probably a week to cover the county in which it was situated.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ONSLOW said, before the clause was withdrawn, he wished to point out the impossibility of complying with its provisions, so far as related to giving to the Returning Officer the names of persons from whom committee rooms were hired on behalf of the candidate. It might be possible in the case of a room taken from one individual; but how, in the case of an Association, would it be possible to give a description of every one of, say, 15 Directors? If words were introduced into the Bill which would render it unworkable, it was necessary that the Committee should take some steps to guard against such consequences.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked whether it was worth while to disqualify a person properly employed at an election? He believed that about an equal number were employed on both sides, and in that case their votes would have no influence on the result of the election.

Mr. WARTON said, that throughout the Bill the Government had introduced a number of cumbersome and unworkable provisions. In assenting to the withdrawal of the clause, he hoped it would not be understood that there was any agreement on the part of the Committee to these small details. He trusted that when the new clause came forward they would not be told that they had already assented to something of the same sort. For his own part, he protested against these miserable and petty reservations.

Clause *negatived.*

Proceedings on Election Petition.

Clause 34 (Time for presentation of election petitions, alleging illegal practice, 31 & 32 *Vict.* c., 125).

Mr. MACFARLANE said, that the Committee had already agreed to a reduction of five days, and the result was that the number of days during which a Petition might be presented now stood at 39. The Attorney General knew that, under the present law, the time for petitioning was limited to 20 days; and he (Mr. Macfarlane) had not heard that any sufficient cause had been shown for doubling or even trebling that period. He would point out to the Attorney General that if the 21 days specified in the 1st sub-section of this clause were maintained, it would be possible for the person petitioned against to sit and vote for nearly two months in that House without having the right to do either the one or the other. He should, therefore, feel it his duty to press the Amendment he was about to propose, unless the Attorney General would give some sufficient reason for this enlargement of the time in which a Petition might be presented. He thought the proposal in the 1st subsection was unreasonable, because Petitions were always based upon some act which had taken place at the election, and not upon anything connected with the question of accounts. He understood that if the expenses of an election exceeded the amount which was named in the Schedule, the seat of the candidate would be *ipso facto* lost. He asked that a reduction of the period of suspense during which a Petition might be sent in should take place, because he did not want to facilitate or assist those electoral Micawbers who were always on the watch for something to turn up against a candidate. Without detaining the Committee any longer, he begged to move that the number of days specified in the sub-section be reduced to seven.

Amendment proposed, in page 20, line 29, to leave out the word "twenty-one," and insert the word "seven."—(*Mr. Macfarlane.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. CROPPER said, he thought it would be better to reduce the number of days specified.

MR. WARTON said, it seemed to him they were departing from the existing rule, which required a Petition to be presented within a certain number of days of one definite starting point—namely, the day on which the candidate was returned. This system would be attended, in his opinion, with several curious and objectionable results. He, therefore, opposed the departure from the existing practice.

MR. CALLAN pointed out that in Ireland a Petition had to be presented within 28 days after the Return had been lodged in the hands of the Returning Officer. That system had been found to work satisfactorily, and, as far as he was aware, no complaint had ever been made against it. Why, then, did the Government propose to prolong this period of agony from 28 to 56 days? For his own part, he thought the proposed number of days too many. It might be alleged, in favour of the Government proposal, that the Petition might be dependent on the amount of the election expenses returned; but he thought the election agent would be a great fool who should make a Return of expenses upon which a Petition could be founded. If they gave the candidate an opportunity of making a Return before the Petition was lodged, they held out to him a great inducement for manufacturing a Return. He thought it better to keep to the period of 28 days, which had already worked well.

MR. RYLANDS said, this was not a question which required to be argued at very great length. He thought that while sufficient time should be given for presenting a Petition, hon. Members did not desire that it should be prolonged beyond what was absolutely necessary. If, to the 35 days already provided, they added seven days, as proposed by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), there would result 43 days during which time a Petition might be presented. That was considerably more than the time at present allowed, and he should be glad if the Attorney General could see his way to agree to the suggestion.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he considered that the period of 43 days was unnecessarily long. Nevertheless, he hoped the Attorney General would agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that an offence affecting the election might occur on a false Return being made, and it was for that reason the Government took that offence as their starting point in the present case.

MR. LEWIS said, that it was evident that many hon. Members, having assisted the Government in making the Bill as binding and stringent as possible, now wanted to find some means of escaping from it. The seven days proposed by the hon. Member for Carlow would be insufficient, because longer time would be required for the examination of Returns and the consultation with solicitors and counsel in order to be assured that a Petition would lie. Therefore, he said, that if any useful alteration were to be made of the number of days specified in the sub-section, it would be necessary that at least 10 or 14 days should be allowed from the day on which the Returning Officer received the Return, within which a Petition might be presented.

MR. RAIKES said, as he read the clause, it related only to Petitions founded upon illegal practices, and he gathered that it was intended to leave the law with regard to corrupt practices in the same state as they found it.

MR. GORST pointed out that the time proposed was practically eight weeks, because it was exclusive of Sundays. If the Government would reduce this to seven weeks he thought they would be making an acceptable concession.

MR. ONSLOW said, that if, as his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had pointed out, it were necessary, in the case of Irish elections, to send up to Dublin to examine accounts and consult solicitors and counsel, it would be so because a scrutiny was required by the unsuccessful candidate. He asked whether all those expenses were to come into the maximum fixed by the Schedule?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that, under the existing law, a Petition on the ground of corrupt practices would have to be presented within 21 days after the election.

MR. MACFARLANE said, although he considered 42 days quite long enough for a Petition to be hanging over the head of a Member, yet he was entirely in the hands of the Attorney General, and as he had been asked to accept 14 days he was willing to do so.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 20, line 29, to leave out the word "twenty-one," and insert the word "fourteen."—(*Mr. Macfarlane.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. CALLAN said, he hoped he should get the assistance of the Attorney General and the President of the Local Government Board in moving the Amendment standing in the name of his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne). The next sub-section said—

"If the election petition specifically alleges a payment of money, or some other act to have been made or done since the said day by the member or an agent of the member, or with the privity of the member or his election agent in pursuance or in furtherance of the illegal practice alleged in the petition, the petition may be presented at any time within *twenty-eight days* after the date of such payment or other act."

Now, if the acts referred to did not come to the knowledge of the Petitioner until after the time specified he would be precluded by the clause from presenting a Petition. But he thought that if any payment had been made, or act done, in deliberate contravention of the Act, that a Petition should be presented at any time, and not within 28 days after it came to the knowledge of the Petitioner. During his own candidature, he was in his sitting room at 12 o'clock on the night preceding the day of election; some sand was thrown up to the window; and a person whom he had never seen before came to the window and said—"Mr. Callan, you will certainly be beaten by a majority of 50; but if you will promise me £500, I promise you that you shall be returned by that majority." He did not, of course, yield to the temptation, and he was defeated by the exact majority named by this interesting stranger. He knew since then that £500 had been paid to this person to corrupt the electors of the borough, which was one of the most rotten in Ireland. Now, he asked, why he should be precluded from petitioning in that case after even a lapse of 12 months? The fact that the money had been paid did not reach his ears until six months afterwards. He saw no reason whatever for precluding him from presenting a Petition, because he could not get the necessary proof within the prescribed 28 days. The proposal of the Government was equivalent to placing a premium on the concealment of illegal practices for the time specified. He appealed to the Committee to say whether it was not giving an absolute bill of indemnity for any illegal practices that could be kept secret for 28 days after they were committed? For these reasons, he begged to move the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne).

Amendment proposed, in page 20, line 38, to leave out the words "twenty-eight days," and insert the words "twelve months."—(*Mr. Callan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the hon. Member for Louth would not press this Amendment. All that the hon. Member had stated with respect to corrupt practices was not touched by the clause. The law at present was that within 28 days after the election the Petition might be sent in. Some short Statute of Limitation was absolutely necessary, and the time fixed in the sub-section appeared to the Government to be reasonable.

MR. CALLAN said, it was professed by the Government that their wish was to put down corrupt and illegal practices by this Bill. But why did the Bill give an indemnity to a man guilty of illegal practices, provided he was able to conceal them for 28 days after he had committed them? He would abide by the Amendment he had moved, and he must say that it did not look very well for the pure intentions of the Government to place a premium on the concealment of illegal practices for 28 days.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 215; Noes 5: Majority 210. — (Div. List, No. 179.)

Amendment proposed, in page 21, line 5, after the word "section," to insert the word "first."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 35 (Withdrawal of election petition).

MR. H. H. FOWLER proposed to omit Section 4, considering the penalty too severe for what might be, under some circumstances, a trivial offence. He would not go into the matter now; but he hoped the Attorney General would, before Report, consider whether he could modify the penalty.

Amendment proposed, in page 21, line 40, to leave out Sub-section (4).—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (4) stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, men were punished for misdemeanour, and it was therefore important, if possible, to stop this practice, which prevailed to a great extent in former times. The punishment proposed was a maximum punishment; but if the Amendment were withdrawn he would consider the matter.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, it might, no doubt, be advisable to mitigate this penalty, for if it was made too severe there would be great danger of another evil which was more serious than this — namely, arrangements before elections that no Petition should be presented on either side.

MR. ONSLOW suggested that after a Petition had been lodged it should be held to be the duty of the Petitioners to proceed.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that was the law at present, for a Petition could not be withdrawn without the leave of the Judge, either for some special reason, or for want of sufficient evidence.

MR. LEWIS said, it was notorious that the law as it stood had been evaded. It had been evaded in the present Parliament. Cases were perfectly well known, and, therefore, what was the use of the Committee passing a clause of this most stringent and violent character — hard labour for withdrawal? The withdrawal of a Petition was not theft, and it was no offence in itself. The Committee had better not incumber the Report too much, for there were very many questions left for the Report. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton started hares, and immediately chopped their heads off. He did not understand the object of making suggestions, and then withdrawing them. This was a very important matter. He could remember the time when it was a common practice for Representatives of both sides to meet and withdraw Petitions against each other. That was within the past 25 years; but it was no longer legal. But were they going to send men to prison with hard labour for doing what Members of that House had done—namely, come to an understanding, and then announce the vacation of the seat? There should be some reasonable punishment; but nothing so stringent and violent as this. He should support the Amendment, unless the penalty was reduced to moderate dimensions; and if the Amendment was withdrawn he should then propose to reduce the punishment to simple imprisonment by striking out the words "with or without hard labour," and give an alternative of a fine of £1,000. He did not approve of the withdrawal of Petitions; but what he urged was that there ought to be some relation between the character of the offence and the extent of the punishment. Unless the Attorney General would modify the penalty he should support the Amendment.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought the hon. Member did not realize that the country was getting purer and purer every year in regard to elections. He would suggest to the Attorney General, if he reconsidered this matter upon Report, that he should go a little further. This clause only dealt with the withdrawal of Petitions; but surely the Attorney General was aware that very often there was a corrupt practice in regard to the withdrawal of a candidature. A candidate often came forward, and, on receiving his expenses, withdrew his candidature. He should be glad if the Attorney General would add something to deal with that sort of thing.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, that with regard to his starting hares and chopping their heads off, his object was to save time. He did not object to the principle of this sub-section at all, but simply to the excessive penalty it imposed on minor as well as major offences; and as the Attorney General had promised to consider the matter he thought it was the most practical course to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 22, lines 7 and 8, to leave out the words "with or without hard labour."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was in the hands of the Committee in respect to this matter; but he would accept the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. ONSLOW said, he had an Amendment to propose, and did not wish to occupy the time of the Committee; but he was dead against hurrying this Bill through, whatever the period of the Session, for it was one which might affect every Member, and ought, therefore, to have the most careful consideration. He thought the penalty under this clause a great deal too severe, and should move to reduce the term of imprisonment from 12 to 6 months.

Amendment proposed, in page 22, line 8, to leave out the word "twelve," and insert the word "six."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'twelve' stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not think he was open to the charge of having rushed the Bill through Committee. With regard to the Amendment, he had already given way to what he thought was the reasonable proposition of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis); but he could not consent to minimize the punishment too much, and he hoped the Committee would allow him to adhere to the term in the clause.

Amendment *negatived.*

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to know why the Director of Public Prosecutions was to be appointed with the approval of the Attorney General? He thought that was a bad Proviso, for it would give a political colour to the whole matter. He would move the omission of that Proviso *pro formâ,* in order to hear the explanation of the Attorney General.

Amendment proposed, in page 22, line 14, to leave out the words "appointed with the approval of the Attorney General."—(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that personally he should be glad if this duty did not devolve upon himself; but at present the Director of Public Prosecutions acted in all cases under his direction. There must be some sort of supervision, and by the method proposed there would be a double check on the appointment. The Director of Public Prosecutions would have the right of selection; and if the person selected were a fit and proper person the Attorney General would never object to him; but by this mode there would be a double check. At present the Election Commissioners were appointed by the Attorney General.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN agreed with the hon. Member that there was too much of this Attorney General law-making.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he hoped the words would be retained, as they would provide Parliamentary responsibility.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought it very invidious for the Attorney General to have this power.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had now to appoint all the officials that went down to an election trial; and they were subject to the approval of Parliament.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 36 (Attendance of Director of public prosecutions on trial of election petition, and prosecution by him of offenders).

MR. H. B. SAMUELSON moved to insert in page 24, line 26, after "approve," the words—

"Provided always, That such barrister or solicitor shall not be connected by birth or residence, or in any other manner, with the constituency in which the election petition is being tried."

He proposed this in the interest of the public confidence in the officer sent to represent the Director of Public Prosecutions, and that he might be above a breath of suspicion; and hoped the Attorney General would either accept the Amendment, or provide some other safeguard against any doubt being entertained in the locality as to the perfect impartiality of the barrister or solicitor selected.

Amendment proposed,

In page 24, line 26, after the word "approve," to insert the words—"Provided always, That such barrister or solicitor shall not be connected by birth or residence, or in any other manner, with the constituency in which the election petition is being tried."—(*Mr. H. B. Samuelson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. LEWIS said, that when hon. Members proposed Amendments they should understand the construction of clauses. The words "connected in any other manner" would cover the whole range of the world's history, and the universal connection of mankind.

MR. H. B. SAMUELSON said, he should not object to the words "in any other manner" being withdrawn, if that would satisfy the hon. Member for Londonderry, who always appeared to think that if any other Member than himself proposed an Amendment he must have some interested motive; and that when *bos locutusest*—giving the first word in an American sense—when he had given his judgment upon the matter there was nothing more to be said. If the Attorney General thought nothing of this sort could be done he would withdraw the Amendment; but, at the same time, he thought some such Proviso should be inserted.

MR. CALLAN suggested that baptism certificates and vaccination certificates should be required, and said it was very refreshing to find the hon. Member rebuking the hon. Member for Londonderry, who probably knew more about the subject than all the hon. Members opposite, including the bumptious Member for Banbury.

MR. H. B. SAMUELSON expressed the hope that decency would be preserved in the debate; and he would ask the Chairman whether it was in Order to describe a Member as the "bumptious Member for Banbury?" The remark did not apply to him, because he did not represent Banbury; and entirely in the interests of Order he called the Chairman's attention to the remark.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will, I am sure, feel the propriety of withdrawing the expression.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked whether it was Parliamentary to call the hon. Member for Londonderry a "boss."

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not called upon to give an opinion upon the word. I am not aware that it is an English word.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I am sure every one of us wishes to proceed as we have hitherto. I appeal to the hon. Member for Louth to withdraw the words he had used, which are liable to be misunderstood.

MR. CALLAN said, that when the hon. Member withdrew the offensive term he had applied to the hon. Member for Londonderry, he would withdraw his words, but not until then.

MR. LEWIS said, he did not feel in any way insulted; on the contrary, he regarded it as a highly classical allusion, of which a man might be proud.

Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON said, he meant it in that sense.

Mr. CALLAN said, he meant his observations in the same sense.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. GIBSON moved to omit words in the clause, in order to protect localities from having all the expenses put upon them, if the Director of Prosecutions should ask a single question of a witness.

Amendment proposed, in page 24, line 36, to leave out all the words from "if" to "or" in line 38.—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said, the subject with which this clause dealt was one to which he had given some time and attention. The evident intention of this clause was the prevention of the suppression of evidence, which had often occurred in the past. That was a very intelligible object; but he thought the framer of the clause had hardly seen the whole bearing it would have on Election Petitions. If agreed to as it stood, it would have a great effect in discouraging Election Petitions; and as an Election Petition was an initial step to the full exposure of electoral impurity, any stumbling block in the way of a Petition must assist the extension of electoral impurity and illegalities. The reason why a defeated candidate petitioned against his rival was that he wanted the seat for himself, or desired another election, at which he might hope to gain the seat. They could not expect people to petition on the high moral ground of exposing electoral impurity; and it was certain that no Petitioner would take upon himself all the trouble and expense, and odium and wear and tear connected with a Petition, if he thought that so much electoral impurity would be exposed that a Commission would follow upon the Petition. He would wish to unseat his adversary, but not to show sufficient reason for the Commission reporting the prevalence of extensive corrupt practices. If it was thought likely that the Director of Prosecutions would produce evidence against the Petitioner and his friends, great pressure would be put upon the defeated candidate not to present a Petition; and so the clause would discourage *bonâ fide* Petitions. At the same time, he thought it was likely to encourage frivolous Petitions, because many persons, not having sufficient evidence themselves, would petition on the chance of the Director of Prosecutions discovering sufficient evidence to unseat the Member. Therefore, he thought the clause had better be omitted. Later on he should propose an Amendment to abolish what was at present a great discouragement to the production of evidence—namely, the fear of disfranchisement, as he believed that would be the best way of meeting the difficulty.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, this provision was founded on the recommendations of the Committee of 1875; but, in some respects, it did not go so far as those recommendations. It was pointed out by evidence before that Committee that one of the great evils was that, although evidence came out before an election tribunal showing that persons had been guilty of corrupt practices, in consequence of which a Member was unseated, the very people who had committed corrupt practices, as a rule, suffered no punishment. All their malpractices might be exposed, but they went entirely free; and it was felt by the Committee to be desirable to let all persons know that if an Election Petition came about there would probably be proceedings against everyone concerned. At all events, in making a clause of this kind they had acted upon the strong recommendations of the Committee, who went fully into the subject. He thought that the fear of what might happen to individuals who indulged in corrupt practices would be found to have a very beneficial result.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, his great hope was that the Government would persevere in the clause, adopting the provision of the Bill to the altered circumstances of the electoral system.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that for a great part of the Session he had been engaged in one of the Standing Committees in the House, and on that Committee there had been constant allusions made to the Public Prosecutor.

He was glad to know that the Attorney General had found some use for the Public Prosecutor; and he trusted that this official would, in future, do good and useful work.

MR. RYLANDS said, it appeared to him that this was one of the most valuable clauses of the Bill. They ought to take care, now that candidates were to be liable to such heavy penalties, that men who committed illegal offences, thus endangering the position of the candidate, should also be severely punished. What had been the state of affairs hitherto? Why, clearly that Election Judges had looked upon these inquiries as most disagreeable duties; they had sat, perhaps, for a day or two, then a case had been proved of corruption; agency had been accepted, by the Judge stating that he considered agency proved; and at once the counsel on each side put their heads together, and absolutely crushed inquiry, and although there had been persons far more guilty than the candidate they had got off scot free. That clause would be one which would bring under punishment a number of people who ought to be punished; and he trusted it would have a deterrent effect upon the people who, at election times, were only too prone to break the law.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 37 (Power to Election Court to order payment by county or borough or individual of costs of election petition).

MR. SALT moved the omission, *pro formâ*, of Sub-section (2). The effect of this section would be that the Court might, if it thought fit, order a person found guilty of corrupt practices to pay the whole or any part of the costs of the proceedings before the Court. Now, under previous sections they knew that a man guilty of corrupt practices was liable to imprisonment and to fine, as well as to certain civil disabilities. That sub-section created another penalty to which he might be liable. He (Mr. Salt), not being a lawyer, was, perhaps, not a person very competent to understand the details of this matter; but it seemed to him that, in addition to suffering all the other penalties, a man might be condemned to pay the whole costs of an Election Petition. He did not know whether that was meant or not; but, certainly, it was a proper inference from the marginal note—namely—

> "Power to Election Court to order payment by county or borough or individuals of costs of election petition."

Of course, with regard to counties and boroughs, there were, no doubt, cases in which a community should be charged with the costs of the Petition. But, with regard to individuals, he thought ignorant persons like himself had a claim to know pretty clearly what was intended.

Amendment proposed, in page 25, to leave out Sub-section (2).—(*Mr. Salt.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press his Amendment. In the case of a perfectly innocent candidate, it was strictly unfair that he should be called upon to bear the costs of proceedings occasioned by the corruption of a constituency in which he played not the slightest part whatever. Again, if a person, against the will of the candidate, corrupted a constituency, why should he not bear the costs of the inquiry, either wholly or in part? He thought many hon. Members would consider it very unjust that a poor candidate should pay thousands of pounds for that which he had endeavoured to prevent, while the man who committed the offence should not be required to pay a single farthing. Sub-section 2 was very simple. It simply provided that if a man should himself have committed an offence of a corrupt or an illegal practice he might be called upon by the Court to pay the costs of, or incidental to, any proceeding in respect of the said offence. It was only so far as this particular act was concerned that it was intended he should bear the costs of the inquiry.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. H. H. FOWLER proposed to add a few words to this clause to remedy a great grievance. He cordially agreed with the former part of the clause to which the Attorney General had just adverted; and he thought the Committee would quite understand the force of the Amendment he was now about to move, especially when he had troubled them with a few figures. The first case which he would bring under the notice of the Committee was one in which the Attorney General was involved, and even victimized. The Committee would be surprised to learn that the costs of the Taunton Petition amounted to no less than £9,822; and his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, although he had his costs allowed, was, nevertheless, compelled to put his hands in his pocket and pay out something like £2,000. At Stroud there were three or four contested elections within six months of one another. According to the Report of the Committee, the costs of the first Petition amounted to £5,144; and the costs of the second Petition were, as nearly as could be ascertained, £6,889; the costs of the third amounted to £12,000; and the costs of the fourth Petition were £5,155 on the one side, and £6,624 on the other, making a total of something like £12,000. What he proposed to do was to put an end to this scandal by providing that a man petitioning against an election, and alleging that corrupt practices had been committed, and the Member defending his seat should be placed on the same footing, as if an action had been brought in the Superior Court, and the costs should be taxed on the same scale. He did not think he need trouble the Committee with any further remarks on this point; and he would, therefore, content himself by moving to add at the end of the clause—

"(3.) The rules and regulations of the Supreme Court of Judicature with respect to costs to be allowed in actions, causes, and matters assigned to the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court shall apply to the costs of petition and other proceedings under 'The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868,' and under this Act, and the taxing officer shall not allow any costs, charges, or expenses that would not be allowed in an action in the Queen's Bench Division on the higher scale."

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he intended to ask the Attorney General a few questions on this matter; because, although they would all agree with the principle of the Amendment, he was not at all clear in his own mind as to the extent to which it was possible to carry it out. He had always heard, although he spoke from imperfect information, that one of the main reasons for excessive costs of Petitions was the change of venue; in fact, trial on the spot had proved more expensive than trial at Westminster. Why was this? Because of the enormous fees that it had been found necessary to pay for the experienced and able counsel who were engaged to support the Petition or defend the seat. His own impression was that there were many expenses which really depended upon the wish of both sides to the Petition to obtain the best possible professional assistance in the conduct of their case, and that, whatever rules they might make, that feeling would still guide the parties to an extent far greater than in the case of an ordinary suit in the Superior Court. If that be so, might not the Amendment result in this — that, although the taxed costs would be smaller than now, the costs beyond the taxed costs which would have to be met by the unfortunate person who was unjustly attacked, and in favour of whom costs might have been given, would be found greater than now? If this were so, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler) would be entirely defeated, and the future state of things would be worse than the past.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, there was not the slightest doubt that in consequence of the change of venue the costs of election inquiries had increased very much. In the one case they had to bring witnesses to London, and in consequence of that fact fewer witnesses, no doubt, appeared. On the other hand, inasmuch as great interests were involved for the county, or the constituency, or for the borough in question, it was very natural the parties wished to have the best legal advice they could get. He knew no part of professional duty which required as great tact as the conducting of election inquiries. Take the case of a man whose honour was involved, and whose position in the House of Commons was at stake. He naturally got the best legal advice to be had, and, if he could, would secure the services of the most skilled attorney, and the most eminent counsel. These professional gentlemen had to break off the continuity of their professional practice in London; and in consequence of having to separate themselves from their ordinary practice, for weeks and sometimes for months, they would not undertake the support or defence of Election Petitions, unless they received extremely large fees. That would continue, do as they would. A solicitor would not leave his London business, and a counsel would say he would not go unless he was properly compensated. The client would, therefore, be deprived of the counsel's services, and, in all probability, would have to obtain inferior advice. [*Cries of* "Both sides!"] He admitted that both sides would, in such a case, have to put up with inferior advice; but it would be really leaving justice to take its chance. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler) seemed to be labouring under some mistake. At present the cost of an Election Petition were taxed under the Act of 1868. The Amendment would, no doubt, result in lessening the costs between party and party to some extent; but it could not prevent a client making a special arrangement, under which he would have to pay certain given sums for counsel, for instance. He believed the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory)—who represented the Law Society—had been consulted on this matter, and that he was of opinion that there was no objection to the Amendment. He (the Attorney General) was sure his Profession would be glad to make any sacrifice which would tend to lessen the extravagant cost of Election Petitions, and he thought that they might accept this Amendment as a step in the right direction.

MR. GREGORY said, he had had no opportunity of consulting his Colleagues in the Law Institution; but, personally, he approved of the Amendment. The Amendment would not interfere with the employment of the best counsel, as, no doubt, the taxing master would take a reasonable view of the Act, and allow higher than the usual fees for the counsel retained. The Amendment was certainly a step in the right direction, although it might not have any extensive operation.

MR. LEAMY said, he was glad the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was prepared to accept the Amendment. The hon. and learned Gentleman in his speech appeared to defend the charging of heavy fees by eminent counsel. Eminent counsel, of course, had a right to get as much as they could; but the Committee must recollect that one of the objects of this Bill was to cheapen elections. What would be the good of allowing a poor man to get elected cheaply, if as soon as he was elected a rich man could bring an action against him, and involve him in very heavy costs? He (Mr. Leamy) hoped that in future there would never be such a scandal as one Election Petition costing as much as £12,000.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF urged upon the Committee the necessity of taking this question into serious consideration. It would be frequently found that men would get together a few hundred pounds to enable them to pay the expenses of an election; but then a rich man, who, perhaps, had been beaten in the election itself, might bring a Petition against the successful candidate, drive him out of the field, and get elected himself. He (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) knew a gentleman who many years ago was elected by his fellow-citizens in a Cornish borough. He was most fairly elected; but a Petition was brought against him, and he afterwards stated in that House that he knew he would have succeeded in the Petition if he had gone before the Committee, but that he could not bear the expenses even of a successful Petition. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) had upon the Paper a clause which would be to restrict the power of Petitions; and he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) hoped that that clause might be favourably received by the Government. The case could be conceived of a rich man saying—"I will allow a poor man to get elected, but will bring a Petition against him, in which he will be unable to bear the costs." A poor man's friends might be willing to advance him a few hundred pounds necessary to contest a constituency; but he would not be able to get his friends to assist him in defending a Petition. He hoped the Attorney General would either propose some method himself, or would accept, more or less, the fresh clause the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth intended to bring on, by which the power of petitioning might be limited. He was convinced that, although they might have the best intentions in the world, without some such restricting clause their good intentions would be nullified.

Mr. LEWIS questioned whether the Amendment would, in the least degree, affect one of the greatest items of expense in connection with Election Petitions—namely, the fees given to the eminent counsel who were retained. When the House of Commons surrendered its right to try Election Petitions, it had to make a choice between the convenient and less expensive trials up here, and the long weary trials in the locality concerned. Probably by trials in the constituency itself they arrived at the truth more easily; but great sacrifices were necessitated. Both sides at an Election Petition desired to retain the best counsel that could be got. Now, there was a Trades Union among the Members of the Bar; the late Sir Henry Jackson always described the Bar as a Trades Union. All the leading counsel who used to go to Election Petitions made a bargain amongst themselves that they would never go for less than 200 guineas for the first day, and a refresher of 50 guineas for every subsequent day. He (Mr. Lewis) would not say that that was an unreasonable arrangement to make amongst themselves; but he desired the Committee to understand the real difficulty in this matter. He (Mr. Lewis) had himself put an Amendment on the Paper to this clause. He believed the clause would turn out to be as impractical as many other parts of the Bill, and his Amendment was simply to test the opinion of the Committee upon the matter. He considered that it was no use supposing that they could narrow the costs of an Election Petition by this clause. The two greatest items of expense were counsel's fees and payment to witnesses. If this clause were passed, the solicitor who had to conduct the Petition would say to his client—"Do you wish to have Mr. Sergeant Buzfuz? Because, if you do, you will be required to pay him so-and-so." Whatever arrangement was come to between the counsel and client as to fees, no taxing master could touch. Now, with regard to witnesses. They were, by the Court of Queen's Bench scale, allowed so much a day; but a solicitor would say to his client—"Such and such a person cannot be depended upon, so you must allow me to be more liberal with them." If a client gave special instructions respecting certain witnesses, the taxing master could not interfere in the matter. There was no doubt that this Bill would leave the greatest anomaly and scandal behind—namely, the great cost of Election Petitions; and he did not see how they were going in any way to diminish this cost. Although he was prepared to support the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler), he could not but believe that its effect would be *nil*.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER denied that counsels' fees were the largest items of expense in Election Petitions. For instance, in the Stroud case out of £5,155, the total costs of one of the parties, the counsel's fees amounted to £1,820. If a man engaged first-class men he must pay for them. What he (Mr. Fowler) proposed to do was to interfere with the unlimited discretion of election agents to employ whom they liked at enormous fees. Personally, he considered there were many members of the Junior Bar quite as competent to conduct Election Petitions as the most eminent counsel. He was fully persuaded the Amendment he proposed was a step in the right direction.

Mr. STANTON said, it was quite true that the costs of the Petitions which were heard in his own borough (Stroud) were very excessive; but he could not see in what way they could have been reduced. Eminent counsel were engaged, and therefore eminent fees were paid. In Stroud the expenses of the witnesses, and the long time which the trial lasted, were two of the chief causes of the great expenditure. The expenses of witnesses in election trials were necessarily large, because it was impossible to know what course the proceedings might take; it was quite impossible to know in what order the witnesses would be called. Hon. Members who had had much to do with Petitions knew full well the way in which they were got up; it was well known how every minor act of bribery was sought after. It struck him that the only way to reduce the enormous expenditure in Election Petitions was to do a very simple thing, and that was not to allow anyone whose hands were not clean to reap advantage from a Petition. He believed that if the Bill contained some such provision a stop would be put to many Petitions. He felt that if in the cases at Stroud the Petitioner had known that his own conduct would have been inquired into by the Court, instead of there being four Petitions there would only have been one.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, there appeared to be no doubt that the Amendment went in the right direction. There did, however, exist considerable doubt as to how far it did go. The evidence given in the Stroud case went to show that the larger part of the costs consisted of something very like treating; and he could not see how, by the Amendment, this large item of expenditure would be stopped. He was informed that if one of the parties to the Petition gave written authority to the agent managing the case to incur certain expenses the taxing power of the Court would not be able to interfere.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, if a man chose to throw his money away it was purely his own fault.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the great evil was that in the case of a Petition the rich man had an immense advantage over the poor man. They could not prevent the rich man engaging the best counsel; they could not properly deal with the expenditure at election trials in the spirit in which they wished to deal with it, unless the Government would endeavour to find some means by which the rich man should not be able, by the mere length of his purse, to put the poor man at a disadvantage. The Amendment might prevent an attorney getting too much money; but it would not prevent the rich man getting an advantage over the poor man.

MR. LEAMY said, the only way in which the rich and the poor man could in this matter be put on equal terms was to introduce a scale of fees for counsel. He was quite sure any proposition of the kind would meet with the most bitter opposition from Members of the Profession; but notwithstanding that, such a proposition would not be without precedent. In Bills for the extension of the jurisdiction of County Courts scales of fees were introduced, under which attorneys were allowed 10*s.*, 15*s.*, or 20*s.*, as the case might be, for every case in which he appeared before the Judge. Why should not the same thing be done in this case? Why should it not be said that any barrister appearing before an Election Court should not be allowed to claim more than so many pounds a-day? That would prevent the rich man bringing down the best counsel from London, and paying him, say, £1,000 for his services, because the opponent, if he were called upon to pay the costs, would only have to pay the scale fees.

MR. GREGORY said, that if parties wished to go beyond any scale of fees fixed upon they could not be prevented from doing so.

MR. MACFARLANE said, it had been stated that the Bill was intended to destroy the power of the purse. It would certainly do that in regard to the election expenses; but if it failed to do so in respect to Election Petitions it would be of little use. The lament of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Fowler) was that at present Election Petitions resulted in great expenditure. The only remedy was to forbid the employment of solicitors and barristers in election trials. Let the candidates themselves fight the matter out before the Judges; let them dispense with all legal advice. This was only a desperate suggestion on his part; because he saw the lawyers could not agree among themselves as to what should be done.

SIR RAINALD KNIGHTLEY said, the only doubt there appeared to be was as to whether the Amendment would do a great deal of good or very little. Under the circumstances, the most rational course for the Committee to pursue would be to agree to the Amendment.

MR. BIGGAR remarked, that the practical effect of the Bill would be, on the one hand, to lessen the cost of an election; but, on the other, to increase materially the expense attending Petitions. He did not imagine that that was the intention of the Government in bringing forward the Bill, and he did not think that the Bill could be made satisfactory or perfect unless they agreed with the Amendment of the hon. Member opposite in regard to this question of the payment of costs. He was very strongly of opinion that unless they made the payment under an Election Petition the same as other legal payments in an action at law, they would not have Election Petitions conducted, so far as the expenses were concerned, upon a reasonable scale; and, in addition, it was most probable that the number of Petitions would be much greater than they otherwise would be. A case had been brought forward by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) as to the scandalous treating which had taken place in the trial of an Election Petition. He thought that was a case in which the Public Prosecutor would have only done his duty if he had prosecuted the parties for treating, seeing that the Petition had arisen out of the election proceedings; but he presumed that there was no machinery by which the conduct of the parties could be brought under the notice of the Public Prosecutor. Nevertheless, the conduct of the two candidates who were having their case tried before an Election Judge was open to the gravest reprobation. It was clear that each was doing his utmost to bribe the witnesses to perjure themselves in the case. Both of the candidates, and their solicitors also, appeared to have acted in a highly corrupt manner in attempting to encourage perjury on the part of the witnesses on both sides. An inquiry ought to have taken place; and if the law was to be administered at all, it should be, as far as possible, administered in a temperate and impartial manner; and any attempt to prime witnesses with strong drink downstairs before they were brought in to give their evidence appeared to him to be a thorough burlesque upon justice; and he thought the Judge would have been justified in interfering in rather a high-handed manner, and in having the parties brought before him. As to the fees, he did not see why an account of them could not be delivered as well as the expenses. He knew there was a strong desire to secure the services of some barrister of eminence, whose name was often in the newspapers, and who had a large practice, although his (Mr. Biggar's) opinion was that the business would be much better done by a less known and cheaper man. He thought the Amendment went scarcely far enough, and that it should apply not only to the costs between party and party, but that no client should be able to contract himself out of the provisions of the Bill. If he did so, his conduct should be condemned, and any payment he made should be held to be a corrupt payment, especially if he paid anything beyond the taxed costs as between attorney and client.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. Biggar

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. M'COAN moved to add at the end of the clause—

> "No Election Petition shall be lodged until an abstract of the evidence by which it is proposed to support it has been submitted to the Director of Public Prosecutions, and his *fiat* thereon obtained."

He gathered that it was the feeling of the Committee to keep down the expenses as far as possible, and to prevent the prosecution of frivolous Petitions. He therefore proposed to add these words to the 4th sub-section of the clause. He thought they would meet the difficulty, and that they would certainly prevent frivolous Petitions. It might be objected that the Director of Public Prosecutions was acting as a subordinate, and was, therefore, to some extent, under the influence of the Attorney General for the time being, so that he might have a political bias; but he thought that objection would be met by the fact that, whether the *fiat* to prosecute was issued by the Public Prosecutor or the Attorney General, it would still be open to Parliamentary criticism, and there would, consequently, be an ample guarantee that nothing like a political job, whether Whig or Tory, would be perpetrated. He, therefore, submitted this Amendment to the consideration of the Committee.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 35, at the end of the Clause, to add the words, "no Election Petition shall be lodged until an abstract of the evidence by which it is proposed to support it has been submitted to the Director of Public Prosecutions, and his *fiat* thereon obtained."—(*Mr. M'Coan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) remarked, that if the Committee saw what the Amendment really amounted to, he was satisfied they would be of opinion that it could not be accepted. In 1868 the House gave up its right to try its own Election Petitions to the Judges of the Superior Courts; but he did not think the House wished, at the present moment, to go further, and to give up the right to try Election Petitions to the Public Prosecutor. How would the Director of Public Prosecutions know whether the evidence upon which he was called to act was correct or not? Of course, it could only be developed as the inquiry went on.

MR. BIGGAR said, he thought there was a great deal more in the matter than the Attorney General seemed to think. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment had raised an important point in his opening speech—namely, whether the Public Prosecutor was an independent officer or not? If he (Mr. Biggar) remembered rightly, the present Public Prosecutor was a very independent gentleman indeed — a man who might be mistaken in his judgment, but a man who was always disposed to do what he thought for the best. He (Mr. Biggar) was of opinion that it was desirable to make applications of this nature to some such person as the Public Prosecutor, and for this reason—that one great cause of the excessive expense occasioned by the presentation of a Petition was that the person who lodged the Petition, whether it related to a borough or a county election, during the whole of its progress was continually looking around for evidence to enable him to get up his case. The result was that a very large amount of expense was incurred, and there was a considerable prolongation of the trial. All that expense would, in a great measure, be obviated if the person proposing to lodge a Petition had to make, before some preliminary tribunal, a statement of the case on which he proposed to found his Petition. It might turn out that there was no pretence of a case whatever; and, in that event, permission to go on with the Petition would be refused. He did not think, on the other hand, that any legal authority would be disposed to throw any unreasonable obstacle in the way of litigation. On the contrary, the Public Prosecutor would probably be very easily satisfied in regard to what was to be considered a *primâ facie* case. But where there was no *primâ facie* case, it would be unreasonable to allow a person to lodge a Petition against the candidate upon his own responsibility, his sole object being to crush his opponent by rendering him liable to pay excessive costs.

MR. LEAMY said, the sense of the Committee was against the proposal, and he hoped the hon. Member would not press it. At the same time, he (Mr. Leamy) had a strong feeling that something ought to be done to prevent people from recklessly rushing into Court with Petitions. He would suggest that any person who filed a Petition and failed to sustain it, should be sent to gaol for six months with hard labour. The Petitioner would be attempting, to some extent, to interfere with the rights of the constituency, and would be bringing serious charges against another person. Therefore, in any case in which he failed to sustain his charge, he ought to be sent to gaol.

MR. M'COAN said, he had no wish to waste the time of the Committee, either by addressing it at any length or by pressing the Amendment to a Division; but, contrary to the judgment of the Attorney General, he was of opinion that the suggestion embodied in the Amendment was not so frivolous as the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to think. The intention, at any rate, was good—namely, to supply some kind of counterpoise to the advantage which a rich man might have over a poor man. He thought it was worthy of consideration whether that object could not be achieved by some such Amendment as this; and he would be glad if the Attorney General would direct his attention to the matter, with the view of proposing some means by which this desirable end could be accomplished.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Miscellaneous.

Clause 38 (Engagement as agent of person previously found guilty of corrupt or illegal practice).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he wished to give an explanation with regard to this clause. He did not propose to carry the law any further than it was now carried by Clause 26, so far as it might be deemed to be expedient to make the candidate responsible for the acts of his agent. He did not think it right in the case of this clause to take the course which the Committee took in Clause 26, and he would move the omission of the clause altogether.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

Mr. RAIKES said, he had placed upon the Paper an Amendment to strike out this clause; but it would not be necessary, of course, to move it now. The Attorney General had omitted to state that there was one other important change which he had proposed to make in the law. At one time a disqualification attached to an agent who had been found guilty by a jury, and that was the only disqualification; but it was proposed by this clause, as it stood in the Bill, to extend that disqualification to any person actually reported by the Election Court or by an Election Commission. It was not a question between an agent and a sub-agent as to persons who might have been employed, and who had been found guilty of corrupt and illegal practices, but it applied to all persons who had been reported by an Election Judge. He thought it would have been extremely difficult to justify such a proposal. He was glad that the Attorney General did not intend to take that course, but that he was willing to accept the suggestion that the clause should be struck out of the Bill.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, there was one point of an important character in regard to the clause to which he wished to call the attention of the Attorney General. It had reference to engaging the services of a man who had just been unseated on Petition. The words were "a person personally engaged." They all knew that it was almost impossible to prove personal engagement. In his own (Mr. Dixon-Hartland's) case a candidate was unseated on Petition. He immediately went down to the borough, and introduced another candidate, and, in point of fact, was the main reason of the second candidate's return; but it was impossible to prove that he was in any way "personally engaged," and when he went into the box he actually swore there was no personal engagement between himself and the candidate he was successful in returning. When the Petition was over, and the candidate was unseated, within a short time after the result of the Petition was made known the former candidate, who had been instrumental in returning the second candidate, claimed £1,000 from the Gentleman he had succeeded in getting in, which sum that Gentleman refused to pay, on the ground that, although he was actually seated, he was only seated for a short time; whereupon this person issued a writ. He thought the point was an important one, and he trusted the Attorney General would consider it, in order to insert some provision in the Bill to guard against a similar case hereafter—namely, the use by a candidate of the services of a person who had just been unseated. It was a great evil that the moment a candidate was unseated he should be able to go down to the borough again, in order to nominate and actively support another person in securing the seat of which he had himself been deprived. He, therefore, hoped the clause would not be withdrawn at once, and he would move, in line 4, the insertion of words to carry out the object he had in view.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman cannot do that; I have already put the Question that Clause 38 stand part of the Bill.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he had been speaking in opposition to the omission of the clause. He wanted it to stand part of the Bill, and not to be struck out.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member cannot amend a clause after the Question has been put that it stand part of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman did not rise before I put the Question.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he thought the Chairman was mistaken, and that he had risen before the Question was put.

Mr. RAIKES said, the hon. Member was in error. He had himself preceded the hon. Member; but he (Mr. Raikes) did not rise until after the Question had been put that the Clause stand part of the Bill, and he had addressed the Committee upon that Question.

Clause *struck out.*

Clause 39 (Inquiry by Director of Public Prosecutions into alleged corrupt or illegal practices).

Mr. GORST moved, in page 26, line 15, after "prosecutions," to insert "or his assistant." He wished to point out to the Committee that in the early stage of the Bill a Motion had been made by his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke), and strongly supported by right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Front Opposition Bench, for the establishment of a summary tribunal for the purpose of dealing with offences against the election law at the time they were committed. The tribunal proposed by his right hon. Friend was a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, consisting of two Justices of the Peace. To that Court great objection was taken by the Attorney General, and a kind of challenge was thrown out by the hon. and learned Gentleman to his opponents. "Find me a tribunal," said the Attorney General, "and I will be quite ready to fall into your views, and see if anything of the kind can be done." He (Mr. Gorst) did not think that the Committee at that time noticed that the hon. and learned Gentleman had himself found a tribunal in a clause they were now coming to. The tribunal found by the Attorney General was a barrister specially appointed for the purpose of sitting in the town where the election was taking place, and punishing, by summary procedure, offences against the election law. He was not, however, going to discuss Clause 40 at the present moment; but he intended only to move now to add to the words "Director of Public Prosecutions" the words "or his assistant," meaning, thereby, somebody sent down by the Director of Public Prosecutions to prosecute offences against the election law by means of the summary tribunal which the learned Attorney General proposed to create. He thought that was a convenient Amendment upon which to inquire what the intentions of the Attorney General were respecting this tribunal; and he hoped the relevancy of the Amendment would be clearly understood. The Attorney General proposed to established a local tribunal, and he (Mr. Gorst) was strongly in favour of a local tribunal; but he objected to the mode in which his hon. and learned Friend proposed to carry out that idea. It seemed to him something like shutting the door of the stable after the horse was stolen, to send down an official to conduct an inquiry six months after the election was over. He ought to be sent down at the time the election was going on. Apart from the question of expense, he did not see any difficulty in having a barrister, such as was described in Section 40, sent down to any borough where corrupt practices were taking place, and there would be no difficulty in having an assistant of the Public Prosecutor sent down also. There would then be a tribunal on the spot. The Public Prosecutor, or his representative, would be in the borough, and it would be his duty to see that the law was observed, and then they might have some some prospect of seeing an election conducted legally, without anything in the nature of a violation of the provisions of the Statute. That was the reason why in foreign countries there was no such open violation of the law as that which characterized English elections. Abroad this sort of violation of the law was unknown. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen) had spoken of the manner in which elections were conducted at Breslau, and the hon. Member had drawn a contrast between the order and quiet which prevailed in an election at Breslau, and the disorder and illegality which characterized a similar proceeding in an English town. Why was that? It was because there was no officer in England to see that the law was observed. In Breslau, if a man were to commit any of the illegal acts which were over and over again committed at an election in Newcastle, or Leeds, he would have the Public Prosecutor down upon him, and would be sent to prison for openly violating the law; whereas in an English constituency there was nobody to see the law put in force, and no local tribunal to take cognizance of the offence. The consequence was that the law was frequently violated before the eyes of everybody. There was nobody to enforce it, and it was broken in a manner which was scandalous to their civilization. He therefore begged, for the purpose of raising the question whether there ought not to be a legal administration of the law, to move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 26, line 15, after the word "prosecutions," to insert the words "or his assistant."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was sorry the hon. and learned Gentleman had moved the Amendment in the present clause. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman misunderstood the object of the clause. It was quite correct to say that in an early part of the Bill his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) had raised a question as to a summary tribunal which should deal with offences under the Act on the spot. The view of the right hon. Gentleman was that there should be some tribunal so constituted that if a person was caught red-handed he might be tried at once and punished. But this clause had nothing to do with that question. While his hon. and learned Friend was looking for a Judge, he (the Attorney General), in this clause, was looking for a Prosecutor. If they pursued the subject now they would have to discuss it all over again upon the next clause, which appointed Special Commissioners to make an inquiry whether there was reason to believe that a considerable number of the electors of a county or borough had been guilty of some corrupt or illegal practice. The present clause raised the question of placing the prosecution of such persons in the hands of a public officer, and of not leaving it to private persons. It had nothing whatever to do with the tribunal, but simply with the institution of the prosecution.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought the misunderstanding was rather on the part of the Attorney General than of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), because the hon. and learned Gentleman was quite as much searching, not for a Judge, but for a Prosecutor. The object of his hon. and learned Friend was this—that they ought to have some summary tribunal for dealing with these matters; and in order that that summary tribunal might be of the greatest use, they ought to have a Public Prosecutor wherever it was required at an election. It was in order to make the summary tribunal the Attorney General was about to institute of some use, that his hon. and learned Friend proposed there should be power to prosecute before it, and they could not have that duty properly discharged unless they had a Prosecutor; so that his hon. and learned Friend was quite as much in search of a Public Prosecutor as of a Judge. The question of the Judge would come up further on.

Mr. GORST remarked, that if the Attorney General would look at the consequential Amendments which appeared on the Paper, he would find that he (Mr. Gorst) was not open to the criticism to which he had been exposed Among the Amendments, he proposed to add at the end of the clause the following words:—

> "Upon the request of any candidate at an election the returning officer shall apply to the Director of Public Prosecutions to appoint an assistant to attend during the election in the county or borough at which such election is taking place, and it shall be the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to send forthwith such assistant, and to charge his remuneration and expenses to such returning officer. The returning officer shall be entitled to recover the sums so charged from the candidates, as part of the expenses of the election, in addition to the sums allowed to be charged under 'The Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act, 1875.'"

This officer would go down and attend elections at the time they were taking place, and the officer so sent down would make all the necessary inquiries, and summon before the proper tribunal any person whom he might find offending against the law. As the Attorney General had placed the question of the Prosecutor first in Clause 39, and had left the tribunal over until they reached Clause 40, he (Mr. Gorst) was obliged, of course, to keep the same order. In this clause he proposed that there should be a Public Prosecutor, and when they reached Clause 40 he intended to propose that there should be a local tribunal. He wished to impress upon the Attorney General that there ought to be in every constituency in places where corrupt practices were known to taking place an officer of the law for the purpose of seeing that the law was observed, and for the purpose of putting the law in motion against any person, whoever he might be, who intended to break the law. He was quite certain that until that was done in some form or shape they might pass what clause they liked, but they would never put down corrupt practices at elections. The only way in which these sort of practices were to be put down was by having some person in the place in the position of a public officer whose duty it would be to watch the election.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) asked the hon. and learned Gentleman to postpone the consideration of the Amendment for the present. He should like to ask the Committee to consider what it was they were called upon to do by the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman. They were really asked to send down a barrister to every election, and that meant a barrister of seven years' standing, so that they might probably have to send some 400 barristers of seven years' standing down to the different constituencies to watch the proceedings. That could not be done without incurring considerable expense. And what was the barrister to do when he reached the constituency? He would be a stranger to the constituency, and if he were sent down to detect bribery he would be the last man who would be able to do so. He would sit in the bar-room of an hotel all day long, and would have no information brought to him. Was he to act the part of a detective, or was he to act as the advocate of a detective if any case of bribery were found out? What was it that his hon. and learned Friend meant?

MR. GORST said, he did not see why the officer should be a barrister of seven years' standing.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) remarked, that he might be a solicitor; but, at present, he did not know what the duties were which this individual was to perform. If he was to institute a prosecution, he must be necessarily be a man connected with the Legal Profession, and therefore he must be a barrister or a solicitor. Did the hon. and learned Gentleman mean that he was to detect the crime, or that he was to prosecute the offender before the magistrates when the crime was detected? It was evident he was not to be the Judge and to preside over the tribunal, and therefore he must be a stranger to the town.

MR. GORST asked why he should be a stranger to the town?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) asked of what use, if a person was to be placed in a capacity to represent the public, would be the appointment of a local man, who would be certain to be a friend to one side, and under the influence of one side, and could not represent impartial justice as the Public Prosecutor would represent it? He did not think that the proposal was a practical one, or that it would do the slightest good. There could be no utility in sending a man down to a constituency who would know nobody, and who would be supplied with no information, and whose only alternative would be to sit in the bar-parlour of an hotel all day long. Of what assistance would such a man be in discovering or bringing to light cases of bribery?

MR. LEAMY saw a further objection to this Amendment. If the Public Prosecutor was only to send down his assistant, they would have that assistant roaming about one or two constituencies during the election; whereas in other constituencies, and perhaps those in which his presence was most required, there would be no public officer at all. He thought the Attorney General had shown conclusively that the gentleman appointed, whoever he might be, would spend the whole of the day in an hotel. Who was to come before him? The election would last only eight or nine hours; and suppose the police were to arrest a man, and bring him before this officer on a charge of bribery, or the commission of some other corrupt practice, unless they could show that the man had been receiving or paying money, it was very unlikely that the Public Prosecutor or his assistant would be able to do anything of himself. At the same time, he thought it would have a very good effect if the constituency thoroughly understood that there was a person who could seize on any man who was guilty of bribery, or of any other illegal act; and he (Mr. Leamy) intended to move a clause later on requiring the Returning Officer, as soon as he received a writ, to publish all the sections of this Bill which contained the punishment to be inflicted upon voters who were guilty of any of the corrupt or illegal practices set forth in the Bill. He thought that would have a most wholesome effect; and if an elector had staring him in the face the fact that if he was guilty of a certain offence he would be liable to a certain punishment he would not be so likely to commit it.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he entirely agreed with his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that the establishment of a tribunal to act on the spot in certain cases would unquestionably be one of the best provisions which could be inserted in the Bill. Indeed, he believed it would do more to check corruption than anything else they could do. All the other provisions were of little significance in comparison with that; but, at the same time, he failed to see how the Amendment could accomplish that object. He understood his hon. and learned Friend to desire to appoint a Prosecutor without a tribunal to try the cases. No doubt a Public Prosecutor might be a useful officer; but he would be an expensive one, and might not be necessary, and unless they appointed a local Court he did not see what value the Amendment would have. In foreign countries a security for the purity of elections existed in the fact that alongside of all elections was a person engaged in watching that no illegal practices were committed. His opinion was, that if they adopted the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) they would do more to put down corruption than anything else.

Mr. LEWIS said, he objected to the clause as a whole, and also to the manner in which it was proposed to carry it out. What would be the position of the Director of Public Prosecutions if he were to go down to make inquiry in the way suggested? It was quite evident that he would become the mere depository of all the tittle-tattle of the place on one side or the other. What was the necessity of such a provision? As the Bill stood, they had given ample power for the presentation of Petitions, which was the only resort of persons who were discontented with an election. In the next clause they appointed Commissioners, and sent them down to the constituency at the instance of an aggrieved Petitioner who desired inquiry. They now proposed that, in order to check the corrupt practice which might have prevailed, an inquiry should be instituted by the Director of Public Prosecutions. It seemed to him (Mr. Lewis) that the real objection was to the clause itself. Although he could not support the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend, he certainly could not support the clause. He would not inquire what the object of the next clause was; but, in regard to the present clause, he thought that its object had been misconceived by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen). The Public Prosecutor could not try anybody at all. He would be simply sent down to the constituency to see if he could pick up anybody and send him for trial, and he (Mr. Lewis) did not think that was a sort of thing they ought to sanction at all. They ought to rest quite content with the eagerness of political partizans, without sending down the Public Prosecutor.

Mr. GORST said, he would ask the leave of the Committee to withdraw the Amendment, because he had been impressed by what hon. Members had said, that it was not necessary to have a Public Prosecutor without a local tribunal; and as the hon. and learned Attorney General had not yet provided a local tribunal, it was unnecessary to take up the time of the Committee by looking for a Public Prosecutor. There was one observation of the Attorney General which he desired to answer, in order to show that he was not as ignorant as the Attorney General seemed to suppose. He had never contemplated that the Public Prosecutor should send down a stranger. The Attorney General knew the Public Prosecutor better than he (Mr. Gorst) did; but the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to think that he would appoint the worst man to represent him he could find. If the Public Prosecutor were a man of sense, he (Mr. Gorst) presumed that when he appointed an assistant he would look out for some independent and impartial solicitor in the constituency itself.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): How could you find him?

Mr. GORST said, the hon. and learned Gentleman asked how they could find him? He (Mr. Gorst) would undertake to say that there was not a constituency in which they could not find a respectable solicitor who took no part in Party politics of any kind, and who would be perfectly adequate to exercise semi-judicial functions at the time of an election. That was the sort of man he would recommend; but as there was no use in searching for a Public Prosecutor, he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Mr. BIGGAR desired to say a word before the Amendment was withdrawn. The hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had asked why a barrister of seven years' standing should be sent down to a borough to listen to all the tittle-tattle of the place; and the hon.

and learned Gentleman asserted that the Public Prosecutor would be able to obtain no evidence which he could lay before any tribunal. Now, he (Mr. Biggar) contended, on the other hand, that witnesses would be taken before the representative of the Public Prosecutor, who would be in a position to give some substantial evidence upon which the Assistant Public Prosecutor would be able to set the law in motion, and have the case adjudicated upon at once. It therefore seemed to him that the Amendment was a feasible one, and he did not see why it should not be introduced.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman move the other Amendments which stand in his name on the Paper?

MR. GORST: No.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. LEWIS wished to call the attention of the Committee to the nature of clause. It said—

"Where information is given to the Director of Public Prosecutions that any corrupt or illegal practices have prevailed in reference to any election, it shall be his duty, subject to the regulations under the Prosecution of Offences Act, 1879, to make such inquiries and institute such prosecutions as the circumstances of the case appear to him to require."

Did the Attorney General really think that such a provision would answer any practical purpose in the interests of purity of election? It seemed to him (Mr. Lewis) to be wholly a mischievous and a useless provision.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, there were cases in which persons would go to the Public Prosecutor and his representative and say that wholesale bribery was going on, and that A, B, C, and D could give him conclusive proof of it. Directly he received such information the Public Prosecutor could put the law in motion; and he thought it would be better to leave the duty of entering upon the case to the Public Prosecutor, rather than to persons who might have been taking part in the election on one side or the other.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 40 (Special Commissioner for trial of persons charged with corrupt or illegal practices, or illegal payment, employment, or hiring).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, a great many representations had been made to him on the subject of this clause, which did not deal with a summary tribunal, but a tribunal to be appointed after the election on the representation of a certain number of electors. A great many Members on both sides of the House desired to see the tribunal sitting during the election. He was anxious to do all in his power to meet the views of those hon. Members, and would therefore take the matter into consideration, to see whether he could provide, not only an inquiry after, but, if possible, during the election. This clause was perfectly isolated from the rest of the Bill; therefore, under the circumstances, he should be prepared to strike it out, with the object of dealing with the matter at a later stage.

MR. GORST said, he intended to propose an Amendment to convert the Court from one which should sit after the election into one which should sit during the election; but, as he understood the matter, the Attorney General was going to take the whole subject into his consideration, with a view, if possible, of meeting the wishes of the Committee. He would not, therefore, move his Amendment at present; but he hoped he was right in supposing that the possibility of having a tribunal which should sit during an election would be considered by the Government with the desire of adopting such an arrangement if practicable.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN agreed with the postponement, but wished to say that they were postponing too many clauses. ["No, no!"] Well, if they were not postponing this clause they were striking it out, in order to bring up another one in its place, which was almost the same thing. ["No, no!"] Not necessarily, perhaps, but in all probability that was what they would do. He wished to warn the Committee against the danger of leaving too many questions to be discussed on the Report stage; and to suggest that, if they were not careful, the points at issue on Report would be as numerous and as troublesome as they had been in the Committee.

Mr. RAIKES said, that if this clause was struck out now, he could only hope that it would re-appear. It appeared to him by far the most practical clause of the Bill. There was one point which, so far as he could judge, appeared to have escaped the attention of the Attorney General, and also the Members of the Committee, and he would make a suggestion to the hon. and learned Gentleman with regard to it. The clause in its present form provided for inquiry into corrupt or illegal practices, or illegal payment, employment, or hiring; but the Commissioner only had power under it to punish for corrupt practices. There was no provision in the clause for the punishment of illegal practices, or illegal payments, employment, or hiring; but in Sub-section 4, the Commissioner, on convicting a person for an illegal practice in connection with an election might, if he thought it expedient, let him off, awarding no other punishment than the incapacities that attached to such conviction. He did not know whether it was the intention of the Government that the Commissioner should not have power to punish for illegal payment, employment, or hiring; but, while he should prefer to limit the jurisdiction of the Commissioner to punishment for corrupt practices, he should be glad to see the clause re-appear. The omission he pointed out appeared to him to be a serious error in the drafting. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General might read the clause two or three times, but nowhere in it would he find provided punishment for illegal practices. There were two other points to which he wished to call attention, and to make proposals, one being in the spirit of the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson) at an earlier period. He (Mr. Raikes) was anxious that the person who held this Commission should be one who was not liable to the suspicion of political bias; and he, therefore, proposed that he should be a person who had not been a candidate at any election during the five years preceding his appointment. It seemed to him (Mr. Raikes) that it would be a very unsatisfactory element in such inquiry if, in considering cases where malpractices were charged against one side or the other, the person conducting the investigation were a person who had recently been a Member of the House, or a candidate for a seat in Parliament. Such a person would hardly be able to hear a case with that partiality which he ought to possess. He had known cases where Commissioners who had been candidates at elections, and who might have been extremely desirous of doing their duty in a most impartial manner, still had entirely failed to satisfy the constituency amongst whom they had sat that that was the case. The question then arose, how far these inquiries were to affect the status of Members of the House? The Bill, in the general clauses, provided elaborate machinery for the trial of Election Petitions; but, as he read this clause, it would be competent for a Commissioner to try a candidate or Member of the House six months after the election, and probably long after the time for petitioning had expired, and if he found him guilty thereby to void the seat and expose the Member to all the penalties of the Bill. It seemed to him (Mr. Raikes) that that, perhaps, was hardly intended; and he wished to put in words making a saving clause, to the effect that neither the candidate nor his principal agent should be liable to be tried by such Commission. If the other side wished to have a shot at a candidate or his principal agent, they had an opportunity in their power to lodge a Petition against the return; but if the clause passed in a form similar to that in which it now stood, it might give political opponents an opportunity of satisfying their vindictiveness or malignity. He mentioned these matters now because he was anxious that the Attorney General, who was going to bring in the clause in a new shape, should have them under his consideration, and might, therefore, make the section more workable and more practicable.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that if the right hon. Gentleman would turn to line 39, in Sub-section 2, he would find that for the purposes of this Act the Commissioner was to have all the powers of a Petty Sessional Court, in addition to the powers conferred by the measure. A Petty Sessional Court could try a case summarily, and impose summary punishment; therefore, the Commissioner would be able to act summarily. Then, again, a candidate need not subject himself to this jurisdiction unless he thought proper. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman's entire criticism of the clause altogether failed. He (the Attorney General) trusted that upon this subject there would be no misunderstanding. With regard to the tribunal, it would be remembered that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said that he would endeavour to find it; and he (the Attorney General) could only say that anything that came from the right hon. Gentleman would be received by him with every desire to meet his views if it were possible. He (the Attorney General) could not take upon himself fuller obligations in this matter.

MR. BOURKE said, that before they parted with this clause they ought to have a satisfactory understanding from the Attorney General as to whether or not it was to re-appear? Though the Attorney General proposed to withdraw the clause for the present, was it to appear in another shape? He did not understand that the hon. and learned Gentleman had pledged himself in the matter; on the contrary, though there seemed to be a general consensus of opinion that the principle laid down in the proposal of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) was one the Committee ought to sanction, the Attorney General had not committed himself to that view. From what had fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman to-day it was clear that the Government did not look upon this proposal with any degree of favour. Therefore, he thought that before they passed away from the clause it would be well for the Committee to understand whether the Government really did intend to bring up any clause analogous to that proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Kent or not.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) was understood to say that the Government would take the point into consideration, with a view, if possible, of making some proposal with regard to it.

MR. ONSLOW said, that he had lately been thinking a great deal over this question, and it had suggested itself to his mind that this Court might safely be the local magistrates. The local magistrates desired to prevent bribery; it was their object that elections should be conducted decently, and in an orderly manner; and it certainly appeared to him that, unless they availed themselves of the local magistrates, they would be unable to obtain another local tribunal.

MR. GIBSON said, he thought that as his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was not present, he might say in his name that he thought the Attorney General had, on the whole, exercised a wise discretion in withdrawing this clause. There had been a great consensus of opinion in the House that the right hon. Baronet the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) was quite right in suggesting to the Committee that it was desirable to have a summary tribunal to decide on the spot during the election, if possible, in the case of offences discovered as the election was going on; but such tribunal would not at all be provided by this clause. This clause would enable disgusted opponents — there were always people disgusted with the result after an election—to wait four, or five, or six months before taking any action, and then action might be taken just at the time when everybody was forgetting the animosities of the contest, and were making up their political differences. The effect of the clause would be to bring up the Attorney General and the Public Prosecutor into the county or borough, and to have the constituency again annoyed and disturbed when everybody wanted to forget and forgive. He was pleased, therefore, on the whole, that the clause had been withdrawn. He understood the Attorney General to say that he had no intention of presenting this clause again to the notice of the Committee, but that he would be prepared to give the fullest and most favourable consideration to any clause that might be presented from any part of the Committee. That might have reference to the real inquiry to be made on the spot while the election was being carried on. He (Mr. Gibson) understood that while the hon. and learned Gentleman would give that favourable consideration to Motions made on that (the Opposition) side of the House, he would endeavour himself to suggest, if he found it feasible, some clause that might have the effect of satisfying the demands which had been made.

He understood that the hon. and learned Gentleman did not pledge himself dogmatically that he would be able to do that, but that he would loyally endeavour, with the aid of Members of the Committee, to present such a clause for their acceptance.

MR. CALLAN said, he was sorry to find that the Attorney General had yielded to pressure and had withdrawn the clause, which he believed to be one of the most healthy sections of the Bill. At present, if a candidate was guilty of illegal or corrupt practices, there was no remedy against him, unless some interested party went and lodged a Petition, and, at the same time, lodged £1,000 as security for costs. And then what was everybody's became nobody's business—to preserve the electoral purity of the country. True it was that there was a Proviso that after an election, upon a Petition signed by two or more electors of the borough or county, the House might, if it so thought fit, if it were informed that a considerable number of electors had been guilty of corrupt practices, address the Crown to give effect to the representation, just as if it had been moved by a Report of the Election Judges. But how had that Proviso worked. It had been in force now more than 20 years, and had never yet been acted upon—in fact, it was practically a dead letter. Substantially, the only manner in which they could get at the corruption of a constituency was by means of an Election Petition; but an Election Petition could not be instituted, as he had said, unless there was some patriotic or interested party prepared to lodge £1,000 to cover any possible expense. That seemed to him to be a very undesirable method of securing an inquiry. He was not at all in favour of having an inquiry during an election. They could not send Public Prosecutors or barristers of 10 or 15 years' standing all over the country whilst an election was going on, and if they sent to one constituency they would have to send to all. The Attorney General, or the Public Prosecutor, whoever he might be, might be at the time looking after his own election, and they would not be able to send him all around the country. It was a kind of hodge-podge to think of being able to send him down to the constituencies to make inquiries at a General Election. In the future this might occur. After an election something might gradually ooze out about corrupt practices, and they might not have to try the candidate or the election agent, but some other person who might be guilty. He knew a case himself in which corrupt practices had extensively prevailed in a constituency. The evidence that was obtained was overwhelming of its kind, and a Petition was determined upon; but it so happened that the candidate who was defeated started for another constituency and obtained a seat, the result being that he abandoned the proceedings. The candidate, who was beaten in this case, had incontestible evidence of corrupt practices prevailing—in fact, sufficient to disfranchise the constituency; but yet he did not want, like Quintus Curtius, to throw himself into the breach and lodge £1,000 in Chancery which might never be returned to him; and, consequently, all these corrupt practices went by the board. If such a clause as this had been in force retribution would have followed quick upon the sucessful candidate who had been guilty of corrupt practices. He might not have lost his seat; but he would have been pilloried before the public, and would have suffered the punishment assigned to him. He must say that he knew a number of constituencies where, if this clause had been in operation, the evil practices of which the persons had been guilty would have been detected. He was sorry to find on this occasion great sympathy with the Front Opposition Bench and the Treasury Bench. No doubt, both of them would have been more or less affected, and to his mind it would have been more during the last Election, if this clause had been in operation. In fact, he believed that if there had been such a law as this when an appeal was last made to the constituencies, one-half of the Members of this House who escaped Election Petitions would subsequently have been got at and exposed for malpractices. And what would have happened at the last Election would happen at the next. He exceeding regretted the abandonment of this clause, believing that in letting it go the Government were throwing a sop to corruptionists, and those who hoped to profit by corruption.

MR. BIGGAR said, he wished to make an observation with regard to this clause. In the early part of the Bill the Government had provided an innumerable quantity of offences; in fact, they had made it almost certain that every candidate must break the law in some particular or other. What had they done after that? They had taken very good care that no one should be prosecuted under the provisions of this Act unless, so far as he could see, an Election Petition was lodged. What was the result of that? Why, that the expense to the party lodging the Petition, who had to give a guarantee of £1,000, would be £4,000 or £5,000, and that was altogether beyond the capacity of a large proportion of those who were candidates for election, or who might be in the future. If a wealthy candidate was guilty of an offence, and his opponent was not a wealthy man, he would, in all probability, get off scot-free; whereas a poor candidate who might be guilty of some trifling act, which under the Bill would be illegal, might be overwhelmed by the force of a Petition brought against him by some well-to-do opponent. It was proposed in this clause that the Public Prosecutor should initiate a special tribunal to try the case if 10 electors in the constituency gave information and appealed to have the case tried. These 10 electors would be parties who were interested in having freedom and purity of election amongst the constituency to which they belonged; and, more than that, under the clause, if a delinquent was convicted he would be punished, and the constituency which was of a corrupt nature would have to pay the expenses of the proceedings, although, on the other hand, if these 10 gentlemen who appealed to the Public Prosecutor were proved to have made a vexatious complaint, they would have to pay the cost of the proceedings. It seemed to him that the clause might have been so improved as to render it acceptable; at any rate, he believed that this was one of the most desirable clauses of the Bill, providing, as it did, for a comparatively cheap tribunal to try these cases. If this clause was not inserted there would be no means of trying these cases, except through the action of an Election Petition, which was always a very expensive and most unsatisfactory method, and for the reason that if a man was very rich he could go to the expense of suborning witnesses; whilst a poor man must depend upon the justice of his case.

MR. CALLAN said, he had not spoken in the course of this debate, except upon subjects upon which he had some experience, and in which he felt deeply interested. It was a fact, that when an Election Petition was presented it was necessary for the Petitioner to lodge £1,000, and it was also necessary to charge the candidate, by himself or by his agent, with having been guilty of corrupt practices such as would invalidate the election. That was a *sine quâ non.* Though they might prove that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed, if they could not bring home to the candidate, or his agent, the corrupt practices, the Petitioner would be mulcted not only in his own costs, but also in those of the candidate. The most difficult thing in the matter of an Election Petition was to bring the charge home to the candidate, though it was often very easy to prove that corrupt practices had extensively prevailed. At his own election, in Dundalk, in 1880, he was defeated. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; he was defeated, but it was by corrupt practices. Treating was so extensive that he had it in his power at the election to bring home corrupt practices to upwards of 100 electors in that borough. He had his Petition prepared; but having obtained a seat within four days for his native county, why should he petition and risk £1,000? He felt sure, however, that he could have proved that corrupt practices extensively prevailed; but the difficulty would have been to have brought it home to the minds of the Judges that the candidate or his agent was implicated. If this clause had been in operation he could have got 10 electors to allege that corrupt practices extensively prevailed without difficulty, and thereupon he could have brought evidence to prove the case. He was not at all surprised at the Attorney General yielding in this case, not because of the objection taken from that (the Opposition) side of the House, but because it came from the eminent jurists below the Gangway. The objection to the clause, he believed, came from the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). Why did these hon. Members, who held themselves up as the only pure Members of the House, object to this clause? Why did the Attorney General yield to the request of his supporters to expunge the most important clause in the entire Bill, when by its agency he could bring home their guilt to erring candidates, and impose upon them the punishment they deserved? As he had said, if this clause had been in operation at the Dundalk Election he could have proved that upwards of 100 voters had obtained £5 or £10 each for their votes. Probably he could not have brought that home to the satisfaction of his opponent; but he felt sure that he could have brought home to the mind of an impartial investigator the fact that such corruption existed, and would have been able to have obtained the disfranchisement of the borough.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Member of the new Rule relating to wearying the patience of the Committee.

MR. CALLAN said, he was not aware that wearying the patience of the Committee was an offence so long as he spoke pertinently to the point. He was fully alive to the fact that it was easy to weary the patience of Members below the Gangway when he referred, in the clear way he was doing, to their malpractices.

MR. BIGGAR said, he did not intend to prolong this discussion to any length; but he felt so strongly upon this particular clause that he should take the opportunity of dividing upon it.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 5; Noes 164: Majority 159.—(Div. List, No. 180.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

MR. ONSLOW said, that upon this Motion he wished to put a question to the Government. He did not know whether there was any truth in it, but he had heard from certain hon. Members that Her Majesty's Government intended to propose a series of Amendments on the next clause. Not one of them was down on the Paper; and really, on an important clause like this, affecting as it did a large and interesting trade, the Attorney General should give them some facilities for ascertaining what the Amendments were to be.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, the Government would take care to put the Amendments on the Paper, so that the Committee would have an opportunity of determining upon them before they were asked to discuss them.

Motion *agreed to*.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

The House suspended its Sitting at ten minutes before Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN).

RESOLUTION.

MR. HUGH MASON, in rising to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting,"

said: Mr. Speaker, I must, in the first place, express my regret that the introduction of this Motion has not fallen in the present Parliament, as it did in the last Parliament, upon my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney). I regret it for the sake of the House, and for the sake of the question itself. But, having accepted Office under the Government, a substitute has had to be found for my hon. Friend, and that substitute has been found in myself. In only one thing do I profess to equal my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, and that is in my sincerity, and my earnestness in hoping that this question may be brought to-night to a successful issue. In all other respects I have to confess that I am very unequal to the task which has fallen upon me, as compared with my hon. Friend; but if the House will be so good as to grant me its indulgence for a little time only, I will endeavour to place my arguments before it as concisely and as clearly as it is possible for me to do. While I feel regret on the one hand, as I have just said, I have considerable encouragement on the other hand derived from the fact that the question I have undertaken to bring before the House is not a Party political question. There will be no irritable spirit of partizanship aroused on either side of the House by the discussion on this question. In former Parliaments, when this question was brought forward—for this is the first time in the present Parliament in which it has been introduced—many right hon. Gentlemen who now sit on the Treasury Bench were found to be warm supporters of the Motion I now propose, and many who sat on the Treasury Bench in the last Parliament have also proved themselves to be its warm supporters. The Motion has had the support on a previous occasion, and will have the support again to-night, of every section in this House—of Tories, Whigs, Radicals, the Fourth Party, Home Rulers, indeed, Members from every part of the House will be found amongst the ranks of those who support this Motion. On the eve of the introduction, many of us hope, of the new Reform Bill by the Government—not in this Session, but in the next Session—it does seem fitting that this question should be debated in the course of the present Session; for in my humble judgment a Reform Bill would be an incomplete measure, unless provision was made in it for granting Parliamentary votes to women ratepayers who are spinsters and widows. I wish to bring this phase of the question very clearly now before the House. An impression, I dare say, has gone abroad, and may exist in the minds of some hon. Gentlemen present, that my Motion covers a much wider field than I, for one, have any conception of. I repeat that the words of my Motion are intended to cover women ratepayers who are spinsters and widows. I have not the slightest sympathy with those who advocate the conferring of this vote upon married women, or upon women who are not ratepayers; and I, for one, would wash my hands of this question now and for ever, sooner than I would be a party, in any degree whatever, to conferring a vote upon any class of women, except the two classes I have named. Now, what does my Motion mean? It does not mean in any sense a degrading of the franchise, it does not mean the conferring of any fancy franchise which at present is unknown to the Constitution; but it simply means the giving of Parliamentary votes to those women who already possess votes for Municipal Councils, School Boards, Boards of Guardians, Overseers, Churchwardens, Surveyors of Parish Roads, and some other Bodies. And it does seem to me—I will not say illogical in the law, for in my opinion there is nothing logical in the British Constitution—it does seem to me a great act of injustice to the women who discharge the duties of citizenship, who pay rates and taxes, and in many other ways fulfil the obligations which are imposed upon them by the law; it does seem to me a great act of injustice that the voting power which they possess shall stop short of allowing them to vote for Members of the House of Commons. I am asked the question again and again —" Pray where do you mean to stop?" [Mr. WARTON: Hear, hear!] Well, at all events, I have a notion where I mean to stop. I do not mean to make Members of Parliament of women. [Mr. WARTON: Why not?] I do not mean to make them soldiers or sailors, or railway stokers, or colliers, or to give them occupations of that kind. But I invariably answer, when I am asked by a man where I mean to stop, having made those reservations, that I do not intend to go beyond the Throne. In this country we have had women as Monarchs wielding the sceptre, and discharging the highest functions of the State, wisely and conscientiously, and patriotically; and surely if women are competent to perform those high duties, in the way which I have described, they are worthy of having conferred on them votes which it is the object of my Resolution to confer. Now, I said women are in a very unjust position. We must either go backwards or forwards. We cannot possibly stand still. I am quite aware that some hon. Gentlemen have expressed their doubts and fears as to the consequence of conferring this vote upon women. They have said to me— "Do you wish to make them spouters upon every political platform in the country? Do you wish them to turn their backs upon their homes and their families, and to neglect the discharge of those important domestic duties for which they are highly qualified?" I have no fears whatever of that sort; and the way in which women have hitherto exercised the suffrage in the election of Town Councils, and other Bodies, I think ought to be accepted as complete evidence that they will not abuse or misuse the trust which some of us wish to put in their hands. Now, I hold an opinion that the qualification for giving a vote is very much more one of the heart than of the head. Though I do not at all agree with the people who say that women are intellectually or scientifically inferior to men. I will only ask those who take an interest in education to look at Girton and Newnham, and see the positions young women in those important educational institutions hold. I will also ask them to look at the Profession of Medicine, and ask them to recall the fact that women are making their mark in this important Profession, in which they will, in my opinion, continue to make their mark, thus showing that they are well qualified for the discharge not only of duties of this character, but of duties of an equally responsible kind in other vocations. Now, we are always told when a reform is sought that there is no demand for it on the part of those who will be benefited by it. Now, that cannot be said in regard to the women on this subject. For many years they have been very well organized. They have most ably conducted their organization; they have carried on with great ability a public journal, which many hon. Members, I know, read every month; and they have managed their organization with an amount of economy in funds which, I must say, puts to the blush many organizations conducted by men. And we are also told—I will not say whether there is any truth in it or not—that the Parliament of England never yields anything to reason or argument, but that it yields only to fears, and threats, and intimidation. Now, we have never seen the women resorting to threats or intimidation; but their organization, their agitation, has been conducted in the most Constitutional and the most lady-like manner—they have brought no stain whatever upon their sex, or upon the purity of their minds by using expressions or adopting means which would be a disgrace to themselves or to the question with which they are identified. We are told that if votes are granted to women they will simply become tools in the hands of the priests—that they will be the victims of the priests. I venture to think that even if that were true—which I deny—it is entirely beside the question. The question really is—Is it just to give them a vote? not—How will they use it; or, if they have it, will they become the tools of designing men? I will reply to an accusation of that kind by asking—"Do not we see men the victims of priests? Do not we hear a great deal about strong-minded women?" And I myself think, judging from the experience—the limited experience, perhaps, I may have had in that direction—that women are as little liable to be victimized by the priests as the men who make the accusations are. Now, I have been told in my own borough, by some of my best friends, to use their own emphatic language—"That if I succeed in achieving this reform for the women it will be at the risk of my seat, for the women will all turn Tories." It has been said to me—"You are giving yourself the greatest slap in the face that you could possibly receive at a future election." Now, that does not concern me in the slightest degree. What alone concerns me is not will the women be ungrateful—not whether, if they obtain the franchise, they will use it for the first time against myself and against the other hon. Gentlemen who will support my Motion tonight; but whether they are justly entitled to the vote. I recollect a memorable instance of a large body of men, in the shape of compound householders, proving very ungrateful. When the compound householder was enfranchised, mainly through the exertions of my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), at the very next election, which happened in a short time afterwards, my right hon. Friend, who then sat for Manchester, was turned out by the very compound householders whom he had laboured to enfranchise. Manchester has had its punishment since that day, for it has never recovered that proud political position which it then held in the estimation of the country. Now, take the illustration as to the qualifications of women in regard to the teaching of the young. My right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), if he were here, would confirm what I am about to say in regard to the board schools at Saltaire. I went through those schools with my friend Mr. George Salt. I saw, in every class room, mixed classes of boys and girls; I saw that every teacher in every class room was a woman; and my friend (Mr. G. Salt) told me—if the House will pardon the expression—that the head master of the school was a woman, and that the managers found very much more progress made—not in education alone, but in good manners and in every respect which is important to the training of the young—under the teaching of women than they had formerly experienced under the teaching of men. As another illustration of the injustice sanctioned, by law with regard to women, may I mention the bribery which took place at the last General Election of 1880; and especially may I refer to the town of Macclesfield, which, I am sorry to say, is in the North of England, for there bribery prevailed to such an extent that more than half the voters were proved to have been bribed, and that not a few of them had received bribes from both sides. A Royal Commission was sent down. Many days were spent in the examination of the cases of bribery; the Members were unseated, and some of the lawyers who had been agents were imprisoned for the part they had taken in corrupting the electors, and many thousands of pounds were saddled upon the ratepayers of Macclesfield. Who paid those thousands of pounds? Did those corrupt men? No. In the town of Macclesfield there were registered electors 5,500, and there were women ratepayers to the number of 1,589. Those innocent women, being ratepayers and householders, had to pay a considerable portion of the charge which had been levied upon the town of Macclesfield for the bribery and corruption of the men. Is that not a great case of injustice sanctioned by the law? I am quite aware that the injustice falls upon the pure electors just as much as it falls upon the women; but then the pure electors or voters, at all events, had some compensation and some power which hitherto has been denied to the women. Now, there is another illustration which comes nearer home to myself. I have known in manufacturing towns, where I have resided all my life—I have known many cases of honest women having drunken and worthless husbands, who neglected their work, neglected the feeding and clothing of their families, neglected their families' education, and who by their vices had considerably shortened their own lives. I have known those men die; and I have seen their widows left with a number of small children, not one of them possibly able to work; I have seen those women, I will not say manfully, but heroically facing their distressed circumstances, working hard for their children, gradually clothing them, gradually bringing beds and fresh furniture into the houses, for in many cases the furniture in their former homes had been taken away to gratify the vices of their husbands. I have seen them pay their husbands' debts, keep a roof over the heads of themselves and families, educate their children, pay the rent regularly, and yet, because these persons are women, and incomparably superior in every respect to the worthless husbands they had lost a short while before, they are not allowed to give a vote, while the worthless husbands had been allowed that privilege. Will any person venture to tell me that if anyone should have been deprived of the vote, it should not have been the man who so neglected his family and duties, but the woman? Surely, under such circumstances, instead of being deprived of the vote, the woman who had proved herself fully competent to discharge all the duties of citizenship should have all the rights of a citizen conferred on her. Now, cases of this kind are continually coming up. The more I see of them, the more I am convinced that this question is a righteous question. The question is making progress. A great many of the Town Councils in the country, and in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, have expressed their approval by Memorials and Petitions. The Town Councils of the cities of Manchester, Edinburgh, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Exeter, Huddersfield, and other towns have expressed their wish by Petitions to this House that the vote shall be no longer kept back from women who, I have already said, now possess the right to vote in many other cases. I do sincerely hope, that as regards the limitations of the question, I have made myself perfectly clear; and I hope that the present Government, in the course of the next Session of Parliament, when they bring on what many of us are expecting—namely, a great Reform Bill, will be bold enough to include in it the conferring of the franchise upon women who are qualified in the way I have stated. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I rise to second the Resolution which has been proposed by my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Mason); and I think that the fact of my doing so affords sufficient evidence that this is, in no sense of the word, a Party question. If other evidence of that were required, I could give it in the fact that, in the year 1866, Mr. Disraeli expressed himself on this important question in these words—

> "A woman having property ought now to have a vote in the country in which she may hold Manorial Courts, and sometimes act as churchwarden."

Now, Sir, those words are clear and definite enough, and they emanate from the late Head of the great Party to which I have the honour to belong. But, if we want still further evidence of how little this question is mixed up with Party considerations, we shall find it in the fact that, in the same year in which the late Mr. John Stuart Mill introduced this question of electoral reform—namely, in March, 1869, Mr. Disraeli said—

> "What we desire to do is to give to everyone who is worthy of it a fair share in the government of the country by means of the elective franchise."

I think there can be hardly any dispute that the word "everyone" includes women as well as men; and that, in the few words in which the great statesman expressed himself, he clearly showed that he considered it an act of injustice to withhold the privilege of the franchise from women. Sir, I should like to preface the few observations I wish to make, by asking the House to consider why the passing of this measure has been so long postponed? I venture to think that the reason may be, perhaps, the fact that those who sit with me on these Benches have sometimes considered the change too Radical, while some hon. Members on the other side of the House have considered the change too Conservative; so that, between the two considerations, the supporters of this question have found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Those who are justly entitled to the privilege which they do not now enjoy are the sufferers by the diversity of opinion. Now, I admit that the argument of the hon. Gentlemen who sit below the Gangway on the Ministerial side of the House is a very plausible one. For, of course, it cannot be denied that the admission of women to the privilege of the franchise puts an end once and for ever to any question of manhood suffrage. But, still, I cannot help thinking that this will scarcely be an argument against it. I, however, do not propose to discuss the question this evening from the point of view of its possible advantages and disadvantages to the Party to which I belong, or to the Party opposite. All I wish to do is to state, I trust clearly and fairly, the arguments which weigh in my mind in favour of the Motion of the hon. Member for Ashton-under-Lyne. Sir, it appears to me that one of the principal arguments why women have not been admitted to the exercise of the electoral franchise is, that the men who make the laws of this country are apt to confound the word "power" with the word "superiority." It is undoubted that men, as the governing body of the country, and governing voice of the nation, have the power to withhold that franchise from women which they themselves enjoy; and is it not equally true that they are apt to find excuses for withholding that privilege, on the ground of supposed superiority, which exists, I am bound to say, purely in their own imagination? Let me, for a moment, consider the arguments which have been used against this measure. I may begin by saying that I was, indeed, delighted to hear from the hon. Gentleman who proposed this Motion that he did not intend to include married women within its scope. I am entirely of his opinion. I would simply grant the franchise to widows and spinsters; and I think, by so doing, both he and I would disarm, to a great extent, those hon. Members who urge, as an argument against this Resolution, that women would be departing from the province of their sex, would be called away from the duties which belong essentially to women, if married women were allowed to exercise the franchise, and thereby to be carried away by the heat and strife of Party politics. But what my hon. Friend proposes to do—and it is a proposition with which I entirely agree—is, that those women who have already a right to vote in municipal elections and school boards, where they can also sit, being widows and spinsters, should have a further extension of that privilege, and be enabled to vote for the persons they may think fit to represent them in the House of Commons. Sir, I am well aware that those who are opposed to this measure use as an argument against it an alleged inferiority of the reasoning powers of women and their inadequate education; too prone to adopt the view expressed by Shakespeare, when he said—

> "I have no other than a woman's reason;
> I think him so, because I think him so."

That argument, supposing it to hold good in the days of Shakespeare, supposing it to have held good in a period nearer to our own, cannot be used in the present day. The educational progress of women is, perhaps, greater than that of men; and the development of that educational progress has arisen mainly from the fact that many of those barriers, which were felt alike by men and women, have been removed. Women have now the advantage of going to the great Universities. Have they destroyed the character of those Universities? Certainly not. They have raised their own position; they have developed their own intelligence; they have shown that they are equally gifted with men. They have shown, now, they have the advantages they did not have formerly; that they are capable of engaging with men in a fair contest of educational warfare. If that be the case, surely it, in itself, speaks volumes in favour of the extension of the suffrage to women. We are apt to consider women by the light in which they were regarded in the days of our forefathers; we are apt to remember how the women of 100 years ago had not opportunities for education; but devoted such energies as they might possess to strumming on the spinnet, and exercising their culinary powers in making syllabubs and preserving fruits. All this is changed; it would be bad indeed if we were now obliged to substitute the simple maiden, in the shape of Clarissa Harlowe, for the intellectual giantess, George Eliot. As a matter of fact, these two examples illustrate the difference between the women of to-day and those of 100 years ago. And if we admit that women are intellectually superior to-day to what they were 100 years ago, why should we deprive them of the privilege which we enjoy ourselves? What possible argument can be used against it? Why should they not be allowed to express an opinion as to the men who are best fitted to represent them in Parliament? They have a stake in the country; they have intelligence to appreciate their duties and responsibilities to the State. What can possibly be urged against the extension of this privilege to them, which we, as men, hold and enjoy? Another argument which is used against the proposal is, that it is the thin edge of the wedge; that if we allow women to have votes for Members of Parliament, the time will not be far distant when they themselves will aspire to the position of occupying seats in the House. [Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: Hear, hear!] My right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge cheers that idea. I myself should be the first to oppose anything of the sort, to oppose it strongly; and I am bound to say I do not think it in any way follows that, because a woman exercises her right to vote for a Member of Parliament, she would, as a natural *sequitur*, claim a right to sit in the House of Commons. I would remind my hon. Friend that, although beneficed clergymen have a right to vote, still they are not allowed to sit in this House; and, surely, the same power which gives and confers a right to vote to beneficed clergymen, and withholds from them the privilege of a seat in this House, could grant to women the right to vote subject to the same restriction; otherwise, it would follow that whatever might be the profession in which a woman might directly or indirectly engage, she would have the right to claim the highest posts in it. Take the case of the Army; would anyone say that, because a woman like Florence Nightingale devoted the best years of her life to alleviating pain on the field of battle, she would have the right to aspire to become a General in the field? Would anyone say that, because women have risked their lives at sea, like Grace Darling, and more recently like the brave women at the Mumbles Head, that those women may aspire to be Admirals of Her Majesty's Fleet? You might just as well say that, because women of the present day pass many weary hours in copying for law-stationers, they, therefore, may aspire to become Lord Chancellors. [An hon. MEMBER: They are lawyers in America.] I am reminded that women are lawyers in America; but it depends entirely whether clients choose to employ them. I do not see why they should not be lawyers here, if they choose. My right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge, very possibly, has in his mind's eye the case of Portia. Of course, the success of women in the Legal Profession entirely depends upon whether people are willing to employ them. I recollect that, some years ago, a similar objection was urged with the same persistency against women being allowed to enter the Profession of Medicine. At the present day, there are many ladies who follow with great success the Profession of Medicine. It is said that is unwomanly and unnatural. It is said that a woman should not be called in to attend a sick man. But they are called in to minister to their own sex, and called to great advantage. I well remember the time when the question was raised whether women were eligible for places on the School Board. I recollect a meeting being held to protest against women sitting upon the School Board, and I equally remember what has been the result. Who is more qualified than a woman to endeavour to educate the young; who more qualified than a woman to look after the training of infant minds? The women who have been elected to our school boards have proved, unquestionably, the fallacy of the arguments of those who opposed their election. All these things, however, do not in any way necessitate the election of women to this House. Government is carried on here, as in all countries, by the men of the country. And it does not follow at all that, if a woman is duly qualified, and holds similar qualifications to men, she should be debarred, because she is a woman, from exercising the privileges which attach to those qualifications. We know that in the course, probably, of this Parliament, a large measure of electoral reform will be introduced. Now, what is the nature of that reform? Broadly, it is to extend the franchise now existing in boroughs to labourers in the counties. We may assume that the labourers in counties are not as highly educated as men in the same walk of life in the boroughs. Still, it is intended to extend the franchise to those men; but, at the same time, to refuse to extend the franchise to those women who may be landowners in the country, and who may actually employ those men. Why is that? Simply because they are women. You give the vote to yokels, but you refuse it to the educated women, on whose bread they live. A greater absurdity can hardly be conceived. In point of fact, these women who own land are of a very considerable number. In England and Wales, according to the Return of owners of land in 1872, called *The New Doomsday Book*, the number of women, who were landowners of one acre and upwards, was given as 37,806 out of 269,547, a proportion of one in seven. In Ireland the proportion is somewhat less; it is only one in eight; and if we assume the proportion of women-householders to men-householders to be the same in the non-municipal and the municipal areas, we arrive at a total of between 300,000 and 400,000 women, who, being householders rated for the relief of the poor, would be rightly entitled to this vote. These figures appear to me to speak for themselves. I believe the fact is not disputed that a very large proportion of women are landowners in this country. They have the same stake in the country as men, they pay the same rates, they have the same responsibilities, and, as my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne pointed out, not only have they the same privileges in some respects, but they are subject to the same penalties. They have, in other matters, the same penalties without the privileges, as was shown by the hon. Member to be the case when they were called upon to contribute to the expenses of a recent Election Petition; but you withhold from them, on account of some inscrutable reason, the privilege which might, to some extent, outweigh this penalty. Well, Sir, I think that, in advancing these few arguments, I have shown that there is no just reason for withholding the suffrage from women, but that there is very great reason indeed for giving it to them. I consider that men enjoy the high honour of a seat in this House as the trustees of the people. Members have, in trust, the privileges and the rights of the people; and the system by which they are entrusted with those rights and privileges is based on the principle that those who have a stake in the country are those who are most anxious to preserve the integrity and the honour of the country. It has never been assumed that women are less loyal than men—in fact, history has shown us in this country, as in every other country, that women are loyal, patriotic, and self-sacrificing. Facts have shown us that they are educated and intelligent; and I wish, Sir, to know what possible reason there can be, in the face of the facts enumerated, why the British House of Commons should withhold from women privileges and rights to which they are, in my mind, equally entitled with men?

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting,"—(*Mr. Hugh Mason,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. E. A. LEATHAM: Mr. Speaker, my hon. Friend who made this Motion has just told us that the question is making progress. Now, I have watched the question in this House for many years, and I cannot congratulate my hon. Friend upon the fact that it grows any stronger as it grows older. When my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) had charge of it, and the hon. Member who followed him—I do not know whether I ought to say, in the championship, or in the chaperonship—it used to assume the robust proportions of a full-grown Bill. Then it sunk to the dimensions of a Tuesday's Motion—and a Tuesday's Motion which was always coming on, and did not. And latterly it has dwindled down to the lowest form which a Motion can take, to be a Motion at all; I mean a Friday's Motion on going into Committee of Supply. Nor can I remember a single question which has taken so feeble a hold of its sponsors. They are, at best, biennials. They flourish for a couple of years, and then they disappear. Now, why is this? Is it because hon. Gentlemen do not like to be thoroughly refuted more than twice? What has become of my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester, who used to advocate this question with marked ability? He has abdicated long ago. It will be the turn of my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Mason) to abdicate next year. But, although the faces of the advocates of women's suffrage in this House are always changing, there is no change in their expression. They all come up smiling. Nothing can exceed the cheerful confidence with which they ask us why we refuse to make women the political equals of men? Just as though it were the most natural thing in the world to do so. The simplicity is positively touching with which my hon. Friend invites us to ignore the universal practice of mankind in all countries and in all ages. I see that doubts were thrown upon my Radicalism by a daily organ of the Press this morning, because I oppose this Motion. But I venture to think that the man who turns his back upon the immemorial experience of mankind is much more than a Radical—he is a Nihilist. Now, my hon. Friend has taken great pains to prove to us that this Motion has no reference to the votes of married women. I differ from him. I speak under correction, for there are many lawyers in this House; but I maintain that if this Motion were embodied in a Bill, it would admit married women, qualifying under the Married Women's Property Act, to the franchise. And, whatever my hon. Friend may say, many of his supporters are anxious to extend the franchise in that direction. It was only this morning that I received, through the post, a printed letter signed by Mrs. Bright, in which this view was put forward with considerable eloquence and force. And reference was made to a measure which some time ago was introduced in this House, and which we are informed by the writer of the letter was "carefully drawn so as to include married women." Now, Sir, but for the protestations of my hon. Friend, I should have supposed that this Motion was "carefully drawn so as to include married women." But whether this Motion goes this length or not, so far as it goes it is based upon the principle of the political equality of the sexes, or it is based upon nothing. And let my hon. Friend consider a few of the things which he has to do before he is entitled to proclaim this principle. In the first place, he has to repeal no inconsiderable portions of the law of the land. This clearly decrees the subordination of the sex, at all events in marriage—and marriage is the normal state of woman—for Miss Becker, who knows this question if anybody does, declares that—

> "Every woman regards marriage either from the side of experience or of expectation."

And the subordination of the sex in marriage is based upon the declarations of Holy Writ. My hon. Friend, therefore, before he has his way, must expunge certain well-known passages of Scripture. But when he has revised the Scriptures, and amended the law of the land, he will only have reached the beginning of his task. He must proceed to revolutionize the pursuits of woman. These are not at all political, but eminently domestic. It is the pursuits of man which take him away from his home—the robust life of the street and the Forum; the only life, remember, which qualifies for politics. Is woman prepared to join in the rude tussle of the streets? Is she to become more and more masculine every year? Human nature revolts from the idea, and, most of all, that womanly nature which is both the safeguard and the glory of the sex, and which I believe to be invincible. Before my hon. Friend has any right to come down to this House with his unpretending Resolution in his hand, he has to perform one of the labours of Hercules—he has to convince and convert women. For women—I speak of the sex—do not ask for the franchise. This is an undoubted fact; and we see letters in the newspapers from indignant ladies bemoaning the apathy of their sex. What I would ask my hon. Friend, then, is this. Is this franchise of England so cheap and mean a thing that it is to be flung, not to those who ask for it, not to those who will prize it, but to those who sit aloof—surprised, annoyed, amazed, that so many generations of Englishwomen should have lived amongst us, and yet that any man should be so ignorant of their tastes, and wishes, and hopes, as to start up in his place in Parliament and demand for them an ambition which they resent, and a character which they scorn. But no doubt my hon. Friend will say that he does not propose to enfranchise the sex, but only a woman here and there—a few spinsters and widows of a certain standing. Yes; but, so far as he goes, he bases his proposal upon the political equality of the sexes; and the fact that he only proposes to enfranchise one woman in 40, and precisely those women who are the least representative of the sex, only shows how illogical his proposal is. In America, which is the home and birth-place of this movement, the women who agitate this question are the logical superiors of my hon. Friend. They demand that women should sit in Congress. They demand the enfranchisement of half the American race, and they naturally speak of sex as an accident, and of marriage as a superstition. But my hon. Friend does none of these things. He does not demand the enfranchisement of half the English people. He does not ask that women shall be admitted to this House. He still clings to marriage as a Divine institution; and he thinks that when a woman is married she should renounce politics and await the nursery. He has told us to-night that if it were proposed to enfranchise married women he would at once wash his hands of the whole question. And he calls this namby-pamby wishy-washy advocacy of Woman's Rights the removal of the electoral disabilities of women. And why are we to enfranchise these women? It cannot be because, as we used to be told, questions affecting woman cannot otherwise be solved fairly by this House; because we have just passed a Married Woman's Property Act, and thus removed the grievance of the sex. And it cannot be because women are taxpayers, because we are no longer living under the Plantagenets; and taxation and representation have long ago shaken hands and parted. In these days of indirect taxation, the man who, for his means, makes the most munificent contribution to the Exchequer is probably the habitual drunkard, of whom my hon. Friend has just spoken, and who has no vote at all. And it cannot be because they are ratepayers, for why should a municipal obligation, already recompensed in kind, confer an Imperial right with which it has nothing to do? And it cannot be because they are owners of property. If property be the basis of the franchise, and the possession of an acre is to give the vote, surely the possession of 10,000 acres ought to give 10,000 votes! The fact is, that none of these things give the vote. They are simply restrictions, and restrictions of the most arbitrary kind, devised from time to time, in order to secure, if possible, the independence of the voter. The suffrage has always been a manhood suffrage in this country; but a manhood suffrage limited to men who were free. Every free and independent man voted in ancient times—the freeman in his borough, the freeholder in his county—and, latterly, when Parliament found that in its desire to enfranchise it had stepped beyond the area of independence, what did it do? It brought up the independence of the voter by giving him the Ballot. What is essential is that every voter should be a man, and that every man who votes should be free. But my hon. Friend jumps to the conclusion that it is the restriction which is the qualification, and he thus overturns the immemorial franchise of the country. But my hon. Friend says—"You have broken through the principle of sex already in the municipalities." I know it, and deplore it. But because we have made one mistake, the consequences of which may be trivial, is that any reason why we should make a second and much more serious mistake, the consequences of which may be enormous? The municipal franchise was given to women by a few words slipped into the Municipal Franchise Act at 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning, when everybody was asleep. The whole question is better understood now; and I venture to think that my hon. Friend will not catch the House napping a second time. "But," says my hon. Friend, "you have broken through the principle of sex again. You have given the School Board franchise to women." Unfortunately for my hon. Friend, this is not a case in point at all. You were of opinion that women should sit upon school boards, in order to superintend the education of girls, just as they sit upon any other committee which regulates matters specially affecting their own sex. And, having decided to give them the right of being voted for, you were bound to give them the right of voting. For the right of voting implies the right of being voted for. But my hon. Friend does not propose that women should be returned to this House; therefore he has no right to propose that they should vote. So the very illustration by which my hon. Friend proposes to bolster up his argument demolishes it. Sir, I do not think that I need say much more. My hon. Friend, and those who act with him, are fond of posing as the friends of woman. It is they who are to elevate and ennoble the sex. I am one of those who think that the true woman — pure, faithful, modest, and shrinking from all undue publicity—is noble enough already. Let her aspire to fill the high place to which Revelation and the respect of all good men entitle her, and she will never have cause to sigh because she is forbidden to dabble in the mire of a political election.

MR. INDERWICK: I propose to say a few words in opposition to the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne. My hon. Friend has said that this is not a Party question in the sense of being a Party political question, and he has said that on previous occasions expressions were used, which, to say the least of it, were not complimentary to women. I can assure my hon. Friend and the House that, as far as I am concerned, they will not hear a word from me which can be considered in any way offensive or disrespectful to the women who are connected with this movement or their friends. It is a question, undoubtedly, of a serious political character, which must be discussed fairly and properly; and if we agree to the principle, I must express my opinion that if the political franchise ought to be granted to women we ought to grant it to them, not grudgingly or with a sparing hand, but with the same free and open hand that we should grant it to men. I would desire, as little as possible, to say anything which may appear disagreeable to any persons who are connected with this movement. But, after all, the question is not whether we should desire to extend to women what in men every Member of this House must admit to be the legitimate object of an honourable ambition; but we have to consider whether in granting this franchise, whether in taking this step, which is an uprooting of the ancient landmarks and institutions of the country, whether in adopting a policy which has been repudiated by every civilized nation in the world, we shall be doing that which is for the advantage and benefit of this country, in whose prosperity and advance we are all so much interested. My hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne has brought before the House this particular Resolution. I confess, with my hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham), I had some difficulty in coming to the conclusion whether he intended his proposal to extend to women generally, or whether he intended it simply to be extended to women who in matters of local government have a right to vote—that is to say, whether he intended that women generally who have the qualification should vote everywhere, or whether he proposed to extend the franchise only to those women who are now entitled to vote in municipal boroughs. I understand my hon. Friend means to restrict his Motion to women who are entitled to vote in municipal boroughs; and then I should like to ask my hon. Friend, and his Friends who support him in his proposal, why are Members for boroughs to have the privilege of having women amongst their constituents, and why is not the privilege to be extended to counties where women have the qualification? I do not want to be too critical.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I am sure my hon. and learned Friend will not wish to misunderstand me. I wish to extend the privilege equally to the counties.

Mr. INDERWICK: I quite understood from what my hon. Friend opposite said that that was his view; but I was simply referring to the words of the Resolution which gives to the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne a very limited and restricted application. Some objection is usually taken—and I dare say it will be taken by someone to-night—that we are taking what you call the limited and restricted privilege which is proposed, and upon that discussing the general principle of the political enfranchisement of women. It is not competent for my hon. Friend to bring before the House a proposal of a very limited character—it may be limited to the very smallest degree to which it can be limited—with the view of obtaining the assent of the House, and, if that proposal is based on a broad principle, to say we are not justified in discussing to the fullest extent the question of the principle upon which the proposal is made. My hon. Friends have brought before the House what I consider to be a fancy franchise. It may suit some of them to say that that is all they desire; but we know perfectly well that it is not what their clients desire—it is not what is desired by the women who are associated with this movement. We know perfectly well, from what is stated elsewhere, and from what one hears from Members of this House, that the foundation of this proposal is not a limited franchise of this kind, but a general franchise of women who have property and pay rates. That being so, the question we have to discuss—and the question I propose, with the permission of the House, to say a few words upon—is the question of whether, under any circumstances whatever, it is desirable in the interests of this country that the political franchise should be extended to women? With regard to the argument that is brought forward about women voting at municipal elections, and having a right to discuss the mode in which the money is spent in these municipal boroughs, if that argument is based on the ground that the money so spent is contributed to by them, and is expended in respect of their property amongst others in these municipalities, then the sort of proposal which should have been made to the House would be that they should have the right to vote for Members of Parliament, so long as the duty of these Members was confined to voting on the expenditure of public money. But we know perfectly well that the House is not always in Committee of Supply, and is not always voting away the money of widows and spinsters. There are other important obligations on Members of Parliament, with regard to which also women must have a right, if they are to have a right at all. I do not know whether the House entirely appreciates the magnitude of the question now under consideration. According to the Census in the year 1881, there were in this country 17,000,000 men from whom the electorate is taken. I do not know exactly what the number of electors is at this moment, but it is some millions; and it is proposed, by extending the franchise in counties, to increase that number very considerably. With regard to the women, according to the last Census, there were 18,000,000 women; and that is the body of persons from whom the future electorate, as it is proposed here, is to be chosen. That electorate is limited exceedingly now by my hon. Friend; but it would never bear that limitation if the principle were once adopted. If this proposal is, in fact, adopted by the House, the result will be that the House will commit itself to the principle of the political enfranchisement of women; and, having committed itself to that principle, there is no reason and no argument that I can understand for stopping short at the point at which the hon. Member for Ashton-under-Lyne now says he is prepared to stop short. If I am not much mistaken, there are other Members in this House who will probably vote for my hon. Friend's proposal, who would be ready now to stand up in the House and advocate a greater extension. [*Cheers.*] The cheers of my hon. Friends say that that is so; and they show that what we are really practically discussing now is not the limited proposal of my hon. Friend, but the great question whether women, for political purposes, are to stand on the same basis as men? One of the great arguments in favour of my hon. Friend's proposal is the fact that women enjoy the municipal franchise. If the House will permit me, I should like to say how it is that they enjoy that franchise. It is generally suggested, and stated in the House, that women obtained that franchise under the Act of 1869. To a certain extent that is correct; but it is not the whole of the statement. The fact is this—that in some Corporations—in fact, in most Corporations of the country before the Reform Act of 1835—women, who were the wives and daughters of freemen, had certain privileges. They could make freemen of their husbands; and widows of freemen, on marrying again, had also the same privileges. In certain circumstances, these women at one time, and for many years, had a right to vote at the municipal contests. When the Municipal Reform Bill was introduced in 1835, and passed with the general assent of both sides of the House, that franchise was taken away from the women. It was not passed over without debate. It was debated in this House to this extent—that, on Report of the Bill, one hon. Member proposed that the word "male" should extend to "female," and said there were numbers of women who might be disqualified, principally, I believe, in the City of Bath, which has always, from the oldest days, been celebrated for a considerable number of widows and spinsters; and he made a proposal that a clause should be inserted to that effect. There was no debate on the Motion. Nobody supported it but the hon. Member; a Division was taken, and it was rejected by a majority of 66. The matter there ended; and in that Bill of 1835 the municipal franchise which existed in the hands of women was swept away by the general consent of both sides of the House. Then this state of things happened. The Local Government Board have the power to grant certain Charters to new Corporations, and in granting these Charters they gave power to women being ratepayers in the municipalities to vote; and as these Corporations increased this anomaly occurred—that there were, in certain parts of the country, certain Corporations where women were permitted to vote, and certain Corporations where they were not permitted to vote. The Government of the day thought it desirable that they should be put on the same footing, so that the anomaly might be done away with, and a Bill was brought in for that purpose in 1869, 35 years after the Municipal Reform Act. It passed through this House without any debate whatever. I have looked through *Hansard* for 1869, and I do not find that there was a single line of debate in this House with reference to that Bill. My hon. Friend says there was. He may have been in the House at the time; but so inconsiderable was the debate, if any, which took place, that not one line of it appears in *Hansard*. There was a debate on it in the House of Lords, and, as far as I can judge, it occupied the space of about 10 minutes. One noble Lord made some objection to the Bill. The Earl of Kimberley, expressly guarding himself against committing the House to the general principle of women's suffrage, pointed out the anomalies of the system; and thereupon Earl Cairns stated, in a few words, the reason why the franchise should be granted. Earl Cairns said that as an unmarried woman could dispose of her property, and deal with it in any way she thought proper, he did not know why she should not have a voice in saying how that property should be lighted, and how it should be watched, and have a voice in controlling municipal expenditure to which that property contributed. It is clear the reason for granting that franchise to women in municipal boroughs who had property in them was to enable them to have a voice in regulating that expenditure to which they contributed in respect of that property. When the Bill was passed no reference was made to Scotland or to Ireland. Certain hon. Members from Scotland who took an interest in this question were told that the women of Scotland did not care about the municipal franchise, or they would have called for a Bill. My hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), who exercises some inscrutable influence over the ballot box, immediately balloted for a day, and brought in a Bill to extend the municipal franchise to women in Scotland, arguing that, it having been granted in England, there was no reason why it should not be granted in Scotland, and thus succeeded in getting rid of the argument which was thrown at him with regard to Scottish women. I venture to express the opinion that had it not been for the question of woman's suffrage being agitated throughout the country at the time, we should not have heard a word of the Scottish Woman's Municipal Franchise Bill. Under the circumstances, I ask the House how can it be said that the House has committed itself to the political franchise of women in passing that Bill without opposition? None of the arguments upon which this question is upheld are new, as I have said. We have had an argument from the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) which is not a new one, and, indeed, it cannot be expected that throughout the debate there can be anything new; because the subject has been so long and so often before Parliament and the country that it is impossible to say anything new upon it; yet it is, of course, desirable that when a question of this kind is brought forward it should be debated, and we cannot give our votes altogether without speech. The hon. Member said the higher education of women, which qualified them for holding certain positions, likewise qualified them to exercise a political vote. They do hold certain *quasi*-public offices, which they have held by right immemorial and by Act of Parliament, and he says there is no reason why you should not go a step further and give them a right of voting for Members of Parliament. He gave as an instance that women might be churchwardens and overseers, and I will add to that, they may be parish constables, and they may even be High Sheriffs, which, under certain circumstances, might entail the office of public executioner, and one or two other offices a woman may hold; but I think these offices were allowed them in the past as much for the opportunity of extorting fines from them as for anything else; and if we find, as a matter of fact, that they never do hold such offices, what are we to think? It is one of the stock arguments that the Sovereign power can be held by a woman, and I do not say it is not a fair argument; but the power of the Sovereign is so bound down by Constitutional limits, that it is very little power that can be exercised by the Crown. Now, there is one reason brought forward why we should give the franchise to women. It is this—there are, it is said, as many—in fact, more—women in the country than men, and, therefore, they have as many or more social interests than men; and, inasmuch as Parliamentary control is in the hands of men, men are likely to be unfavourably disposed towards women, and to treat them unequally in legislation, dealing with their property and their social position. That is the statement made; and I should very much like to see whether, in the result, women have suffered any substantial injustice under the law of this country. I will first take the case of women of property. Can any hon. Member now, in this year 1883, say that any woman in the country has not absolute control over her own property? She has. It was a misfortune discreditable to this country that for many years she had not that control. It was discussed by a Parliament of men, and a reform was brought about. It was not obtained suddenly; it has been done gradually and with due consideration; and we have the result that, at the present time, it is impossible to say that any woman is not sufficiently protected in her property. And I will venture to say that women of the upper classes were fairly and reasonably protected before; for it has been the habit of this country, from time immemorial, when property was left to women, to make such arrangements by settlements that women had a great protection for their property, and this was not sufficiently recognized at the time of the debates in this House. It is said, apart from this, that there are legal disabilities attaching to women in regard to the devolution of property by death or otherwise. Let us see how that is. If a man dies possessed of personal estate and leaves no will, then his heirs, men and women, share alike; but if he holds real estate, then the eldest son takes the real estate to the prejudice of the rest of the family. But it prejudices the brothers quite as much as the sisters; it is not a sinister prejudice against women; it is the position of the heir-at-law, a position which, however, in my opinion, ought to be altered. My view is that in devolution of property in cases of intestacy, real property should go in the same way as personal property. But after all this is not a large question, for very little property descends in that way. We know it has been debated from time to time in the House; and, no doubt, if any hon. Member brings in a Bill bearing on the case, it will receive very careful consideration, and probably arrive at a second reading. And now let me take the personal protection of women. Our laws are very stringent even now for the protection of young women, and the other House have recently passed a measure to increase the protection for young women. In addition to that, there are provisions by which protection is thrown over women who work in factories and mines that they shall not be employed beyond their powers. And there is another principle in our law which must not be left out of sight. If a man and wife are joined together in the consummation of a crime, the fact of their acting together does not acquit the woman of the crime, but it absolves her from the penalty. This is a kindly and merciful provision of our law from time immemorial, and must not be left out of view in considering the effect of legislation on the position of women. Now, under the Married Women's Property Act, there is power to the husband or wife to prosecute each other for theft. Objection was made in both Houses that this clause was not expedient or desirable in the interest of married persons. Now, I cannot exactly vouch for the correctness of it; but I read in the papers a return of the number of convictions of married persons under the Act of stealing from one another, and out of 15 such convictions, in 14 cases they were women, and in one case a man. If that is so, it only shows that, to some extent, a mistake was made in removing the protection which before that time had proved of a kindly nature. The hon. Member for Ashton-under-Lyne has referred to the question of married women; there has always been a difficulty how to deal with them in relation to this matter, and the difficulty has never been met in a reasonable, or even a plausible, manner. Why, if you give the franchise to women at all, should you, under such circumstances, exclude married women? Some supporters of the proposal do not want to exclude them; but my hon. Friend says nothing would induce him to admit them to the franchise, and the general impression is that they should not be admitted. Why? Is it on account of property? Certainly not, for if a married woman can hold property, can own a house, and she and her husband occupy it, there is no reason why she should not have a vote on account of property for which she pays rates and taxes. It is her own property, with which she is as free to deal as if she had been a single woman, and yet my hon. Friend says he would not admit a married woman to the franchise! They say you must not invade the sanctity of the hearth and home. Well; but all married women do not live with their husbands; some have husbands serving their country, or fulfilling duties abroad, some are apart under directions of the Court, some under deeds of separation. Many wives live apart from their husbands, just as single women might, occupying their own house, living upon their own money; but you say you would not give a vote to these married women. Why not? If marriage is not a disqualification to men, why should it be to women? Here a difficulty arises, and my hon. Friends are discussing it among themselves, some saying—"Let them have it;" and others saying—"Under no circumstances whatever." Let me put this suggestion to the House, and ask how you would deal with it. We heard a few years ago a good deal about fagot votes; it means that a man may give to a friend, or a person in whom he has confidence, a cottage and a piece of land to qualify him for a vote. Now, under an existing statute recently passed, a man may assign a cottage or house to his wife, and by this means make his wife a fagot voter; and if he agrees with his wife he will have two votes, and if not he will be disfranchised. It may be right or it may not; but if allowed, there will be an addition to fagot voters far beyond any now existing in any county in England. I bring forward these matters to show the House how this question is surrounded by difficulties. As to a seat in this House, so far as I am personally concerned, if I had to choose between two evils, I would very much rather see one of the intelligent women connected with this movement sitting in the House and taking part in the debates than I would consent to give the franchise to the whole of the sisterhood. But this is not the view of my hon. Friends, for they stand up and say, under no circumstances would they allow women a seat in the House; and I must say it is exceedingly ungenerous of my hon. Friends to say—"We will accept your votes at the poll, but we will not give you ours in return." I have alluded to these matters of difficulty; but I do not say that because there are difficulties a proposal should be rejected or passed over. It is the duty of statesmen to get over difficulties, or to go round if they cannot get over, if the object is desirable. But when you find a question of this kind surrounded with difficulties—when, from whatever point of view it is regarded, some obstacle stands in the way—then I think the House must say, as I now say, although I know I shall not get much assent from my hon. Friends near me, this is a question not within the range of practical politics. There is one matter which I believe presses on the minds of hon. Members, and is supposed to have originated with the late Lord Beaconsfield—it is the argument that female suffrage is the best, if not the only, effectual barrier to an ever-increasing Democracy. It is said that as we go on the franchise cannot be raised; it must be lowered; and we shall go lower until we get to men of bad and revolutionary passions, and we shall be tempted to make overtures to them, and to deal with them in a way not for the interest of the country, and we shall find the franchise of women a check and a control upon that, and the anticipated evils may thus be met. I admit this is an agreeable and a seductive argument; but it is founded on a fallacy. If you admit the principle of political franchise for women, you must treat them on the same footing as if they were men; and as you lower the franchise to men, so must you lower it to women; and how, then, are you to control or oppose the bad passions of a low class of men by adding to them, as you must, the bad passions of a low class of women? Do you think, if you consider the class of persons to whom you would give the franchise—greatly extended, as it must be in course of time—that the House would not come to a right conclusion if they decided that it is not desirable to extend the franchise in the way now proposed? I shall, of course, vote against this proposal. I believe, myself, that extending the political franchise to women would be a calamity to this country. It will add thousands, if not tens of thousands, to that now too numerous class of electors who never know their own minds from time to time, and who are swayed by the sentiment of the moment; and we know, from the great revolutions of political feeling which are increasing in the country, that it is this class of electors that renders the task of government more and more difficult, because they impede a continuous policy so desirable, if not necessary, in legislation and in the conduct of foreign affairs. There are many of my Friends who, I know are interested in this movement, and I feel that in giving my vote I shall be helping to deprive them of an opportunity of political triumph; but, at the same time, I am satisfied that to adopt this principle would not be for the permanent advantage either of the country or of the sex on whose behalf it is proposed.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I had not intended to take part in this debate; but the observations of the hon. and learned Member who has just sat down induce me to say a few words, not on behalf of the proposal of the hon. Member for Ashton-under-Lyne—for I have not heard the exact tenour of his Motion—but in support of the general principle of admitting women to the franchise. Now, the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Inderwick) concluded a speech of considerable interest by a statement that the main objection he had to this proposal was that it would increase the class of fluctuating political opinion in the country. Now, in that view I do not for a moment agree. I do not believe it would increase the amount of fluctuating political opinion. I differ from the hon. and learned Gentleman; and I think the views of women on the great social and economical and moral questions of the day, which are really of more importance than the so-called political questions, are far more stable than those of men. I cannot but think the hon. and learned Member must have been somewhat unfortunate in his experience—I do not say it in a derogatory sense—he must have been somewhat unfortunate with regard to those women whose views he has had an opportunity of learning. So far as I have had the advantage of hearing the opinions of women on any definite subject, I have found them devoted—continually, consistently, permanently devoted—to what I may describe as the reformation of the human race. [*Laughter.*] I must beg the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis) to restrain himself. Women are devoted to the cause of temperance, to the cause of morality; they are devoted to the improvement of the condition of the poor, and with more or less, though not quite equal, intelligence to the cause of education. They are a refining and elevating influence in all the social relations of life. These are my general reasons for differing from the hon. and learned Member's statement. But I have a special reason for supporting this Resolution to-night, which is, as far as lies in my power, to remove from the question of women's suffrage the stigma of being represented entirely by a section of the House, in which I am sure, as a rule, women take a very small amount of interest. It appears to me this question can be regarded from several aspects. If you regard it from a logical point of view, it is clear nothing can be said against it; it is absolutely impossible to avoid recognizing the claim of women to the franchise. In almost every other sphere of life they possess rights and exercise onerous duties on a full equality with men. Women are allowed to occupy the most distinguished position in the State; the illustrious Lady who has ruled over these Realms with so much advantage for 40 years discharges functions far more important than any it is proposed to bestow on women by the Motion of the hon. Member. To the amplest extent they hold and administer property; they can be guardians and executors. You allow women to enjoy the municipal suffrage, and you allow them to take part in all the more important and difficult functions of life; they are now allowed to enter upon the Medical Profession, and with general benefit. It is perfectly clear that, from a logical standpoint, you cannot possibly refuse them the Parliamentary franchise. I admit there is some difficulty about proceeding to a further stage and giving them a seat in this House. I am quite prepared to allow that the position of a lady of great ability, and possibly of great attractions, as Prime Minister, might occasionally be open to some objections that must occur to any hon. Member. But I do not think an argument of this sort is worth much; it is the *reductio ad absurdum*; and we need not consider it. This is only a stage of progress. It does not follow that because we confer on women the Parliamentary suffrage that they would be admitted to that Bench—though, at the same time, I am free to confess they would adorn it very much more than some of its present occupants. Then there is the sentimental point of view. What can be said against it from that point? We are told it will be a horrible thing to divide families and give rise to divergence of view between husband and wife—they would surely fall out over the exercise of the franchise. Well, I think that a very considerable amount of divergence of view exists occasionally at present, and I do not think it would be very dangerously increased by giving women the franchise. The world would not be happier or more rational if all husbands and wives held a dull consensus of view upon every subject. But there is another reason that can be urged in support of the Motion which I have rather suggested than stated definitely. It is obvious that to confer the suffrage on women is essentially a Conservative measure. [" Oh, oh ! "] The principle of Conservatism is to defend and secure all that is good and stable in our social and political Constitution. Women are devoted to the same objects, and therefore they must prove a Conservative force in the State. A quotation was made from a remark of a very great and illustrious man, now no more, by the hon. and learned Member who spoke last. He quoted an expression of the late Lord Beaconsfield in favour of this extension of the suffrage; and, if I had any doubt about it before, that quotation would be sufficient to induce me to view the question with favour. I therefore urge this last as an additional reason why hon. Members on this side should support the Motion. I feel I have supported the cause very inadequately, for I had no intention of intruding myself on the House when I came down; but I have given a few reasons why I think the suffrage should be extended to women, and, with the permission of the House, I will sum them up. It cannot be denied to them from a logical standpoint; there is nothing of real weight, from a sentimental point of view, to induce us to refuse the franchise; and it would be a Conservative measure, which has had the recommendation of the greatest statesman of this century.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: I am sorry that the House should be so empty; but we all know that those who generally may be expected to be seen here are engaged at present in an amusement which is thought to be more congruous to the portion of the human race in whose favour you are called upon to-night to legislate than to Senators. I was rather amused at the refreshing and candid speech of my hon. Friend who has just sat down. After a few observations about fluctuating political opinion, and so on, he candidly confessed that he voted for this measure because he thought it was a Conservative one. Well, I own, Sir—and I think the House will believe in my sincerity—that, deep as my political convictions may be, I desire on this matter to vote without any regard to the chance of success, on one side or the other, of the Bill, treated as an electioneering measure. There is something even deeper and nearer to the heart than Party politics, and that is the politics of patriotism and of nature; and I believe that to these politics belongs this question of the enfranchisement of that half of the world which no doubt are quite equal to us—very likely much superior to us—but who are different from us, that difference being the eternal one, which, in spite of sentimental theorists, will exist to the end of the world. I say that the consideration of this enfranchisement belongs not to Party, but to patriotic considerations; and, belonging as it does to patriotic and to natural politics, it is found to exclude the project from the category of healthy and possible innovations. Well, and what are the reasons for it? I have been amused to-night at the vagueness of the arguments which have been urged, and which are not more vague than the premisses on which they are based are far-reaching. The female guardians, the female householder—these form the pretext; and all the arguments tending to the emancipation of the woman—whether householder, whether freeholder, whether married or single—are based on these phenomena, though the Married Women's Property Act in the Statute Book destroys the limitation on which the hon. Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Mason) insisted with such candour and sincerity. I cannot really believe that this proposal, if it were carried, would not go beyond the limited class for whom it in this House and for this night appeals. I cannot for one instant believe in the comfortable predictions which have been adventured. It is, and it always has been, a question not of the female ratepayer, but of the woman. I appeal to the pamphlet which on a former occasion I quoted, I believe, rather largely in this House. I do not mean to quote it to-day, though there are some passages in it which might be instructive and diverting to those who have not read it before—it was the opinions of 100 women of intellect and of ability, and some of them of conspicuous position, brought together by the Women's Suffrage Society. If this pamphlet happens to have been sent round again on the present occasion, I very much commend it to those who have not read it, to see what are the prospects, the expectations, and the arguments brought forward by those who really are at the bottom of the agitation, and who do not, like my hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms), dally about the question with the tips of their fingers. It is really worth while to consider what the state of affairs now is. We have heard in various directions that there is in the air, somewhere or nowhere, a very large scheme for the enlargement of the franchise—great masses of people will be brought in who have not hitherto enjoyed the vote; and upon that scheme, as if it were a parasite hanging on to it, we are asked to engraft the enfranchisement of women. Well, now, what is that but universal suffrage, and universal suffrage in a sense in which no one has ever openly announced it? My hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich ventured a remark which puzzled me at the time, and I have not yet quite made out whether it was an argument, as it came from his mouth, or a joke—if a joke it was rather a good one, if an argument not so good—but it was to the effect that this enfranchisement of women would at least get rid of manhood suffrage. It would get rid of manhood suffrage, for it would become manhood and womanhood suffrage; it would be like the gentleman engaged in the shoe trade, who trumped his neighbour's advertisement, *Mens conscia recti*, by the superior announcement, *Men's and women's conscia recti.* When it was objected that this legislation would expose us to see women in Parliament, the question was gravely asked—Why should we not see women in Parliament? The hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) drew a very pretty and picturesque picture of a Prime Minister on that Bench who is to come to some strange, mysterious fate—I suppose it was marrying the Leader of the Opposition and forming a Coalition Government. But depend upon it, if we have women admitted to the franchise the claim for them to be in Parliament simply follows as a matter of course. Do we not see that on the Benches of that mimic Parliament which plays so conspicuous, and on many occasions, I have no doubt, a very useful part—the London School Board—there are lady members on that, and would not the argument be very strong indeed from that fact that there could be no objection to their sitting here? It is a subject on which, of course, one can draw a great many amusing pictures; but really it is almost sickening, in a matter of this sort, in which the interest of the country, in which the peace of Europe, in which the happiness of those vast Colonies—that vast Indian Empire that belongs to us—in which the whole of the future of the world is concerned, to have to deal with grotesque propositions like this—propositions grotesque in themselves, but full of grave evils for those for whom the future of humanity, for whom the true mission of the world is not a matter of political calculation, not a matter of cynical amusement in the articles and paragraphs of current journalism, but is the source of very grave and serious thought. To bring forward a suggestion like this one at the eve of a possible Reform Bill, at a time when opinions are seething and agitating, at a time when all kinds of—I must use a phrase which is, perhaps, not Parliamentary, but which must come out in this debate—at a time which is the reign of omnipotent "fads," to bring forward the idea of enfranchising that charming portion of mankind, whose influence is so beneficent because it is felt, not seen, is one of the most preposterous and, at the same time, one of the most revolutionary suggestions that could possibly be agitated.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER: The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has urged upon the House that this subject should be treated as a very serious business and entirely upon an argumentative basis; but he has allowed his uncontrollable sense of humour to triumph over his logical aspirations; and he has favoured us with one of his very amusing, but, so far as I am concerned, I must say, not very convincing speeches. I have no wish to deal with this question as a joke, either for or against women. The question—whatever the decision of the House may be to-night, or, perhaps, two or three Sessions hence—is a question which, sooner or later, will have to be faced; and I think that in coming to a decision to-night, we should see whether there is any sound logical reason for this proposal, and whether there is any sound logical reason against it. Now, the two hon. Members—my hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham) and the hon. and learned Member for Rye (Mr. Inderwick)—seemed to me, in their very able and interesting speeches, never to touch the principle on which the franchise in this country is based; whether it be right or wrong, the franchise in this country has been for centuries past, and to-day certainly is, co-existent with either the ownership or the occupation of property. The English Constitution recognizes no question of fitness, as far as intellectual qualification is concerned—the English Constitution, in conferring the franchise, recognizes no principle of social position, of intellectual fitness, or of moral culture. The franchise in this country is given in counties to the owners or occupiers of real property, and is given in boroughs to the occupiers of real property. Of course, no one will suppose that I am overlooking the fact that persons disqualified by the commission of crime are excluded; what I say is, excluding that obvious disqualification, that whether the voter be immoral or moral, whether he be good or bad, if he owns property, and discharges the obligations of the State in respect of that property, the law of the land confers upon him the right to vote in the selection of Representatives in Parliament. That is the principle of the English Constitution. Now, we have admitted in our Constitution a class of owners and occupiers of property of the female sex; and it rests upon those who object to their being entitled to all the advantages, so to speak, of property, to show why they should not enjoy them. It has been put to-night—"Why should women have the franchise?" I rather put it—"Why should they not?" Why should not a spinster, or a widow, a woman discharging all the obligations of the State, paying all the required taxes to the State—why should she not enjoy the right of her unit voice, as far as directing the policy of the State is concerned? We have two contradictory theories from the Benches opposite in reference to this question—first, the theory of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Rye; and, secondly, the theory of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope). The hon. and learned Member for Rye stated that women were entitled to the municipal franchise simply and solely because Municipal Councils spend money, and rates are paid by women. As a matter of fact, the duties of Town Councils are not confined to spending money. Their function is the local administration of the whole of the affairs of the borough, and year by year Parliament is extending, and enlarging and elevating, the duties which are confided to our various Town Councils. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down drew an appalling picture of the politics of Europe being involved in the exercise of this franchise, and held out the prospect of some great national decision, which might be fraught with divers consequences to the Empires of the world being controlled to some extent by female voices. I am quite willing to meet him upon that ground. He must first tell us that women, *quâ* women, are morally and intellectually inferior to men. I deny that proposition. We were told we were asking for political equality. I say, prove the moral and intellectual inequality—I say, take any question of the politics of this country or Europe, whether it be a question of peace or war; and I say that the opinion of the intelligent woman is just as good as the opinion of an unintelligent man, and a great deal better. The interests which control the decisions of Parliaments affect women quite as much as men. They have, in respect of their personal feeling as well as in respect of their property, a large stake in the prosperity and progress of the country; and unless you can show that there is a public danger from entrusting them with the ordinary consequences of the ownership of their property, I think that the *onus probandi* rests with the opponents of the Motion rather than with those who advocate it. I am not going to weary the House with a long speech on this question; I want to put the syllogism, so to speak, as shortly and as concisely as I can. Taxation and representation go together; women are taxed; women ought to be represented. There is no public danger in allowing women to enjoy that representation. Now, I know what the answer to me will be—that under the Married Women's Property Act of last year, married women are put into the position of the absolute ownership of their own property, and that, therefore, they ought to be entitled to be put on the same footing as single women. The position of married women is this. A woman by marrying has, deliberately, with her eyes open, surrendered certain advantages—if you like, certain privileges—which would belong to her as a single woman, and she, as a married woman, has no right to complain of the consequences of her marriage. This appeal that is made to Parliament is not made on behalf of married women. Married women are content to leave these interests in the hands of their husbands; and I believe that to introduce a question of political differences into the home would be a step of very grave public danger and disadvantage, and I, for one, should strenuously oppose it. It is not for that that my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne is pleading to-night. It is proposed to extend the franchise to women who, equally with men, are separate, individual owners of property, who discharge all the duties of property, and who, therefore, claim all the rights of property. One word more. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) referred to the legislation in which women are concerned, and said that that legislation had full attention in this House, and that everything they could desire was carried out. I very much doubt that proposition. I think there are a large number of instances in which this House neglects and overlooks questions in which women have the deepest interest, an interest affecting themselves personally, affecting the happiness and progress of their children as well as of themselves. It is because I believe that the extension of this franchise would not be a political danger, but a political benefit; I believe not in its Conservatism or in its Radicalism, but I cannot ignore the historical fact that the influence of women for the last 50 years of the country has, on the whole, been on the side of progress, on the side of the good and true; and therefore I should be glad to see women brought within the pale of the Constitution.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, the hon. Member had ended his remarks with a political watchword—Progress. He was afraid that in his dull Constitutionalism he should be obliged to answer that by the question, "Whither?" His objection to this proposal was that it struck at one, and not the least, of the remaining Constitutional foundations of the franchise. While he was listening to the eloquent Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) he said to himself—"Has the Semitic race forgotten the difference between a man and a woman?" He was not aware that the unenfranchised women of this country had ever been treated as slaves. He was the surviving collector of the majority that carried the Ten Hours' Act for the protection of women and children in their labour. If anything were said in derogation of women, he would ask—"Have we not a Queen?" We were not afraid of placing women in the highest position when we believed that they had an hereditary right to fill that position. But he had to look to society. He had to look to the constituencies as a whole, and to bear in mind that politics involved a mental, and, too often, a moral, sometimes a physical, warfare; he should no more think of voting for the embodiment of battalions of Amazons, because we had a Queen, than he should of voting for the enfranchisement of women as such. Let hon. Members consider the weight to be attached to the arguments about property as the basis of qualification for the franchise. He (Mr. Newdegate) asserted that, according to the Constitutional history of this country, there was a condition antecedent to the occupation or possession of property, and that condition was fitness. He had seen an hon. Member expelled from that House because he was not of sound mind. He was not fit. Bankrupts were not fit. Women were not fit. Priests were not fit. The Leader of the Irish Members, though nominally a Protestant, was inaugurated, he might say appointed, by a Roman Catholic Archbishop. He could understand his Irish neighbours' reason for advocating the extension of the franchise to women. He believed the priests had too much influence over the men in Ireland, and they would have still more influence with the women. Hon. Members must forgive his having accepted a

French teacher—M. Michelet—on this subject. The experience of France had not been wasted upon him. It could not be shown that this House, elected by men only, had neglected the interests of English, Scotch, or Irish women. Had it not years ago passed the Ten Hours' Act for the protection of women and children of the labouring classes? It had also more recently passed Acts giving women more command over property. There was not a particle of evidence that Parliament had become so unmanly; that it knew not how to respect, as their forefathers respected, the position and the privileges of women. He thought sometimes that some hon. Gentlemen opposite had taken their views of the rights of man from the writings of Tom Paine. He was not prepared to accept that kind of teaching with respect to the supposed rights of women, which, he believed, would involve most serious evils. He, moreover, trusted that the men of England felt, as the men of the United States had felt, that the enfranchisement of women might make them more negligent than they had been of the due position and privileges of women.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, during his long career in this House, has always been advocating failing causes. I have been present at almost every debate that has taken place on this question, and I have always noticed that the matter most dwelt upon has been the question of married and unmarried women. Those who are most concerned about married women with Parliamentary qualifications may be satisfied, I think, with the declaration of my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Mason); but, at the same time, I have never concealed my opinion on this subject, or that of the Women's Suffrage Associations throughout the Kingdom. It is true that these Associations have been founded by men and women who take a far more unassailable position than the line adopted by my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne. Their principle is electoral equality, and when they say that, they mean that any qualification established by Parliament which gives a vote to a man should give a vote to a woman, and they do not ask the question whether she is married or unmarried. What gives prominence to this question at the present moment is the fact that in the next Session of Parliament the Government will endeavour to extend the franchise. Those of us in favour of the Motion before the House strongly object that the franchise should be extended as it has hitherto been extended. We say that if you have household suffrage it should be real household suffrage, and that those houses where women are at the head should not be passed over as if there were no human beings there with rights to defend, or with interests to protect. It is said, and I think it is true, that something like one house in seven has a woman at its head. Who are these women? One may be a woman of property, another may be eminent in art or literature, another will be a benevolent woman acting as a ministering angel to the poor and needy around her, and others will be persons in humble life, working year by year to maintain their families. The question we put is this—Why are these houses to be passed over? I do not think that question has been answered to-night in a manner to satisfy the people of this country; certainly not in a manner to satisfy those excluded from the franchise. This evening, in the Lobby, a distinguished Member of the House came to me to speak on the subject. He said—"You know I have always been opposed to you." I said—"Yes; I know. How is it you always oppose this measure?" "Well," he said, "there is only one reason why anybody can oppose it. I oppose the giving of the franchise to a woman because she is a woman." I said—"Do you think that reason will long suffice to maintain their exclusion?" He said—"I doubt if it will." Sir, I doubt myself whether that reason will long hold good. My hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Leatham) has another reason. When I look at his Amendment I see he tell us that, from time immemorial, only men have voted. But, Sir, women have recently discovered that from time immemorial they have suffered from their exclusion. I ask my hon. Friend to answer them when they make that declaration. Women are said to be ignorant. If the measure indicated were to pass, undoubtedly a considerable number of ignorant women would be enfranchised—women almost as ignorant as the men enfranchised. I think it will be in the recollection of the House that when the Ballot Act was passed we took considerable pains to legislate to enable ignorant men to vote. It appears that on this side of the House this measure is opposed because it is regarded as a Conservative measure. Of course, action of that sort is inconsistent with Liberal principles. We do not desire to exclude people from the ballot box even if they are Conservatives. We, surely, on this side of the House, do not intend to say we will admit only those who assist our Party. There is one thing anybody can see with regard to women. No one can accuse them of leading disorderly or criminal lives; nobody can accuse them of drunkenness. If there were as little drunkenness amongst men as there is amongst women, if there were as little crime amongst men as there is amongst women, we should want fewer policemen, fewer prisons, and there would be less burdens and rates on the people. We hear in this House a good deal about Radicalism, more especially from these Benches. That term has never had any great charm for me, and for this reason—that I have often found it dissociated from ideas of justice. A remarkable speech was made in Birmingham the other day by my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade. I read that speech with much interest. It was read with great pleasure by extreme politicians in this country. I heard men say it was one of the best utterances of the gospel of Radicalism. That may be true; but I have my doubts whether it was an adequate expression of the gospel of Justice. The right hon. Gentleman took a prophetic view of what may happen some years hence. He told us that every person not a criminal and not a pauper was to have a vote, provided that person was of the masculine gender. There was no suggestion that for all time to come a woman should have any Constitutional influence over those who made the laws which she is called upon to obey. The right hon. Gentleman advocated, as I understand, that Members of this House should be paid for their services. Six hundred and fifty salaries are to be added to the present expenditure. He did not tell us from what fund this was to come. I do not know that there is any public fund to which women do not contribute their portion; and I doubt whether it would be just to tax women for services in this House in regard to which they cannot have the least control. Reference has been made to the old maxim that taxation and representation should go together; but my hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield treats that principle with something like contempt when it comes from the mouths of women. But there are other and greater reasons than those involved in the question of taxation why women should have some influence in the House. This House sometimes passes laws which apply to women only. It sometimes inflicts grievous penalties upon women which would be intolerable to men. It interferes with the labour of women, perhaps sometimes advantageously to them; but at other times with considerable danger to their interests. Supposing some Assembly were to legislate for men over which men had not the least control. I undertake to say there would not be one man in 1,000,000 who would not see the monstrous injustice of such a state of things. It is somewhat comic that the "time immemorial" argument should be relied upon on these Benches. Many things have existed from time immemorial. The Established Church and the political position of Bishops have existed from the remotest times; and I should like to know, if the hon. Member for Huddersfield were to stand up and recommend important changes in these respects, what he would say if the argument of "time immemorial" came from the opposite Benches? If we had always adhered to what had been consecrated by time, instead of now being the formost nation in the world, we should probably be a group of painted savages. The hon. Members for Huddersfield and North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) have told us women can get what they want without the franchise. That used to be said of working men; but since they have had a vote Members in every part of this House have had a generosity and sympathy and courage with regard to all matters affecting working men which they never had before. Precisely the same effect would follow if you gave women the franchise. I admit that women have gained much without the franchise, and I will tell the House when that gain began. It began with the introduction of the question of women's suffrage to the House, and the gain has been mainly due to the awakening intelligence of women on political questions, owing to the widespread agitation and the demand for women's suffrage. They have gained without the franchise municipal votes, school board votes, the right to sit on school boards, the magnificent Act of last year—an Act which ought to confer lasting fame on the present Lord Chancellor—I mean the Married Women's Property Act. And, owing to the untiring energy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), they have succeeded in inflicting a blow on an Act of Parliament more unjust to women than any which has ever been passed—a blow from which that Act will never recover. These things they have gained without the franchise. But who will tell me that they would not have gained them sooner, with less heart-breaking labour, if they had had the political franchise? I contend that to declare women incapacitated to vote, whatever property they may have, whatever may be their intellect and their character, and yet to declare men capable of voting, however wanting they may be in the qualifications to which I have referred, is to degrade women in their own estimation and in the estimation of everyone else. To give the franchise to men is to raise and to strengthen them. It would have the same effect upon women. Universally, to possess political influence is to command respect, and if women were more respected they would be less open to injury of every kind. We are going to enfranchise the farm labourer. Why, I ask, should we not also enfranchise the farmer? I believe it has already been shown by the hon. Member who moved the Resolution (Mr. Mason) that a very large number of women are farmers—as many as 10 per cent of the farmers in England and Wales being women employing farm labourers. If we are going to enfranchise the labourers, is it right that the women who employ them, who pay their wages, and who have all the responsibility of the enterprize on their shoulders, should be treated as political cyphers? Again, one-seventh part of all the persons holding land of one acre and upwards are women. On what ground can we refuse to give them a vote? Five per cent of the lay patronage of the Church of England is in the hands of women. Those women have a right to appoint the spiritual pastors of large and small parishes, and yet they are not allowed to perform the very humble function of giving a vote for a Member of Parliament. There is no greater delusion than to imagine that a high qualification is necessary in order to give such a vote. The instincts of the people, as a rule, enable them to decide which is the ablest or the most trustworthy candidate. In conclusion, I shall merely say that clever speeches, from whatever side of this House they come, will not subdue this agitation. In spite of what my hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield says, indications come to me which show that this agitation grows because women believe that its object is just; for God has planted the passion for justice in every human heart—and not less in the hearts of women than of men.

Mr. RAIKES: I desire to detain the House only a short time; but I am bound to say that it is difficult to abstain from offering some observations in reply to hon. Members who have advocated this Motion. I was particularly struck with what fell from the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), who laid great stress on the restricted objects of the Motion, and disclaimed, for himself and his Friends, any attempt to bring about the universal enfranchisement of women which has been alluded to. The hon. Member pointed out that the Motion is one which extends only to women who possess the necessary qualifications—that is to say, that this question comes before the House to-night, as it has done on one or two former occasions, merely as a question of the enfranchisement of those women—widows and spinsters—who happen already to possess the franchise in local matters. I would venture to remind my hon. Friend that this year that position has become something of an anachronism. A very important measure was passed last Session; and when this House deliberately set itself to the abolition of the ancient relations of husband and wife with regard to the possession of property it took a new departure, which we cannot ignore in considering this question. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) has not dwelt quite so much as he might have been expected to do on that wider view of the question with which he might have concerned himself. It was only to-day that I received, as I presume other hon. Members had done, a printed letter which has been signed and circulated by a lady who has taken great interest in this question, and who is treasurer of the Manchester Association for promoting the enfranchisement of women. In that letter, the writer argues with considerable logical force the case of the general enfranchisement of females, as compared with the partial enfranchisement contemplated by the present proposal. I cannot refuse full assent to the arguments I have seen in that letter. If we agree that women are to be equally entitled with men to the benefit of the franchise, it is impossible logically to refuse the franchise to that large number of women who are living in matrimony, and who have had that experience and knowledge of life, and of the affairs of life, which the position of a wife and mother must necessarily bring. Anything, therefore, more unjust, ungenerous, and indefensible than the exclusion of wives from such a proposal is hardly to be thought of; and I certainly shall do what I can to secure that the married women of this country shall not be ignored in the bestowal of the franchise, if it is to be conferred on women at all. There is another point on which I would briefly touch. Hon. Members, in their anxiety to minimize this enormous change, have told the House that women do not desire seats in this Chamber. This seems to me a more unreasonable limitation than the other. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton has told us that an enlightened woman is at least as qualified for the franchise as an unenlightened man. We are always reading about enlightened women, and hearing much that is said with respect to women on account of their intellectual qualifications. I should be sorry if anything I am about to say should be considered disrespectful to any members of that sex. I think, however, there is much more argument in favour of their sitting in this House than for the enfranchisement of the whole sex, in order that they might vote for the Members of this House. There is no doubt that many women are quite as well qualified for seats in this House as many hon. Members; and no one can deny that there have been, and are, numerous examples of women of great intellectual capacity, and of high cultivation and attainments, who have specific and peculiar knowledge of many questions on which their opinions are entitled to the highest respect. This is, as far as it goes, an argument in favour of their sitting in this House; but I cannot see that it constitutes a valid reason for flooding the register with all the 95 or 96 per cent of other women, who have not the time or the qualifications for the study of political questions. I venture to call attention to what I think the illogicality of the two limitations I have referred to. If we are going seriously to deal with this question, we must be prepared to face it as a whole, and either to enfranchise women generally or to leave it alone. Much has been said as to the importance of the claims of women to direct representation. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) has said that the working men have been able to exercise greater influence on this House since they have had the franchise than before. The hon. Member, however, rather spoilt his argument by what he said in reference to the position of women as regards recent legislation in this House. But I would point out that those who argue from this point of view are arguing from a position unfortunately too common, particularly among those who hold advanced opinions—namely, that nobody can have any interests unless they are antagonistic to those of others; and that, therefore, it is necessary that those interests should be guarded by direct representation. I do not believe this. I believe it is from the calm judgment of the collective community that we get at the best opinions, and that it is not necessary to look to a particular class to vindicate the rights it claims. With regard to women, this idea appears to be a greater delusion than in the case of any other class. I believe that the interests of women, so far from being antagonistic to those of the men among whom they live, are indissolubly bound up with those of the other sex. I believe it is absolutely impossible for any man, who is qualified to take his seat in this House, not to be largely governed by considerations of what is due to women, who so greatly contribute to the happiness of the country; and I do appeal to the House to consider this matter, not so much with regard to questions of foreign politics, or of peace or war, or even as to whether or not the clergy of all denominations may not have or exercise undue influence; but I do press my opposition to this proposal on grounds which I shall always oppose it upon, as long as I have a seat in this House, and which lead me to believe that anything more injurious to the women of this country could not be conceived than a scheme which proposes to put an Imperial, or, at least, a Parliamentary *imprimatur* on doctrines which lead to the unsexing of women and putting them on a false equality with men. Far be it from me, or anyone in this House, to speak of or dwell upon the general physical and mental inferiority on the part of women. I fully and freely recognize their great moral superiority in other respects. But we are endangering the moral superiority of women if we tell them that their duty in life is not that duty it has hitherto been conceived to be—not that simple round of daily domestic life in which a woman's days are passed. If we are going to detach women from those duties, which reconcile her to the sphere in which her lot is cast, and to ask her to turn her attention to political affairs, to study the columns of the political magazines and daily newspapers, in order to arrive at conclusions on questions which otherwise she could but imperfectly understand, and to expose her to the annoyances which appertain to political and public action; to bring her from that place in which she is so happy, and where she contributes so much to the happiness of the other sex, in order to make her a bad copy of man, the day, I trust, will be long distant when such a result will be achieved. I regret to find that a class of modern politicians is to be found on the public platforms of the country doing that than which nothing could be more unworthy their position in society. When I see men of great gifts, of high aspirations, and noble example, such as the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright), who can find nothing better to do than to go about from place to place to try and catch the cheers of poor, unreflecting, and thoughtless women, by uttering conventional platitudes which they may fully believe, but which are sterile of any good for the country, and exciting an agitation out of which no definite result can be achieved; or when I see their female colleagues ascend those platforms and make public speeches—I wish to speak with all due respect of those ladies and of their public aims and aspirations, and even their ambition—I must say that these things cause to me, and to many people in this country who do not belong to this House, and who are not active politicians, something of a feeling of pain, in the presence of a public scandal which we grieve to witness, especially when I see that this is done at the expense of that sex which we all honour and revere. I apologize to the House for having so long intruded on its attention; but I trust I have explained that, so far from deprecating the well-recognized merits of women, I rather desire to preserve that safe and honourable seclusion which is given to them by nature and sanctioned by Revelation, which up to the present time has been respected by the law of England, and will, I trust, in the future, continue to be respected and protected by that law.

Mr. COURTNEY: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), who has just spoken, and also his Colleague in the representation of that University (Mr. Beresford Hope), have insisted that if we granted the franchise to women, we must, in logic, go still further and admit women to this House. Those two speeches are equally remarkable, whether regarded as coming from Members of the Conservative Party, or as the expositions of opinion proceeding from Members having a constituency consisting to the extent of more than one-half of clergymen. But I believe that both — I am certain that one of them — have voted for the Bill which proposes to prevent even unbeneficed clergymen from sitting in this House. The right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken (Mr. Raikes) has added some remarkable observations with regard to the position and character of women. He began his speech by saying that it was impossible to accede to this proposition, because if it were acceded it must go much further.

Mr. RAIKES: The hon. Gentleman has misconceived what I have stated. I did not rest my objection to the proposal on that ground; but I said it appeared to me that those who do not accept the wider view which I have referred to are illogical.

MR. COURTNEY: At any rate, the right hon. Gentleman has said that if we accept one proposal we must accept the other. With regard to what I have said as to the constituency of the two right hon. Gentlemen whose speeches I have referred to, I would ask, do they intend to disfranchise the unbeneficed clergymen, because that is the logical deduction to be made from what they have said. With regard to this matter of logic, which requires that women should give a vote in the limited form proposed, as votes are already given to the Universities, I am bound to say it is a strictly moderate proposition. It is based on the following grounds:—We have already given to spinsters and widows, possessed of certain qualifications as to property or occupation, the privilege of voting for Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, and School Boards. We have laid down the principle that, so far as regards these public functions, sex is no disqualification. Marriage remains a disqualification, but sex does not; and the proposition laid down by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) is that as far as we have already gone in local matters we should now go in Parliamentary matters. This is, I think, a strictly moderate and a Conservative proposition. It goes on that principle of politics which we all respect, since it proceeds from experience. We have tried it, and what are the results? Are they beneficial, or are they the reverse? Are they advantageous, whether as regards the constitution of the Boards so elected or the character of the women who form part of the constituency? If they have been beneficial, they are in favour of our going further. No one has said they have produced injurious effects in either direction. On those, then, who oppose the extension of the principle that has been so far successful, the burden is thrown of showing the ineligibility of women for the Parliamentary franchise. I can conceive one reason why hon. Members may refuse to give votes for women being Members of this House. They themselves might be affected by the change. This is, however, a very small reason indeed; and I should like to know what is the real explanation of this singular anomaly—that hon. Members are ready to give women votes at elections in which those hon. Members are not directly concerned, and yet they refuse them in cases where they are so concerned? I confess I should have thought that one of the most hazardous things possible was the giving women votes at elections for Boards of Guardians, except, perhaps, making them eligible for seats on the school boards. One would have thought that the enfranchisement of women in respect of Boards of Guardians might have tended to thwart the operation of the Poor Law; yet, as a matter of fact, a totally different result has been witnessed; and so successful has been the experiment of admitting women, and so strictly and faithfully have they endeavoured to carry out the operations of the Poor Law, that the Local Government Board has used its power of nominating women as Guardians where they have not been elected. If we take the case of elections to the school boards, I ask, is there a single thing that is of more importance to the nation than the education of the Democracy of the future? And yet we give women votes for school boards, and allow them to be elected as members of those boards, because they have to do with the education of girls. In making women capable of sitting on school boards we have supplied them with a strong argument in favour of this Motion, for the work of the school boards far transcends in importance the ordinary questions that come before us at General Elections. Let me point out this with respect to the alleged injurious influence of public life upon the female nature. You find women engaged in the elections for Boards of Guardians, the elections for School Boards, and the elections for Town Councils—the first taking place yearly, the second once in three years, the third yearly; but the General Parliamentary Election, the effect of which is to be so injurious on the character of women, comes on the average only once in five years. But it is said, if you do give women this vote in the restricted form proposed by my hon. Friend, you must go further and give votes to married women too. ["No!"] That is the sort of logic that we have heard over and over again. If you give the £10 householder a vote you must give every householder a vote. If you give every householder a vote, you must give every man a vote. If you give every man a vote, you must give every woman a vote, and so on. Principles of abstract political reasoning are, perhaps, not dealt with by any political Party in this country; but these are principles which I am most surprised to hear from Members of the Conservative Party. I proceed on the lines of experience. [*Laughter.*] I do not catch the secret explanation of the laughter which is now excited. You have women as electors in local affairs, women who are widows and spinsters and possess the qualifications required by law. Proceeding on that line, I ask why the same class of women, possessing the same qualifications, should run any danger by becoming Parliamentary electors? It is, I dare say, possible that my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) desires to see the franchise extended to married as well as to single women. It is just possible that married women may ultimately demand the franchise too; but that change certainly will not be introduced till after much discussion and deliberation, and with many safeguards. I can see great reasons against it; but I utterly repudiate a line of opposing argument which is unworthy of any person educated in the political history of this country. That line of argument is this. You shall not confer the franchise upon persons who have proved their fitness for it, because you might possibly raise hereafter the question of conferring it upon persons in a different position, and against whose admission there are special and powerful arguments. Sir, the present proposal is, as I said before, simple, moderate, and Conservative; and let me remind hon. Members on the opposite Benches that the proposition received the approval of Lord Beaconsfield, who voted for it again and again. It also received the approbation of another man who was long known in this House, who sat on the Conservative side, and who was most justly respected by every Member. I refer to him not only on account of his position and authority, but because he became a convert to the cause after once opposing it; and he was a man whom certainly no one would suspect of any mawkish sentiment or weak feeling. I refer to Mr. Henley, who sat in the House for years; and after opposing this proposal for three or four years, rose in his place one day and said—

> "I have been voting on this question; I have been watching what has been done; I have observed how women have voted for Local Councils and Boards of Guardians; and I have come to the conclusion that both as regards themselves and the bodies for which they have voted the change is beneficial, politic, and much to be desired."

At this hour I will not detain the House much longer. But I must say a word or two in answer to the latter portion of the speech of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge. The right hon. Gentleman protested, in vigorous and powerful language, against the degradation of women which would ensue when some of them were called upon to discharge public functions upon political occasions. And he discoursed also, in still more vehement language, upon what I think he regarded—though his language was uncertain—as the degradation of those ladies, especially, who appear in public to advocate the claims of their sex. Sir, I altogether take issue with the right hon. Gentleman upon those points. I protest that so far from degrading her the bringing of women into contact with the ideas of public life, with the conceptions of national progress, with the development of national character, with the elevation of the people, and with the relation of this nation to other nations, just supplies that want which is necessary for herself, and, still more, which is necessary for her as the companion of man. If you want to have a heroic woman—[*Laughter.*]—if you want a woman with public spirit, one who shall be the companion and help-mate of the ideal English citizen, you must have a woman who shall understand and sympathize with the ideals and the pains and the life of her husband. I have, on former occasions, expressed in this House what I believe to be a fact—that in too many cases the husband is pulled down from the position which he would occupy, and the aims he would pursue, and from the ideals which he would seek to realize by the scantiness of education, by the limitation of motives, and by the restriction of feelings and ideas in his wife. Unless you develop in woman a power of sympathizing with and supporting man in the developments of political life, you will not only secure a stunted woman, but you will also be punished by finding in her society little of that which will elevate you and her. You will have to reach to another ideal, and you will find society fall away from the standard that you desire to reach; and the national life, instead of becoming richer and fuller in successive years, will become more and more impoverished, poor, and petty. It is said that there are women who do not want the franchise. It is one of the strong points of the opposition that some women do not desire it. I often find that objection brought forward; but I doubt whether it is true. This is a question on which you may get any evidence you like, according to the point you desire to make. Just as you desire the answer you may find it; but the practical experience of political life, so far as it goes, shows that women do exercise municipal functions just as freely, largely, and jealously as men. Those women who tell you in society, as many of them will, that they do not want votes, are, I find, mixed up in politics very zealously; but the politics they pursue are the petty politics of personal relations, instead of the politics of national progress and national development.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I have almost to apologize to the House for intruding now. I have to apologize to the House because I have so often expressed my opinion on this question; and I am only prompted to do so again because I feel so earnestly and sincerely on it, and I shall give a most earnest vote against this Motion. I am glad to think that the mask is at last thrown off. To-night, for the first time, we know the real intention of the supporters of this Motion. For years they have expressed one view to the public, while their object, and their aim, and their purpose has been a different one. They have told us that their object has been to give a vote to unmarried women only, and by that representation they have secured support. Sir, to-night it is useless for them to tell us that. Add to this Motion the legislation of last Session, and it will be seen that the vote is to be given to every married woman as well. [Mr. HUGH MASON: No.] Let the hon. Mover of the Resolution make his declaration if he likes. It was worth nothing except the word that he gave. He meant, no doubt, what he said; but let this Resolution pass into a Bill, and let the Property Qualification Act, 1882, remain unrepealed, and every holder of a freehold in the country became a voter. Let there be no mistake about this. If this Resolution is drafted into a Bill, and the legislation of 1882 remains unrepealed, you will give a vote to the married woman in the county and deny it in the borough. The husband in the county may enfranchise his wife. Every husband who has the means will have the right to confer a 40*s.* freehold on his wife, and he can then either ask her to vote with him or against him. Let hon. Members who are about to record their votes understand that this would be the legal result of a successful issue to this Resolution. Now, in that is a plain issue. If you tell me that the difference would be nothing as regards women between the county and the borough franchise, what do you say to the illogical difference between giving a married woman a vote in the county but not in the borough? Notwithstanding what my hon. Friend has said about mysterious qualifications, I want to know what you are going to do about this Property Qualification Act in the case of married women? My hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), who has given a most unsound definition of political rights, has said that occupation and ownership should always be represented. According to that view, every house that holds a man has a vote, and not every man who holds a house. Occupation and ownership are to be represented. What does that mean? In a borough a man who pays no rent, but only promises to pay, has a vote. The man who owns a whole town is not entitled to vote; and that is what he calls the representation of occupation and ownership. My hon. Friend says, in effect, that fitness has nothing to do with the right to vote. Does he not know that property qualification is only held to be an evidence of fitness? A short time ago it was thought that no person below a £10 qualification should be allowed to vote. The hon. Member's proposition is that mere ownership, or occupation, or the payment of taxation, gives a right to vote; but the man who has lived 20 years in a house managing the property is not allowed to vote, and why? Why do not you allow them to vote? Because they are not fit. You do not allow persons of weak mind to vote. It is because they are not fit. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton said—"Why not give the franchise to woman, when she is willing to discharge all the obligations to the State?" But is she able to do so? Ought not a person who claims the rights of citizenship to be able to fulfil all its burdens? What is the first duty of a citizen? It is to defend the country in time of war. ["Oh!"] It is a principle which has been recognized in every State from the earliest times. Will she do that? There is another duty of citizenship—to assist in the suppression of internal commotion. Will woman take part in that? Will she be a special constable? Will you make of woman a Justice of the Peace? Will you make her a juryman? Will you allow her to be a Bishop? I will not say that the office of a Bishop represents the greatest degree of unfitness for women; but I might mention different offices, none of which they could fulfil. I would ask my hon. Friend, Would he allow women to sit in this House? ["No!"] Why not? Does not fitness come in there? [Mr. H. H. FOWLER: No.] The hon. Member for Wolverhampton says distinctly "No;" and there we have a distinct test of inequality between men and women. My hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury is an old opponent of mine on this subject, and I am sure he will not object if I reply to some of his remarks. He said that both the right hon. Members for Cambridge University opposed women's suffrage on the ground that women could not sit in the House, and yet many of their constituents were clergymen, who could be voters, but were not eligible for election to Parliament. Yes; that is true; but a clergyman is not disqualified. It is his office that disqualifies him. Take off his robe, and take him away from his office, where he is supposed to exercise spiritual duties, which he cannot exercise if he becomes a Member of Parliament, and then that man may come into this House. I have one word more to say to my hon. Friend the Financial Secretary. But the woman to whom you are asked to give the vote—and yet exclude her from this House—is excluded by virtue of her being a woman, a condition she never changes. He has made an eloquent, and I know sincere, appeal on behalf of giving votes to women, with the object of raising them up. I should like to translate his views and put them explicitly before the House, in order that you may understand the persons for whom he so earnestly asks for the franchise. These were his own words, expressed to this House on a former occasion—

> "The narrowness of woman's range of ideas is absolutely deleterious in its effect. Our earliest lessons are received from them. Are they not often lessons that we have afterwards to unlearn with great difficulty? We often find a difficulty in freeing ourselves from them, and in emancipating ourselves from the errors of our earliest days."

Those are the women upon whom my hon. Friend proposes to confer the franchise. What does my hon. Friend say with regard to married life?

> "Again, of those who enter into the marriage relations of life, how constantly does it happen that the man's freedom of intellect is a thing unto himself, that he is incapable of imparting to the woman, with whom so much of his life is spent, any conception of the range of his thought? He does not find in her any companionship; but, on the contrary, a drag upon his aspirations."

Now, Sir, I understand it is by giving women the franchise that my hon. Friend now seeks to lift them from this condition of weak-minded error. I say that is a proposition of very serious aspect. What period of probation are these women to go through before they arrive at the ideal of my hon. Friend? [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members laugh; but if I have quoted my hon. Friend correctly, where is his answer to the question? If you are going to put these unfit women into the rights of citizenship, are we to sacrifice the interests of this country in the hope that they will improve? I believe that my hon. Friend has approached the subject from a different point of view to that taken by most men. I differ from him even more in his premisses than in his conclusions. If hon. Members look back to the lessons of their earliest years, they will not find anything to lead them to agree with my hon. Friend. The difference is that we did not wish those lessons to be political, and, because they were not political, they were valuable. My hon. Friend wishes the mother and the wife to become a politician; but he makes a great mistake in thinking that the public life will make women virtuous, rather than the private life by which they have made so many men good. Now, Sir, one word more in answer to my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton. What qualifies a man for admission to this House? Have not men experience of all professions? Do we not one and all bring to bear something of a peculiar and particular knowledge? Cannot my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton, and others in the same Profession, enlighten us respecting the law? Do not commercial men tell us their views upon trade and commerce? Do not military men give us their experience of armies and of war? To any one of these subjects can woman contribute any experience? She can tell us, no doubt, of her great experience of domestic life; but, unhappily for us, that is not a subject with which we have to deal here. It is useful on school boards, but not in Parliament. When we had to deal with great questions of peace and war, what would result if women took part in politics? We should find them timid in time of panic and violent in time of outbreak. I believe that if a war were proposed for restoring the temporal power of the Pope every woman in France would support it. Whom do you think were the most earnest for war when France went into her unhappy conflict with Germany? Why, the women. If they have to decide questions like these, I am afraid the goodness of their nature will stand them in little stead. We shall have the impulses of hearts rather than the reasoning of minds. I am told to-night that the supporters of this Motion have a majority in the House, and that there is to be a great victory for them. Well, Sir, they may, from accidental circumstances and great importunity, have secured for this time a majority; but it will be a very fleeting one. It is easy enough to bring down a few devoted followers in support of a movement which has been well canvassed; but let this once be found a serious question, and there will be deserters on one side and recruits on the other. I am certain of this—that we have forces still in reserve. The women of England have never yet really expressed their opinion upon this question. Were it not for that class of women who are happy in gazing upon, and being gazed upon by crowds, there would be no demand at all for women's suffrage. Those who represent the real feminine feeling of the country do not go to public meetings. The voice of the mob is heard, and the clamour of their loud cry is supposed to represent the voice of the women of England. To-night we, as men of different political Parties, express our view; but there is a class in the country that does not often speak, and yet it has at times determined the state of Parties; I mean those men who take but little heed of political life, who find their happiness at home, and who wish to see this country well governed, and who believe that upon the stability of their homes depends the greatness and prosperity of the country. When once they know that from those homes you seriously mean to take the women who are their light and happiness, they will denounce this measure as an influence that can add nothing to the happiness and the strength of any man's domestic life, and that will bring within the action of public men a source of weakness and of impulse detrimental to the very best interests of this country.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 130; Noes 114: Majority 16.

AYES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Allsopp, C.
Armitstead, G.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bass, H.
Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Brassey, H. A.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bryce, J.
Bulwer, J. R.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, Sir G.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaplin, H.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cole, Viscount
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Crichton, Viscount
Cropper, J.
Curzon, Major hn. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Duff, R. W.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Estcourt, G S.
Evans, T. W.
Feilden, Lieut.-General R. J.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Fort, R.
Foster, W. H.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Greer, T.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.

Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Holms, J.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Ince, H. B.
James, Sir H.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lyons, R. D.
Maitland, W. F.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
March, Earl of
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, R. B.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell-Heron, Capt. J. M.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Ralli, P.
Rendlesham, Lord
Ritchie, C. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Sheil, E.
Stevenson, J. C.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Wallace, Sir R.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Webster, J.
Whitbread, S.
Willis, W.
Winn, R.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wroughton, P.

TELLERS.

Inderwick, F. A.
Leatham, E. A.

NOES.

Agnew, W.
Anderson, G.
Arnold, A.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baldwin, E.
Barran, J.
Bateson, Sir T.
Bective, Earl of
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Borlase, W. C.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brooks, W. C.
Burt, T.
Cameron, C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowen, J.
Creyke, R.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Davies, D.
De Ferrières, Baron
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Earp, T.
Edwards, P.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Firth, J. F. B.
Forester, C. T. W.
Fowler, H. H.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Giles, A.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Henderson, F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hollond, J. R.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
James, C.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kinnear, J.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lalor, R.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Leatham, W. H.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Lee, H.
Lusk, Sir A.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Maclver, P. S.
Morgan, hon. F.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Morley, S.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Peddie, J. D.
Pennington, F.
Porter, rt. hn. A. M.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, R.
Pugh, L. P.
Puleston, J. H.
Ramsay, J.
Rankin, J.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Roe, T.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Shaw, T.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, E.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Summers, W.
Taylor, P. A.
Thomasson, J. P.
Torrens, W. T. M'C.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Waugh, E.
Whitworth, B.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, Sir M.
Woodall, W.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

De Worms, Baron H.
Mason, H.

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee upon *Monday* next.

SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.—[Bill 152.]

(*Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Pell, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lewis, Mr. O'Sullivan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Hervey Bruce.*)

Mr. TOMLINSON said, this was a very important Bill, and it was desirable to know what view the country took of it. In many parts, and especially in Lancashire, there was a strong feeling with regard to it; the belief being that it would bring a number of people who were not natives of England on the poor rates, without their having previously given any benefit to this part of the country. Several Members who wished to discuss the measure were not here, and he therefore moved the Adjournment of the Debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, the Bill was not new to the House, and had only been snuffed out earlier in the Session by a technical error.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE opposed the Motion, regarding the hour as one when a Bill of this sort might be discussed. If it were discussed upon its merits, the Government would support the second reading; but, no doubt, there would be Amendments moved from various quarters in Committee.

Mr. RAMSAY objected to a measure of this kind being passed through at the instance of a private Member. It was not right that the Government should say they would support the Bill, and not accept the responsibility of bringing the measure before the country. He gladly supported the Motion. He had sat upon a Committee which inquired into this subject, and the Bill did not carry out what he thought was the intention of that Committee.

Mr. C. H. JAMES said, he hoped the House would not agree to the Bill, for it interfered with a law which had worked very well. He should vote for the Motion.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 54; Noes 20: Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 182.)

Second Reading *deferred* till *Monday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 9th July, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Report*—Tramways Provisional Orders * (110).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * (122); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) * (123); Local Government Provisional Order (No. 10) * (117), and *passed.*

CHURCH OF ENGLAND (COLONIES)—PUBLIC WORSHIP AT HONG KONG.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will accede to the petition of the inhabitants of Hong Kong praying for the retention of the grant for the maintenance of the public worship of the Church of England? The noble Lord said, that a Petition had been presented to the Governor of Hong Kong, on the 24th of March last, by Mr. Johnson, a Member of the Council. In presenting it, he said that it was numerously signed by the inhabitants of Hong Kong, of all classes and creeds, against the proposal made by the Secretary of State to abrogate the grant for the maintenance of the public service of the Church of England. If it had not been more numerously signed by the Chinese, it was not because signatures were not to be obtained, but because it was deemed unnecessary, in the presence of the statement which was made by the Governor's Predecessor, in a despatch to the Secretary of State, that the Chinese were almost unanimous in favour of the maintenance of the grant. Mr. Johnson went on to support the Petition individually, and because he thought the grant should be continued in the interests of the public, and that its abrogation would be a breach of virtual contract made with the members of the Civil Service. If the Chinese wished for the maintenance of the grant, it must be for one of these three reasons. They did so, perhaps, out of gratitude to the late Governor, Sir John Pope Hennessy, who had treated their community with liberality; or else they might think the grant was so insignificant in amount that it was not worth while to cavil at it. This was likely enough, as the last mail announced that receipts at Hong Kong had exceeded the estimates by $102,000. There was another reason, as to which he (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had consulted the Chinese Embassy; and he had been informed there that, without knowing any of the facts of the case or the particular circumstances, it was thought highly probable that the Chinese had, as stated by the late Governor, been in favour of the grant, because the precepts of Confucius enjoined on them harmony towards their English fellow-citizens. In conclusion, he thought that many of Her Majesty's subjects would rejoice if Her Majesty's Ministers would give more attention to those grave injustices, respecting which serious complaint was so often ineffectually made, instead of disturbing existing arrangements for the purpose of remedying ideal, imaginary, and impalpable injustices of which no one had complained.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY, in supporting the prayer of the Petition, said, that if a grant of this nature, so small in itself, were withdrawn, it must be either for some reason of Imperial policy, or on account of pressure from Hong Kong. It could scarcely be on a ground of Imperial policy, because the withdrawal was in contradiction to that policy as adopted in other places; and from Hong Kong there had not only been no pressure in favour of the withdrawal, but there had been pressure in the opposite direction. Moreover, there had been a representation made in favour of the grant being continued by Sir John Pope Hennessy, who was himself a Roman Catholic, by Mr. Johnson, and by various Civil Servants as an act of justice. The Chinese also approved it. It did not appear to him to be wise, when they found small communities of Englishmen surrounded by Native populations, to withdraw from them the means of celebrating public worship. The amount of the grant was small, but it carried with it the recognition of Christianity, to the frank profession of which politicians were ready to admit that the greatness of England was largely due. In the case of Singapore, when a similar proposal was made for withdrawing the grant, the Colonial Office was quite willing to be approached, and to continue the grant for the reasons he had alleged. He hoped that, on the present occasion also, the Colonial Office would see fit to reconsider the withdrawal of so small a grant, which involved so large an issue, and might come to the determination that it should not be taken away. In such a community as Hong Kong, it was not desirable to withdraw, in the name of the British Government, the means for supplying public Christian worship.

The Earl of DERBY said, he had received, some weeks ago, the Memorial to which the most rev. Prelate (the Archbishop of Canterbury) had alluded, and had considered it with all due deference, coming, as it did, from a very considerable number of respectable persons. But he had come to the conclusion that he could not adopt a different course to that which was taken by his noble Friend and Predecessor (the Earl of Kimberley) two years ago. The facts of the case were very simple. In round numbers, the population of Hong Kong was 160,000, of which 8,000 were Europeans, and of these not all were members of the Church of England; the remaining 152,000 consisting of Natives, who were almost entirely non-Christian. That was to say, the Natives stood to the Europeans in the proportion of 19 to one; and, under such circumstances, it did seem to him not to be consistent with justice to throw the burden of maintaining the worship of the Established Church of England upon those who did not even profess the Christian religion. We did not give anything towards the worship of the Native population, and he could not see that it was consistent with justice to call upon them to maintain ours. He saw no reason why it should not maintain itself. He had no means of stating the numbers of the various Christian Denominations; but, whatever the numbers were, the argument was the same. If those who belonged to the Church of England were numerous, they were able to pay for their own worship; if they were few, that was a reason the more for not giving them an exceptional position. The European community was well-to-do, and some of its members were extremely wealthy. The real argument of the Memorialists was that it would throw disgrace upon the Christian religion, in the eyes of the Natives, were the State to withdraw its aid to religion. That was an argument in which he did not agree. He did not think they would make religion more popular amongst the Natives by compelling them to maintain a religion in which they did not believe, whether they would or not. He thought the question was mainly a financial one, and that the way the members of the Church of England in Hong Kong could best do credit to their mode of worship, and show their attachment to their Church, was by showing their willingness to maintain it by paying the expense of providing public worship out of their own pockets. He might add that the withdrawal of the grant would not take place until a vacancy occurred in the chaplaincy; but he could not hold out any prospect that the Government would reverse the decision already arrived at on the question.

The Duke of BUCCLEUCH said, he thought the answer of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) most unsatisfactory. It seemed as if this were the first step in disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, though it took place in a remote quarter of the globe. It would be felt that the Government of the country repudiating the Church would have a very prejudicial effect upon our position in the East.

RAILWAYS (INDIA)—GRAIN RATES.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Secretary of State for India, What steps have been taken by the Government of India towards reducing the grain rates on the railways from Rajputana to Bombay; and also for improving the accommodation for third and fourth class passengers? The noble Lord said, that he believed that the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) would be able to announce that the rates for grain had been reduced on the Rapjutana Malwa Railway; but the Bombay Chamber of Commerce had not been able to obtain a reduction from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway; and, last winter, there were great complaints as to the quantity of wheat that was blocked up in the interior of India. As the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was one of the lines the interest of which was guaranteed, the Government had a Representative on the Board of Directors, and could bring pressure to bear upon that Company, and prevent its throwing away a large amount of traffic, and, at the same time, checking the development of wheat cultivation in Rajputana, and also in the Deccan. With regard to the very defective accommodation for third and fourth-class passengers, he had seen it stated, since he brought the subject before the House last year, that one Railway Company—the Great Indian Peninsula, he believed—had increased the allowance of luggage for these passengers; but the chief complaint was respecting the bad accommodation at the stations, and he hoped that the Secretary of State would be willing to inform the House that he would invite the attention of the Indian Government to this matter.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in reply, said, that both the Government at home and the Indian Government were sensible of the great importance of the question of facilitating the increase of commerce on the Indian Railways by a reasonable reduction of the grain rates, leaving only a justifiable margin in the way of profit. With regard to the Question, he was glad to be able to inform his noble Friend (Lord Stanley of Alderley) that the rate for wheat between Delhi and Bombay by the Rajputana and Bombay and Baroda Railways was reduced, in May last, from about ½*d.* per ton per mile to ⅖*d.*, reducing the charge per ton for the whole distance from £1 18*s.* 3¼*d.* to £1 11*s.* 2*d.* The action of the Indian Government in this direction would be extended to other railways. He could also state that the Government had considered, and were considering, the rates charged for third and fourth-class passengers, with a view to reduce them to the lowest amount possible, and orders had been issued with the view of increasing their comfort and convenience, though he was, as yet, unable to afford any specific information on the subject.

ARMY ORGANIZATION—THE MILITIA AND MILITIA RESERVE.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to move—

> "That having regard to the present defective military organization, and to the great importance of the Militia force, it is essential that the Militia be forthwith recruited up to their established strength; and that the 'Militia Reserve' should, as intended by its originator the late General Peel, and as recommended by the Militia Committee of 1877, be borne in excess of the Militia establishment,"

said, that, about five years ago, he had the honour to meet His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, who stopped him in the street, and asked him why it was that he now publicly took so little interest in Army matters? His answer was very short. He said—"Sir, I am waiting for the disaster." He was convinced, from the experience he had on the subject, that nothing short of a national disaster would induce officials on either side of the House, or would induce either House of Parliament, or the nation, to look this question steadily in the face. It was true they had disasters; they had had Isandlana, Maiwand, and Majuba; but these disasters were of a partial character, and occurred in distant lands. They were not disasters like Sadowa and Sedan, which went home to the heart of a nation, and forced the Austrian and French Governments to reform their military systems, and establish them on some surer foundation. Besides, in this country, they had had a successful campaign in Egypt, and there was great danger of their relapsing into false security. Now, the result of our Army reforms was that, in the endeavour to secure a second line, they had sacrificed the first, and their recruiting system had, in a great measure of late, broken down. It had been admitted by the Secretary of State for War, in "another place," although for years they had heard of nothing but the creation of a second line, that our present system had broken down, and that now the Colours must be the first consideration. He (the Earl of Wemyss) was told that the noble and gallant Lord who recently commanded in Egypt (Lord Wolseley) had said, before the Channel Tunnel Committee, that it would be impossible for this country to put more than 20,000 men into line. He would like to ask him whether, in that calculation, he had omitted the Irish regiments, in whom, it seemed, from a recent speech of his, he did not put much trust, so long as they were officered by Englishmen? In bringing this matter forward, he did not ask their Lordships to listen to any crude opinions of his own, but to the views of those who were entitled to speak with authority upon this subject. No one was entitled to speak with more authority than General Sir Lintorn Simmons, by whom an article on the critical state of the British Army had recently appeared in the last number of *The Nineteenth Century*. He said—

> "It may be confidently asserted that the whole Army at home, after the departure of the Expedition to Egypt, was in a lamentable condition. At the present moment, when the troops have been for the most part withdrawn from Egypt, we find but little improvement. Men are daily quitting the ranks, and returning to civil life as Reserve men, so utterly dissatisfied that they will not accept the bribes that have been offered them in the shape of bounty to continue with the Colours."

He further pointed out that in India the small Force which we keep there as the backbone of our power to govern 250,000,000 people would be reduced by a number equivalent to five out of 50 battalions, allotted for its defence; and by one out of nine regiments of Cavalry. The Army at home was more than 8,000 under its appointed strength, and was daily dwindling away; so that, unless some extraordinary measures were taken to recruit it, there would be a deficiency of between 15,000 and 20,000 men, which would be increased to between 25,000 and 30,000 next year—

> "Young soldiers yearly purchase their discharges, or desert, while many break down under training, and return to their homes without pension, to drag out a miserable existence and earn their living as best they can."

With regard to the waste taking place in the Army, he said—

> "Out of 186,469 enlisted during eight years, 47,648—one-fourth—disappeared before the end of the year succeeding that in which they enlisted; and 64,993 before the end of the second year, with an average of a little more than ten months' service."

The cost of these men to the country, without any return, Sir Lintorn Simmons estimated at £3,150,000. He continued—

> "If the present policy continues, the battalions at home in their normal state will be composed to a great extent of inefficient lads; and, to have a force of 9,157 British Infantry, such as fought at Tel-el-Kebir, the men of which averaged 25 years four months old, had served five and a-half years, and of whom less than 900 were under 21 years of age—or even a force of half that size, we shall invariably be compelled to have recourse to the Reserve."

The conclusion at which Sir Lintorn Simmons arrived was—

> "That the outflow of men from the Army must be stopped without delay, not merely by temporary measures, such as have been adopted, but by endeavouring to make men contented in and with the Service, and thus to prevent the waste which is ruining the Army, by scattering broadcast over the country a dissatisfied body of men, who, to the number of at least 150,000, exclusive of 34,000 Reserve men, have gone back to civil life since 1870, and who, almost without exception, may be assumed to be living agencies operating energetically and actively as checks to the blandishments of recruiters."

Their Lordships should seriously consider the present state of the battalions. The figures showed to what a low position they were reduced, particularly when they took out of the calculation the men under 20 years of age. That their Lordships might form some idea of the present state of the battalions on home service, he would tell them what was the Field State upon the Queen's birthday parade at Aldershot this year:—There were eight battalions on parade, with a rank-and-file Establishment varying from a maximum of

950 to a minimum of 520. Two of the eight had a rank-and-file Establishment of 520. They were the 1st Scottish Rifles, which paraded with 160 rank and file, and the 2nd King's Shropshire Regiment, which paraded with 136 rank and file. Practically, therefore, a rank-and-file Establishment of 520 might be calculated to put about 150 rank and file into line. Of these, about one-fourth would be under 20. If this fourth were deducted, they got 113 rank and file as the proper fighting strength of a regiment at home on a 520 rank-and-file Establishment. At the present time, out of 72 battalions for service at home, 48 were on an Establishment of 520 rank and file each, making 7,200 rank and file for the fighting line, or 5,400 men after deducting all under 20 years of age. Next, he would ask their Lordships to look at the condition of the Militia, because occupying as it did a central position between the Volunteers and the Reserves on the one hand, and the Regular Army on the other, it constituted a very important part of our military system, which it was impossible to over-estimate, and it was of the highest importance that it should be kept in as effective a condition as possible. What was the state of the Militia at the present moment? Its Establishment was 128,069 men, and there were enrolled 104,431 men, so that 23,638 men were wanting. But, if those under 19 years of age, 15,904, were deducted, and those who had been struck off or were absent, 6,942, and those in the Militia Reserve of the Army, 26,692, the number of men enrolled was only 54,893. Then a deduction of one-fifth must be made for casualties, and if a further reduction were made by leaving the 7,327 Artillery out of consideration, only 36,638 Infantry Militia rank and file above the age of 19 were left for the Three Kingdoms. He thought their Lordships would say that that was not a satisfactory state of things, and that the Militia ought, at any rate, to be recruited up to its Establishment. The Militia was the backbone of our military system, and it was impossible to exaggerate its value. He wished to point out that the Militia Reserve was not a Reserve for Militia, as many persons supposed, but that it should properly be called the Militia Army Reserve. There were four ways in which the Militia could aid in recruiting the Army. Whole regiments could volunteer for service in the Army; companies could so volunteer; while individuals could volunteer for the Regular Army, and could also apply to form part of the Army Militia Reserve. The Militia Establishment was not merely short this year; it was always more or less short; and it had not, for many years, had its full complement of men. In 1872, it wanted 25,344 men; in 1875, 28,116; in 1880, 10,851; and now 23,638 were wanted. It appeared to him, however, that the Militia Reserve was really almost the only thing upon which they could congratulate themselves. Turning to the Army Reserve, strange as it might appear, he saw that it contained, when taken on January 1, 1883, 4,478 fewer men than it contained on the same date in 1873. In 1870, too, there were 4,478 men less than in 1867 ready for immediate service. They had heard that long service was now to be tried. But it was to be tried in a way which would prevent it from succeeding. A man who should enlist for a second term of service would not be given his £36 of deferred pay until the end of his second term, instead of at the close of the first term. That being so, it would not be wonderful if men should elect to take £36 down, in preference to engaging for a fresh period of service. The Army Reserve was organized upon the recommendation of a Commission of Inquiry, who pointed to the Militia as the best quarter from which to obtain men for the Army. General Peel, in 1869, said—

> "The Commission on Recruiting state with great truth that our real Army of Reserve is the Militia, and that it is in that quarter that we shall have eventually to look for our Reserve, and they consider it advisable to raise the Militia to its full number—that is, to 120,000 men. The present strength of the Militia is about 90,000 men, and the difference between that and 120,000 would constitute the Army of Reserve. Every regiment that contributed a certain quota to the Army of Reserve I would allow to be raised to its full strength; so that you would have the Militia regiments exactly in the same state as before, and would have the additional men of the Army of Reserve. My proposal is to limit the Army of Reserve to one-fourth of the present Establishment, and for this reason —I do not want to break up the Militia regiments."

In the opinion of General Peel, it was not desirable to lessen the strength of the Militia by withdrawing from it the

26,000 men who formed the Militia Reserve, and who were the best trained men in the Militia, without at once filling up vacancies thus caused, and keeping battalions up to their full strength. He would ask their Lordships to listen to what the Militia Commission of 1867 said with regard to the Militia Reserve. They said—

> "It is to our Militia that we must look for the solid Constitutional Reserve of the country, and we would earnestly recommend that more attention should be given to its organization, and that its numbers should be maintained up to the full legal quota."

He invited their Lordships by their vote, therefore, to declare, as the Commission of 1867 recommended, that the Militia should be recruited up to its full strength. He held in his hand the Report of the Militia Committee of 1877. That was a Departmental Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the War Office on account of the reduced numbers of the Militia. And how did they deal with it? Paragraph 104 of their Report recommended, not that the Militia should be recruited up to its full strength, but that it should be given a Peace Establishment, reducing it to 75 men per company, exclusive of the Staff. That was worse than what was done by the Irishman whose blanket was too short, and who, in order to lengthen it, cut off a piece from the top and sewed it on the bottom; whereas here the War Office Committee recommended to cut a piece off altogether. But there was happily a recommendation of that Committee which he (the Earl of Wemyss) trusted would commend itself to their Lordships, and which, as proposed in his Resolution, was to the effect that the Militia Reserve should be borne in excess of its Establishment, for it said—

> "The present arrangement by which the Militia Reserve is borne on the strength of Militia Battalions to the amount of 25 per cent, while liable to be withdrawn from it at any moment, is open to great objection, and we consider that the Militia Reserve men should be borne as supernumeraries on the roll of their regiments."

That was practically part of the Resolution which he was about to submit. He was certain, from his experience in "another House," that figures were never palatable; but without figures he could not have proved his case. He asked their Lordships to look at the Resolution simply from a patriotic point of view, and to cast all questions of Party aside. It was not a question at all of Party, for every Party in the State was equall interested in the condition of the Militia. He thought he had shown a state of things, both as regarded the Army and Militia, that he ventured to say could not exist in any other country in Europe. Nay, more, it could not exist in Japan; for he had seen that the Japanese had organized themselves in fear of China on the German system, that they maintained an Army of 40,000 men, capable of expansion to 300,000, and that they were improving their Commissariat and their Transport. As regarded our Commissariat and Transport, he wished the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Wolseley) were present, to speak of them as they had been tried. He (the Earl of Wemyss) held that, at present, the state of the Army was a very serious one. This was not a question of "bloated armaments," or of rivalling Foreign Powers, or of fulfilling Treaty obligations, such as led the Secretary of State, in 1870, to come down and ask for an increase of 20,000 men, and it was six months before they could get 10,000. In the present state of our Army and Militia, it became a question of the security of our Colonies and of the Indian Empire. When our battalions at home were little more than depôts, as he had pointed out, it became a question also of the safety of this country, for who could rely for safety on our Fleet? No; our first line of defence was insufficient; it was known to be so. There were noble Lords in that House, and others conversant with naval affairs in "another place," who were constantly telling us that our iron-clads were insufficient in number; that our armaments were deficient, and that other nations were taking rapid strides in advance. But the state of our Army was a very old story, and dated a very long period back. In 1658, these words were used by Cromwell, and he would ask their Lordships to observe how he spoke of "the silver streak"—

> "I beseech you, consider a little. I beseech you, consider how things do co-operate. Should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whomsoever. I name no one State upon this head. Judge you where you are. You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great ditch from all the world beside. Truly, you will not be able to keep your ditch,

> nor your shipping, unless you turn your ships and shipping into troops of horse and companies of foot, and fight and defend yourselves on *terra firma.* And, these things stated, *liberavi animam meam,* and if there be no danger in all this, I am satisfied. I have told you. You will judge if there is no danger. If you shall think we may discourse of all things at pleasure, and that it is a time of sleep, and ease, and rest, without any due sense of these things, I have this comfort to God-ward. I have told you of it."

He ventured, again, to ask their Lordships to throw all Party considerations aside, and to vote independently on this Resolution. If they believed the state of things which he had described to be true, he invited their Lordships to declare with regard to the Militia, at least—as they had power and influence in that matter—that such a state of things was dangerous to the interests of the country, and should no longer be permitted to continue. He begged to move the Resolution which stood in his name.

Moved to resolve—

> "That having regard to the present defective military organization and to the great importance of the Militia force, it is essential that the Militia be forthwith recruited up to their established strength; and that the 'Militia Reserve' should, as intended by its originator the late General Peel, and as recommended by the Militia Committee of 1877, be borne in excess of the Militia establishment."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

The Earl of LONGFORD: My Lords, I support the Resolution proposed by the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss). The Government has shown such indifference to the representations that have been made to them as to the deficiencies of the Regular Army, that, possibly, they may have some scheme to render the Auxiliary Forces efficient, which they only await such an occasion as this to announce. As to the defective military organization, which is the preface of this Notice, it has been so recently noticed that it is only necessary for me to remind the Department charged with the military administration, that, even if recruits at once offered to fill the vacancies now existing and the vacancies immediately expected—said, in round numbers, to be 15,000—there would not then be an Army, but only the materials from which to construct an Army in 18 months or two years. A small party of recruits placed in a trained regiment will become soldiers in a comparatively short time—three or four months; but a large number of recruits, thrown into a battalion of young men little more advanced than themselves, require more time to acquire a steady formation. And the Line being in this unsatisfactory state, numerically, as known to most people, except the War Office, we turn to the Auxiliary Forces to see what dependence can be placed upon them. I do not here speak of the Volunteers, except to say that, having once been amongst those who doubted the stability of the Institution, and the constancy of those who originated it, my doubts have long disappeared, and I recognize the Volunteer Force as an essential element of the national strength. But the connection of the Militia with the Line brings it more directly under our notice, and we can hardly say, from what we know, that the deficiency of the Line is compensated for by the satisfactory condition of the Militia. Both are much below par, and no energetic steps appear to be in progress to bring them up to the mark. We know that there are some admirable regiments, very fairly complete in numbers, assembling for training frequently under great difficulties, with a spirit that does them honour; but when we look at the total, and those painful figures "wanting to complete" and "absent from training," we feel how much remains to be done. It must be remembered that, considering the requirements of an Empire that is in every part of the world, and in many parts of the world subject to aggression, the Military Establishments are on a very low scale; and if every man voted by Parliament were an effective soldier, there would not be a man too many. What must then be our reflections when we find our responsibilities daily increasing, and our means of meeting those responsibilities daily diminishing? The case of the Militia has been put upon the deficiency of the Army, as a reason why this Force should be recruited to its full strength; but even if the Army were complete, as it sometimes appears to be on paper, the necessity exists that the Militia should be complete also. The Militia Reserve is, perhaps, not the best possible Service for a Reserve; but it was the best that offered at the moment, at a time when an Army Reserve, good as far as it went, was only forming by driblets; and I am quite aware that General Peel's hope was that the Militia Service would, in time, become so popular that a future Minister would be able to add this Reserve to the original number of the Militia; and certainly there is good ground for the opinion that such a Reserve would at least equal the Army Reserve of the present system, which I do not undervalue, but which, I say, draws from the ranks prematurely men whose services can ill be spared from their regiments. I do not follow the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss) through the details of the statement that he has made, nor do I enter upon minor details as to terms of training, payment of bounties, part-worn clothing, and such points, upon which Militia officers, of whom several are present, are more competent to speak than myself; but I add my testimony to that of the noble Earl, that much more serious attention is required to the whole subject of the Militia Forces, and I say that the War Office cannot continue to look on, with a light heart, at the defects in both Army and Militia that have been pressed upon their Notice.

Lord TRURO, said, that nothing, in his opinion, was more marvellous than the stolid indifference of the public on this question, except, perhaps, the fact that the noble Marquess at the head of the War Office should have had to express his surprise that the Representatives of the people in "another place" seemed to think that the subject might be discussed as well in their absence as in their presence. Now, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Weymss) had spoken of the numbers of the Army, the state of the Army, and the difficulties of recruiting. The numbers of the Army were certainly very unsatisfactory in spite of the Return, which showed that there were 431 men above the Establishment. That Return omitted to point out that 11,133 men were taken from the Army Reserve, and that 7,784 of them were returned to the Army, after the campaign in Egypt. The fact, therefore, was that, instead of an excess, there was an actual diminution of 3,329 men. Nor did the discipline of the Force seem more satisfactory than its numbers; for the last annual Return showed that 969 men were reported drunk on duty, and 800 drunk off duty. One word as to the Militia. In 1881, the Establishment voted, including officers, was 139,501 men. The numbers below that Establishment were 11,633. The money voted was £1,191,259, and the surplus beyond the requirements of the year was consequently £104,697. In 1882, the Establishment voted was 139,293; the number below the Establishment was 20,592; the money that was voted was £1,189,297, leaving a surplus of £212,715. In 1883, the Establishment voted was 142,874; up to the month of February, the actual was 3,581 below the Establishment; and the money voted was £1,314,392, or £92,866 above the amount required. Including the three years from 1881 up to the 1st of February, 1883, there was a deficiency of the numbers necessary to complete the Establishment voted of 35,806 men, and in the three years the surplus of money voted for the Militia was £410,278. He was not sufficiently conversant with the financial arrangements of the Army to know what became of the surplus of money voted; but it seemed to him strange that we should be voting a larger Vote every year with a diminution in the number of recruits for the Militia. That so large a sum of money should remain unaccounted for was, he thought, a circumstance highly unsatisfactory. He had always understood that the object of the Militia Reserve was to serve as a feeder to the Army; but, if that were so, he did not understand a suggestion by the Inspector General, that men should be re-enlisted for home service only, when, if they were to be of any service to the Army, they must be willing to go abroad. To propose that the Militia Reserve should be recruited from men who re-enlisted with the condition that they should not serve abroad, was to treat the Militia in a manner that was not originally contemplated.

Viscount HARDINGE said, that he wished to say a few words in support of the Motion. He agreed with much that had been said by the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss) about the defective organization of the Army, and the great deficiency in the numbers of the Militia, and considered that, to a great extent, the noble Earl had proved his case. It was lamentable that the regiments at our great camp at Aldershot were in so wretched a state that they were not able to have a decent field day on the Queen's Birthday. It was not a sufficient answer to say that the recruits were drilled at the depôts, for there were regiments at Aldershot that could not get recruits. The 3rd Rifle Brigade could not muster more than 200 on parade, and had no recruits. With regard to the Militia, it must be recollected by all that it was the old Constitutional Force of the country. During the Crimean War it gave 30,000 or 40,000 men to the Line, and its regiments garrisoned the Mediterranean stations. Since then the Force had been greatly improved, and most of the officers had gone through the School of Instruction, and had passed the examination for promotion. It had been shown that not only the present Government, but those who had preceded them, had not sufficiently encouraged the Militia, and the reason was not far to seek. When the short-service system was introduced Lord Cardwell had stated that he hoped we should soon have a Reserve of 80,000 men; but the lamentable fact was that we had but 25,000 or 30,000 men in that Reserve. Lord Cardwell anticipated that the First Class Reserve would be so large that he could abolish the Militia Reserve, and that was a most unfortunate expectation. General Peel was too far-seeing not to perceive that, under voluntary enlistment, we could not have a large Reserve, and his expectations had proved true. The Militia was really tested by the numbers that came up for inspection, excluding, of course, the Irish Militia; and he found that, last year, in England and Scotland, only 80,000 men came up, 7,000 being absent without leave, who were practically gone, while 3,000 were absent with leave. The waste in the Militia, too, was as bad as the waste in the Army. In a year there were 18,000 discharges, and 6,942 desertions, the only satisfactory fact being that 3,000 joined the Army. This waste, amounting to 30,000 a-year, was too little thought of at the War Office. It would be far better to limit recruiting a little than to have the enormous losses which we had by desertion and fraudulent enlistment in the Army and in the Militia. He thought those offences were looked upon too favourably by the War Office, and that the time had come when the mawkish sensibility with which they were looked upon should be cast off, and that they should be seriously dealt with. Some system of marking, such as vaccination, should be adopted. While dealing with these evils at great length, the Resolution of the noble Earl did not indicate any remedy, it did not say how the result desired was to be effected, and how men were to be obtained. That, no doubt, was the most important part of the whole question; but we were not yet, however, in such a state as to be obliged to resort to the ballot. If the supporters of the Resolution offered suggestions, they would not probably have much value in the War Office, which had full information at its disposal; but it might be well if the War Office would consult more than they did the colonels of regiments. He was glad to find that there had been a small increase in the re-enrolment of the men. This was, after all, a question of money, and inducements should be offered to men who had served their time and were willing to enrol again. As to the practice, introduced a year ago, of drilling recruits on enrolment, he was of opinion that the sooner it was abolished the better. It ought not to be left optional, but should be entirely swept away. The Inspector General of Recruiting, in his Reports, said it was quite impossible that the two systems should go on together. Moreover, the Government must, by this time, be aware that great dissatisfaction had been produced in the Militia by the loss of the 10*s*. With regard to the Militia Reserve, he could not help thinking that it would not be a bad plan to allow a certain percentage of married men to join it. Above all, it was necessary to keep up the Militia to its full quota, and not to be careless about its numbers, simply because we put a weak faith in the First Class Army Reserve. In conclusion, he expressed his belief that, in the main, his noble Friend's suggestions and Motion deserved their Lordships' serious attention, and he hoped they would be carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government.

LORD WAVENEY said, that, in his opinion, a great deal of the present difficulty had been caused because the old traditions of the Militia had been disregarded. The constant changes and the transferring Militiamen from one corps to another destroyed their feeling of regimental duty. They were, at that moment, discussing a problem which was initiated in the public Press some 40 years ago by the greatest soldier of England, when there was an expectation of a hostile invasion of England, or attempts at military insult from the other side of the Channel. Since then there had been many changes. The Militia had been called out, and they had become, he might say, the Army of England. He thought the Government were entitled to credit for making the change by which Militia battalions could, by volunteering, be employed by the Regular troops. He would suggest that that system should be extended, and that a battalion of Militia might, with its own consent, be entitled, with its officers, to pass to the front. He was glad that the Militia had been brought within the reach of our military system; but he hoped that in any further changes greater inducements would be held out to men to join the Service.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH said, that, in his opinion, if they gave every soldier a free kit and free rations, they would have no difficulty in obtaining a fair body of troops. He thought, however, that the absence of comfort in the barracks was a greater cause of the failure of recruiting and of the absence of contentment in the ranks than even the pay. Again, many soldiers entered the Army expecting to have a jolly life; but when they found that half their time was taken up with drill, and the remainder with musketry and other instruction, they got disgusted. With regard to recruiting, a great deal depended on the zeal and perseverance of officers, some of whom, under like circumstances, were far more successful than others. He hoped that the long-service system would be adopted, for he thought that when the men got the long-service pension they would have a contented and happy soldiery. The present administration of the Army was most unsatisfactory, the reason being that it could not be learned properly within the walls of the War Office. The Ministers who went to the War Office had to depend for their information upon the officials of the Department, among whom there ought to be a flow of promotion as well as elsewhere. The Army Estimates amounted to about £16,000,000; and of that sum it appeared that only £2,000,000 were given to the private soldiers, £14,000,000 going in other ways; so that the rank and file of the Service had not got much above a tithe of the money that was intended for them. He had no objection to give rewards to the noble Lord and the noble and gallant Admiral who served in Egypt; but why could not some be given to gallant privates too? Why did not the Government do these things in a liberal spirit, and not go on making changes which caused officers and men to be discontented? With regard to the territorial system, he thought that £3,500,000 had been ill-spent upon that system. He could show the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War (the Earl of Morley) the tremendous cost of the depôt barracks; he could show him that at a depôt there were a colonel, a major, four captains, four subalterns, and no end of staff, and only 50 men. How absurd that was! They should return to the old company system. With regard to the Militia training, he hoped it was not true that they were this year not to be trained at their old quarters. Directly they took the regiments away from the quarters to which they had been used for years, they could not get recruits. He was glad that the noble Marquess had returned to the War Office. The noble Marquess, he believed, wished to do away with some of the changes that had been made which had not succeeded; at any rate, he hoped that was his feeling. The old system was the best; and if the noble Marquess was guided by what he gathered, not merely from the officials of the War Office, but throughout the Service, he would benefit the country and earn the thanks of the Army.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, he was strongly of opinion that the Militia ought to be recruited so as to be kept up to its full and efficient strength. The question was asked, what was the cause of the difficulty in recruiting the Militia? It was very simple. The Militiaman used formerly to be enrolled for five years' service, and he received 10*s*. on enrolment, and £6 at the end of his five years' training. Now, however, he was called upon to serve for six years, with exactly the same amount of bounty as when he served for five years. That, of course, produced dissatisfaction. There was also dissatisfaction because he did not receive 10*s*. on enrolment. That 10*s*. was what the men looked to most, for they used to receive it in winter, that being the time when most of them enlisted, employment being scarce; and it helped them to get through the long months of winter. The proportion of men formerly who did not come up for training in the regiment with which he had the honour to be connected was small. There was another system which caused great dissatisfaction, and which was much disliked by the men, and that was that immediately after enrolment the new recruits were sent to head-quarters, where there was insufficient accommodation, and nothing for them to fill up their time with, to undergo 63 days' training and drill. Nothing deterred men so much from enlisting as this arrangement; and, in his opinion, the old system of training was much better. Another source of complaint on the part of the Militia was the large amount of fatigue duty put upon them as compared with the men of the Line. Then, again, there were no arms for them. With regard to arms, the Militia were always kept some years behind the Line, for while the Line were supplied with the most improved arms, such as the Martini-Henry, the Militia were provided with inferior rifles which had been superseded, as the Snider; the result being that, when the men passed into the Line, they had put into their hands rifles for which entirely different drill and different fighting were required. If they wanted to make the Militia efficient, why not supply them with the arms they would have to use if they joined the Line? Then, with regard to musketry instruction, the Militiaman had only 10 rounds of ball cartridge served out to him, which were wholly insufficient to teach him how to load his gun, much less to make him a good shot. Again, the fact ought to be recognized that the men did not like the territorial system. They knew the regiments by their numbers, but not by their new names; and the men liked to join particular regiments, and would not go into the Army at all, if they were to be drafted wherever ordered. It was also very important, in order to keep Militia regiments efficient, that they should have commissioned and non-commissioned officers of their own, and not merely have officers lent them from their depôts. He would not detain the House longer; but ventured to submit these points to the consideration of the Government.

THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD said, he most earnestly supported the arguments which his noble Friend upon the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) had so ably placed before their Lordships. He (the Marquess of Hertford) thought the Militia, the old Constitutional Force of the country, had been very much neglected. The position of the Militia, even under the scheme of Lord Cardwell, begun in 1872, had been almost entirely left out of the question, for very few, if any, of the details of that scheme as regarded the Militia had been carried out at all. He would recall to remembrance that—

> "1. All Line Battalions at home to be raised to war strength, the 50 Expeditionary Battalions being first considered, by calling up Army Reserve men to the Colours, supplementing the deficiency, if any, by Militia Reserve and volunteers from Militia Battalions.
>
> "2. In each of the 50 districts required to furnish Expeditionary Battalions, embody both Militia Battalions.
>
> "3. In each of the remaining districts embody one Militia Battalion.
>
> "4. Complete each Depôt Centre to a full Battalion to serve as a training Battalion for recruits.
>
> "5. Complete all embodied Militia Battalions to war strength.
>
> "6. Make all enlistments during the war for general service in the Line and Militia Battalions of any Brigade district."

Not one of those things had been done. When the short-service system was first introduced, having been for several years adjutant to a battalion of the Guards, he (the Marquess of Hertford) wrote to a large number of officers who had risen from the ranks, and who, he thought, were therefore practical men, and asked them their opinions on the subject of recruiting. In reply, almost every one of them said they were opposed to short service, and predicted precisely what had happened with regard to that and to the Reserve. These letters he had sent to Lord Cardwell at the time, and were returned. No attention was paid to the opinions of regimental officers. A few days since a man who had completed his service with the Colours and passed into the Reserve wrote that, after beginning life by learning the trade of an engine-fitter, he entered the Service; and he now stated that having left the Reserve he was unable to find work except as a mechanic at low wages, and that he was now earning 13*s.* or 14*s.* a-week less than he would have done had he continued in his former trade; he had nothing to fall back upon but poverty and the workhouse. He went on to say that he would have been ready and willing to serve his country for 21 years with the prospect of a pension as a provision for his old age. That showed how short service acted in many cases. He thought the Government would act wisely if, with a view to a return to the old system, so far as could be effected, they were to call together again the Committee known as Lord Airey's Committee. The Members of that Committee knew what had taken place during the past 12 years, and would not recommend anything impracticable. He would also suggest that the Militia Reserve ought to be our principal Reserve; and that, as regarded the Army Reserve, if it was really necessary to maintain it, means should be adopted by the Government to enable men to find work readily, when they left the Colours to go into the Reserve, by keeping a register of employers who would be willing to give such men the employment they desired. He hoped, however, that it might turn out to be unnecessary, and that the Government would go back to long service with pensions. They should also increase the pay of the men, such increase to depend upon good conduct only; and he would suggest, in particular, that the pay of non-commissioned officers should be so treated. He would also have deserters marked with the letter D, or in some other way, for desertion, so as to prevent them from fraudulently enlisting in other regiments; and he hoped the Government would be able to see their way, so that those men whom it might be desirable to keep with the Colours should be given half the deferred pay and six weeks' furlough at the expiration of the first term of service, the remaining half of the pay being placed in a savings' bank until the completion of the second term of service; that all Reserve men with good characters should be taken back into the ranks; that officers should be appointed to address meetings in recruiting districts for the purpose of explaining the advantages of service in the Army, instead of leaving it to the recruiting sergeants only. The Secretary of State for War should surround himself with more regimental officers and fewer civilians; for under the Government of the Duke of Wellington, when the Army was far more economically managed, his Grace's Military Administration consisted of no less than 10 distinguished officers—all of them in Parliament—whereas there were now only three military officers, including the Commander-in-Chief.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that he had been in great hope that his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Morley) would have addressed their Lordships earlier in the evening. He must confess that the Motion of his noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) placed him in a dilemma, for he (Viscount Bury) agreed with him that the ranks of the Militia were not full; that it was hardly in an efficient state as regarded discipline; and that the Army, in the matter of recruiting, was even in a more unsatisfactory state than the Militia. But, on the other hand, they must consider the effect of passing the noble Earl's Motion. The fact was that the men would not come. As it had been already explained by more than one speaker, there were grievances and inconveniences connected with the Militia which deterred men from entering into that branch of the Service. Under those circumstances, and taking those things into consideration, to pass such an abstract Resolution as that before the House would effect no good; for it would commit the House to nothing, and therefore could have no effect, for the men would not come any the more simply because that House had declared the desirability of filling the ranks. It would not remove the grievances which existed, and therefore could not have the result of making men join the Militia. It would, in fact, partake of the nature of a *brutum fulmen;* and he hoped, therefore, that his noble Friend would not ask their Lordships to divide. As to the second part of the Resolution, it was of little use to deal with that until they got the ranks full. At the same time, he quite recognized the fact that the debate which had taken place was a most instructive one. It was plain from it that many military authorities in that House agreed that the present state of the Army was extremely unsatisfactory. Their Lordships must also recognize the fact that, 12 years after the change made by Lord Cardwell, they were actually in a worse condition than they were at that time. There was no doubt that, before the introduction of that scheme, it was impossible to fill up the ranks of the Army, and that the recruits were not sufficient for its ordinary wants. Lord Cardwell, therefore, brought forward an elaborate scheme, from which he anticipated great results. They had since passed through 12 years under that scheme, and had spent millions of money, and yet were no better off than they were before. They must, therefore, now agree that the time had come for acknowledging that the scheme for which they sacrificed so much had been a failure, and that they ought to try an entirely new departure. Lord Cardwell's scheme was divided into two parts, one constructive, and the other destructive. Wherever Lord Cardwell destroyed, he destroyed for good and all; he destroyed the old Army, and buried its bones. But the constructive part of his scheme had entirely failed, and they had no Army now, as they had no Army then. The noble Marquess who had just spoken (the Marquess of Hertford) suggested that they should revive the Committee over which Lord Airey presided. That Committee had made a very useful Report, and offered some very valuable suggestions; but, up to that day, those suggestions had never been fairly taken into consideration. They were told that the Report would be laid upon the Table; but their Lordships all knew how it was delayed until Mr. Childers should elaborate his scheme. The scheme was propounded in the other House, and was then carried into effect. The changes introduced by that scheme were the bases on which their Army now rested, and he would like to put it to their Lordships whether those changes were any more effective than those which had been introduced by Lord Cardwell? The Egyptian War was, no doubt, a severe test for the new system; but, at the same time, those operations had notoriously dislocated their whole Army system. The Army they sent out, although a good one in itself, exhausted their resources altogether; and if the war had lasted, they would certainly have been driven to very great straits both for men and material. His noble Friend (the Earl of Sandwich) had stated that £3,500,000 had in the first two years been spent upon depôt centres under Lord Cardwell's system; and what good were they now? But no man could form an idea of the enormous sums spent in abolishing the Purchase system and establishing the new scheme. Probably, it would not be too much to say that it cost £12,000,000 or £14,000,000. The old Purchase system might not have been a good one; but the question was, Was it worth while to pay so much to abolish it? Spent upon our men, that sum of money would have been sufficient to fill up the ranks of the Army and Reserves to their full strength—for, as the illustrious Duke upon the Cross Benches (the Duke of Cambridge) had often said, it was all a question of money. If they wanted men, they must pay for them; if they did not pay for them, they could not have them. That was why they had denuded battalions of Militia far below their normal strength, as well as the Army generally, to the deplorable position he had described. He hoped, however, that his noble Friend would not press his Motion; and one reason why he did so was that they had no right in that House to initiate a question of an increase of expenditure. If they asked that the ranks of the Militia should be filled up, they should point out how that was to be done, and that it could be done without increasing the pay of the Militiamen and the Linesmen. For that reason, though he looked upon the debate as a most valuable one, and as one proving the truth of what his noble Friend had said, he did not think it would be advisable to press the Motion to a Division.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he had listened to one or two of the speeches made in the course of the debate with some little astonishment. The noble Viscount who spoke last (Viscount Bury) began with a Philippic against the changes introduced by Lord Cardwell and Mr. Childers. But he was cautious enough to omit all reference to the period which elapsed between the two Administrations when noble Lords opposite held Office. He did not wish to say anything against the administration of the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) or Colonel Stanley; but he thought the noble Viscount must have heard the noble Viscount's (Viscount Bury's) speech with something like dismay. The noble Viscount spoke of all the money spent on depôt centres by Liberal Governments; but was he not himself, in some measure, responsible while he was in Office? Was all the money spent on the Militia depôts spent by the Liberal Government? Then, as to the statement that the changes made by Lord Cardwell and Mr. Childers were absolute failures, and that we had no greater Reserves than in 1870, he begged absolutely to deny it. In proof of that, he would ask whether, in 1870, we could possibly have done what we did last autumn, when we sent 28,000 men out of the country? Two of the noble Lords opposite who had spoken were extremely bitter against the organization of the War Office, and against the permanent officials in Pall Mall; but they appeared to forget that there was a military as well as a civilian element there, and that there were distinguished Generals at the War Office whose advice was taken by the Secretary of State for War on all occasions. There was a distinguished General who presided over the Auxiliary Forces, and he would like to know where they could get better advice? He should now confine himself to answering the speech of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss), who had brought the Motion forward; and, in doing so, he must say he was glad the noble Earl did not postpone recurring to his military experiences until we had experienced a great disaster, because then their Lordships would have been deprived of an eloquent speech and an interesting debate. But there was something singularly inconsequential in the Motion and the speech. The noble Earl began by stating that the military organization was defective. Indeed, he (the Earl of Morley) could only look upon the Motion as a censure of the military organization of the present day. The noble Earl chiefly found fault with the defective state of the Regular Forces; but the remedy he proposed was not to improve the Regular Forces, but to endeavour to recruit the Militia up to its full Establishment, and even to add to that Establishment. [The Earl of WEMYSS: Hear, hear!] He should be glad if the noble Earl would show him any sequence between the two. The noble Earl based his Motion on the assertion, first, that we had sacrificed our First Line to the Reserve; and, secondly, that our recruiting system had broken down. He based these assertions upon some remarks made by Mr. Childers, but which were somewhat different from what the noble Earl had quoted, and upon a very able article in *The Nineteenth Century*, by Sir Lintorn Simmons, though some of the statements were exaggerated. The only tittle of evidence the noble Earl had alleged was taken from an experience of two battalions. In one portion of the article by Sir Lintorn Simmons there was an important mistake, for he stated that the Home Army was 8,000 under its Establishment, and then he went on to say that this year it would be 17,000 or 20,000 under its proper strength, and that that state of things would go on until the deficiency was 30,000. He wished he knew what were the data on which Sir Lintorn Simmons had made that statement. As far as he knew, the recruiting this year was better than in former years instead of worse, and would more than meet the ordinary demands of the Army. It was now going on at the rate of 3,000 a-month, and had produced in the first six months of this year about 3,000 men more than were obtained in the first six months of 1882. An argument that had been used over and over again against the present system was that it had increased waste enormously, and to an extent that could not be met by recruiting; and it was assumed that all waste, whether from desertion, dismissal, or discharge, was entirely due to the unfortunate system of his noble Friend (Viscount Cardwell). Now, he would state the results of a comparison he had made between the last 10 years of the long-service system and the last 10 years of short service. In the last 10 years of the long-service system, ending in 1870, the desertions numbered in all 21,800, while in the 10 years from 1873 to 1882 they numbered 28,900, the increase being 7,000. That did not show that the whole or a fraction of the desertion was entirely due to his noble Friend's system of short service. But it was evident that the number was very considerable under both systems alike. Marking for desertion was only abolished in 1870, so that, in the 10 years of long service that he had instanced, deserters were marked, and that did not offer a very strong argument for a revival of the marking system as a check to desertion. It was to be noticed that before 1870 a man was struck off the strength of his regiment if he was absent for two months; but it had now been reduced to 21 days, therefore it was clear that this circumstance must be taken into account in comparing the desertions in the first period with those in the second period; and it would show an undue proportion of desertion in the latter period. He really believed that if they examined the figures carefully they would find that the desertion was quite as enormous in the 10 years of long service as in the 10 of short, if not more so. The other causes of waste might, for convenience, be classified together as discharges from various causes, and deaths. The result of the figures was this—that in the 10 years of long service 177,000 men left the Army on account of death or discharge. In the 10 years of short service was there an increase? No, there was a positive decrease of 4,000; and the loss in the 10 years from discharge and death was reduced to 173,000. Those were very remarkable figures, and showed that the waste of the Army could not be attributed to short service. It was often said that these results were all very well; but the recruiting was not successful, and could not keep pace with the waste. Now, what were the facts? The total average annual waste of the last 10 years of long service was about 20,000, and the total of recruits was about 15,000. The total average annual waste of the 10 years of short service, including a large number of men—3,500 on an average—who passed into the Reserve, was 24,000, and the average number of recruits was 24,400. In one case, the annual waste exceeded the numbers supplied by recruiting; and, in the other, the numbers of recruits exceeded the annual waste. The truth was that 10 or 15 years ago the Army was unable to furnish drafts for foreign service, and was also year by year reducing the Establishment by about 4,000 men. The noble Earl who moved the Resolution referred to the state of the battalions at Aldershot, and there was no question about their strength. If the noble Earl wished to have the whole Army placed on a war footing, and able to send all its battalions out of the country at a moment's notice, a much stronger Army would be necessary than they at present possessed. All that was now aimed at was that one Army Corps should be ready for immediate active service, with another in an advanced state of preparation; and, if more were wanted, it would be necessary to complete the 48 low-strength battalions with the Reserves. The noble Earl mentioned these low-strength battalions; but the last Returns showed that they had lately been recruited considerably beyond the figures quoted by the noble Earl, and that process was still going on. He (the Earl of Morley) fully admitted—and so did Mr. Childers admit—that the strength of these battalions was in many cases extremely low, and that none of them were on a Peace Establishment fit for the field. They were designed to act partly as recruiting depôts to supply foreign drafts, partly to perform such home duties as their strength allowed, and to afford *cadres* which could be expanded in time of war. But, at the same time, he must repeat it was unfair and misleading to fix upon two or three of the weakest of these low-strength battalions, and to say that they were miserable regiments, unfitted for service, and that the whole system had consequently broken down. It was also said that the Army Reserve was weaker in 1883 than in 1873. On January 1, 1873, there were 31,000 men in the Reserves, but 20,000 of them were pensioners over 40 years of age.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: The numbers might be greater in January, 1883, than in 1873; but that was at the expense of the First Line.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the noble Lord who had made the comparison could not really think that these pensioners were efficient men who would be available to fill gaps in regiments on active service; for, if he did, he (the Earl of Morley) could not agree with him. On January 1, 1883, the First Class Army Reserve numbered 27,000 men, of whom 11,000 had been mobilized for service in Egypt; and a Reserve of that kind, with so large a proportion of useful men, was surely better than a larger Reserve with 20,000 pensioners. The noble Earl had forgotten to mention that nearly a third of the true Reserve last year was at the time fighting on the Nile, and that it was impossible that it could be in two places at once; the men could not serve with the Colours, and remain at home in the Reserve also. He (the Earl of Morley) would admit that on the 1st of January, 1883, the Army Establishment at home was below its numbers. There was, in fact, a deficiency of between 4,000 and 5,000 men; but since that time large numbers of men had returned from India, and, as their terms of service expired, went to the Reserve; and as the Reserves were further swollen by the return of men from Egypt, the total now would be somewhat over 30,000 men. The result had been described as a miserable one; but he did not consider it so at all, and he ventured to say that, by the 30,000 men just mentioned, the Reserve was stronger than it was 10 years ago; and he challenged any noble Lord to deny that it was so. He was at a loss to understand what was meant when it was said that the Militia received no attention. In 1867 its effective strength was 70,000; at the beginning of this year it was 104,400; and now it would be 109,000. Of course, the non-calling out of the Irish Militia was due to higher than financial reasons. At one time recruits were drilled for 14 days, and the period of training was 27 days; but the 14 days had been increased to 56, and even 63 in some cases. Could it be denied that the adjutants and permanent staff were more efficient than they used to be?

The Earl of LIMERICK said, that the Irish Militia were not included in the Return for 1867; they were not trained then.

The Earl of MORLEY said, that on referring to the annual Returns he found that that was the case, and he apologized for having inadvertently taken that year. But he would take 1865, a year the Irish Militia were trained, and we then had 101,000, as against 109,000 this year. As to recruiting for the Militia, we had this year obtained 18,000 recruits, as against 13,500 in the first five months of last year; and during the same period 4,500 of the Militia had joined the Regular Forces. What was proposed appeared to him to involve an addition of 30,000 men to the Militia; and he thought it would be a long time before the country would consent to it. The ballot had been mentioned; but the report of a very influential Committee was against the adoption of that measure. He had endeavoured to show that the present system was anything but a failure, and he did not admit that recruiting was breaking down; indeed, on the whole, it was never more flourishing. He must admit that, even in its present flourishing condition, it was not to be anticipated that it would be able to make good this year the deficiency which all deplored. Other measures, which he had explained on a previous occasion, had been taken at home and in India to meet this difficulty, which he hoped might prove successful. He denied that either himself or the Secretary of State for War were at all disposed to treat the matter light-heartedly. They looked upon it as one of the greatest importance, and as such it was constantly engaging and receiving their careful attention. On the flimsy facts adduced it was unfair to say that the present short-service system was a failure; and, as the Resolution implied that the whole military organization was bad, he could not accept it, although he quite agreed with that part of it which spoke of the importance of the Militia.

Viscount CRANBROOK said, that no man could be absolutely free to take entirely his own way, and deal entirely by his own judgment with matters of administration. He himself, as succeeding Lord Cardwell at the War Office, which he had done twice, found a great number of subjects had been opened up which required to be settled. Many things had been done which could not be undone. It was impossible to alter them; and he had therefore to endeavour to make the best of the circumstances in which he found himself. Promotion was at a standstill, and he had to take steps to advance it by an expenditure the necessity for which Lord Cardwell must have contemplated. There was, for instance, the question of the abolition of Purchase. Upon that the expenditure had been enormous; and it was impossible to go back, for it was necessary to carry out a system which could not be stopped without reducing the Army to a state of greater chaos than it was before. So, also, with regard to brigade depôts. When he came into Office, he believed that £2,000,000 out of £2,500,000 had been pledged to be expended upon that scheme, and it was necessary to continue it. He had no desire to introduce anything personal into the discussion; but he mentioned these things to explain that he was obliged, without entering into the question whether anything better could be advised, to continue on a course which had already been entered upon and to give it a fair trial. It had been said that a civilian Secretary of

State for War seemed to be isolated among civilians; but the illustrious Duke on the Cross-Benches knew that when he (Viscount Cranbrook) held that Office, he endeavoured to get the opinions of Staff and Regimental officers, and of Generals who had passed through all the grades of the Service. With regard to the Militia, the very facts to which his noble Friend behind him (Viscount Hardinge) had adverted would show that so far from not consulting the Heads of the Militia, he did exactly the reverse. Colonel Stanley, at that time Under Secretary of State, afterwards to become Secretary, was an active colonel in a Militia regiment; and, moreover, the appointment of the Committee on which the noble Duke sat was but an attempt to obtain from the Militia colonels themselves their opinions as to the best mode of dealing with the Militia. He thought the best thing they could do in that House was to avoid as far as possible anything that would tend to disturb the existing systems under which men were enlisted and officers joined. His noble Friend behind him (the Marquess of Hertford) had spoken of going directly back to long service. His noble Friend might say what he liked upon that subject; but it was an absolute impossibility to go back, thereby disturbing the existing state of thing in order to give effect to a vague and theoretic view, for this simple reason—that, under the long-service system, we could not get the recruits. We must look the facts in the face. The long-service system had failed, and, therefore, we had to adopt a system of almost entirely short service. He was far from saying that we had not many defects and difficulties to contend with. They had the defects which must come from the scheme of filling up the regiments first on the roster to their full strength in the manner in force at present. With regard to the enlistment of young men, he thought it should be an absolute rule that they should not send men to India until they were 20 years of age. That was no reason, however, why we should not accept recruits at the age of 18; because, by giving them the proper food and putting them under discipline for two years, they would make them stronger and fitter men for the purpose than if they left them to themselves in the streets. He was convinced that men of 19, who had been a year in the Army, were better than men of 20 picked up in the streets. The present Motion was one which he could not support, because he did not believe it to be correct. In the first place, he did not admit that he was to blame for the system under which we were living; yet, at the same time, it had been his duty to carry it into effect, and to give as great efficiency to it as he could. He did not believe that, even supposing the military organization to be inefficient at that present moment, it could be remedied by the means indicated by his noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) in his Motion. It was altogether out of the question. He had endeavoured to improve the condition of the Militia. He altered the Acts, in order to meet the contingencies to which some noble Lords had adverted this evening, with a view to improve as far as possible the condition of the depôts; and, at the same time, he endeavoured to get at the best way of improving the Militia drill. A great stimulus was given to Militia recruiting by producing some of the men at Aldershot, and showing the materials of which the Militia was composed. Those noble Lords who spoke from behind him had mentioned certain circumstances which, in their judgment, militated against the recruiting of the Militia. These were subjects which were very well worthy of attention; but if noble Lords would look at the Returns of the Inspector General of Recruiting, they would find that there was a most enormous loss in the Militia between the time at which a man agreed to enroll, and the time at which he came up for training. He believed he might say, without exaggeration, that on the average 25 per cent were wanting at the time of training. That was an enormous amount, and it was most desirable, therefore, to find some means of bringing the men to training after they had enlisted. Many a man used to take the 10*s*. and spend it on his immediate wants, without any intention of presenting himself at the depôt; and, though they did not now give the 10*s*., there was the same difficulty in bringing up the men. For many years we had not been able to fill up the Militia to its full amount; but his noble Friend took only a part of the recommendations of the Committee, and left out the rest. The Committee recommended practically what General Peel had recommended—namely, that there should be a fixed amount—75 per cent of the existing number—and that the Militia Reserve should be in excess of that. This was perfectly right, and it was a very excellent system. They had to ask themselves if it was essential that they should have the Militia Reserve 30,000 in excess of the 131,000 constituting the Militia? So far as he was concerned, if they could double the Militia Reserve, he would be delighted; but they had to look at the facts. Could they get the Militia Regiments filled up to the strength which they desired? In that House they were at liberty to theorize as much as they pleased; but in "another place" everything their Lordships in that House discussed freely and in theory must be discussed practically, and with a view to expenditure; and he ventured to say it would be no use to ask the House of Commons to give the money which would enable them to have 30,000 additional Militiamen beyond the Establishment of 131,000. He strongly felt that this country was not in quite so lamentable a condition as his noble Friend would have them believe. For upwards of two centuries, with the exception of William III., no foreign enemy had trodden the soil of England, and William III. could hardly be considered as a foreign invader, because he was received with open arms by considerable sections of society in this country. He laid great stress on the Reserve. He wished it were greater; he wished the Army had been kept up to that greater standard that would have enabled them, to some extent, to fulfil the duty of bringing up their Reserves to a higher level. The failure there was the want of money; they kept their Army at a certain amount, and it practically amounted to this—they had an Army which was called upon to perform a great variety of duties, a great portion of which was done abroad, and as the men were sent abroad, they necessarily had to deplete the Force at home. If they were obliged to deplete the battalion at home to a certain extent to supply the battalion abroad, they must recruit the Army at home by getting new men. He was not sure that they ought not then to call out a Militia battalion; but when both battalions were abroad, there ought to be a new depôt for a third battalion, and one battalion of Militia should be called out. But this country had been so much accustomed to conduct little wars, with a Peace Establishment, that they could not get it to do that. At that moment they had an Army of Occupation in Egypt, and they expected the Minister to come down to Parliament, and to have his men in two places at once. The thing was impossible. They had sent their best men out of the country to act as an Army of Occupation abroad, and in doing so had depleted their regiments at home; and unless they took upon themselves the expense of bringing out third battalions, or calling out the Militia to supply the place of the battalions abroad, they would always experience those difficulties, whether they had long service, or short service, or a mixture of both. He sincerely hoped that his noble Friend would not press his Motion to a Division. If he did, while agreeing with him in the desire to have the Militia recruited up to its full extent, and that the Militia Reserve should be efficient, he could not say that these things were essential to our military organization. He agreed with the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hertford) that what they had to remedy first was the First Line. In the first place, let them assist the Government, without regard to Party, by showing that they were all earnestly desirous to have the Army up to a high position; and that, whether by the support of their votes, or by money, they would not shrink from giving what was needful to put the Army in an efficient state. He did not speak of invasion, because he believed there never was a time at which, if invasion were threatened, this country could bring to the front so many armed and well-trained men as she could do now. Even in the Napoleonic Wars, England had a Reserve that was brought to the front at one moment on the threat of invasion. But a great country like this had to look a great deal beyond that. It had to support its diplomacy by showing its strength in reserve, and by showing it in various parts of the world. They should also show that it was neither afraid to give the money nor the men to keep its Army upon a proper footing. If both Houses were agreed to do that, and to bring the Army into such a position, whether by long or by short service, or by an admixture of the two, then they would have done the essential thing for the country, and the next thing would be to bring the Militia into an efficient state; but the Line should be the first thing to be considered. But do not let them suppose that, by carrying that Motion, they were doing much for either of those objects.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE said, he considered that the debate had been one of great importance; still, it was absurd to suppose that they could upset what they had recently done; the men would not know what they were doing, or going to do. Whether they were right or wrong, nothing could be worse in those military matters than constant changes. Let it be distinctly laid down, so that it should be fully known, what was to be the condition on which the men were to serve, and they might depend upon it that there would be much greater facilities for securing men than there could be if their minds were perplexed by constant changes. In former days, the men did not know much about those discussions; but now, with the march of popular intelligence, and the diffusion of public prints, the men knew just as well as their Lordships did what was being talked about; and they studied and judged for themselves whether they were benefited or not by the recommendations that were made with the view of bringing up the numbers of the Army. He had listened for several hours to the various remarks which had been offered that evening, with many of which he agreed, although from others he differed. But what was the upshot of them all? Why, more money; it was the old story, and he was afraid he had repeated it *ad nauseam;* and unless the country, by its Representatives in the House of Commons, chose to pay more money for the Army, none of those things which had been recommended could be done. Take, for example, what the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) had said with regard to raising a third battalion, when two battalions of a regiment were abroad. That could not be done without more money. He dared say the country would, on great occasions, find the additional money required, but not for a little war. Every one of the things they had heard of that night, however, meant money; and without more money none of those recommendations could be carried out. There was no question that the Army was under the Establishment, as was also the Militia; and the object of them all must be to get the Army made as efficient as possible. He was glad to hear the noble Viscount say that the Government must, without regard to Party, be supported in trying to introduce a system which would provide the number of men required to fill up the ranks of the Army. To bring those men into the ranks of the Army was the first problem; and then, after they had done that, they might try to fill up the Militia; but to try to fill up the Militia before they filled up the Line was like putting the cart before the horse, because the Militia would be of very great value to them after the Army was completed. Both the noble Marquess at the head of the War Office and the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War (the Earl of Morley) were endeavouring to find the best means of bringing the Line up to its full strength. Until that had been done they could not force recruiting for the Militia, because by so doing they would injure recruiting for the Line. They were now endeavouring to carry out a plan for attracting recruits more readily to the Army; and if noble Lords would support those endeavours, the chances were that they would do better than they had been doing. But they were recruiting now under a more easy condition than they did a short time ago. He agreed with the noble Viscount that it was impossible to get men at the age at which they actually wanted them. They had gone down to a lower age—18—and by so doing were opening the door again for the entrance of younger men, and that alone had produced a considerable effect on the numbers, for many young men were coming in; but many would be wanted this year, and more next, as the discharged men would be in greater numbers. He believed that the more they opened the recruiting of the Army, with every condition of long-service, short-service, or middle-service, the better. In fact, they ought, as it were, to have a sort of Free Trade in enlistment. Some men might prefer the long, some a medium, and some the short service; but to talk of going back to the long-service system, pure and simple, could not be done. It was absurd, because they could not get the men. Such an

Army as ours depended on the condition of labour. For instance, if there was a good harvest and plenty of employment, enlisting fell off. It was difficult in a country like ours to keep the ranks full at all times. They were dependent upon circumstances over which they had no control. He hoped no attempt would now be made to alter the conditions under which men entered the Army. He regretted to see some regiments so low; but it was impossible to say why one corps was full and another not. They had by degrees gone back to the scheme originally proposed when the short-service system was introduced; and, if they came back to that condition of things, he thought it would be found a much better mode of filling the Army than any other he could devise. As he was in constant communication with the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War and the noble Earl, he could assert that no one was more anxious than they were to bring the Service into as thoroughly effective a condition as their Lordships could desire.

The Earl of NORTHBROOK said, he wished, before the close of the debate, to thank the illustrious Duke on the Cross Benches for the testimony he had borne to the energetic steps the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War was taking for bringing up the strength of the Army. He should have been sorry, at the same time, if it had closed without the Government giving the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) their warmest thanks for his support. He (the Earl of Northbrook) personally wished to express the great satisfaction which they felt at the course taken by the noble Viscount and by his Predecessor in Office (Colonel Stanley), who had thought it right not to disturb the measures of his noble Friend (Viscount Cardwell). Both of them, when in Office, had given those measures their support, and Colonel Stanley had made great efforts to carry them into effect. The result of these measures was, he believed, that the Military Forces of the country were in a position of greater strength and efficiency than they had ever been in previously. Those who remembered the period of the Crimean War, and the difficulties of the year 1870, might look back with great satisfaction to the year 1878, when Lord Beaconsfield had to increase the Forces of the country, and at the mode in which the Egyptian Expedition was prepared and sent out. He would add, with regard to what had been said in the course of the debate, that it was entirely inaccurate to say that that Expedition was all we could do. The Reserves behind amounted to 44,000 men. With regard to the Militia, which was the main subject of the present Motion, he entirely concurred in what the noble Viscount had stated. Successive Secretaries of State for War had done all in their power to improve the Militia Force. He did not understand how the proposals of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) could improve the condition of the Regular Forces; indeed, any extraordinary efforts to raise the strength of the Militia must interfere with the recruiting for the Army; and he therefore hoped their Lordships would negative the Motion.

The Earl of WEMYSS, in reply, said, he must again press upon their Lordships' notice the nature of the observations he had made as to the reduction of the strength of battalions of the Line. He would further state that at the parade on Her Majesty's Birthday at the Curragh, the strongest regiments furnished four companies of 17 file, and the weakest regiments companies of 13 file. There was a great principle at stake in this matter, and it appeared that their Lordships were very much divided upon the subject, though the two Front Benches appeared to be combined to resist his Motion. He (the Earl of Wemyss) had recently come from "a place" where they divided when any sound principle was at stake, and they were all the more ready to divide when the two Front Benches assisted each other, which generally boded ill for the public interests. He felt, therefore, notwithstanding the advice tendered, that as he had been communicated with by several noble Lords, some of whom wished him to divide and others not to divide the House, he would venture to obey his own instinct and the practice he had followed in "another place" whenever he had thought he was right. He should, therefore, ask their Lordships to go to a Division.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 29; Not-Contents 25: Majority 4.

CONTENTS.

Exeter, M.
Hertford, M.
Winchester, M.

Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Leven and Melville, E.
Lucan, E.
Powis, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Sandwich, E.

Hardinge, V.
Templetown, V.

Abinger, L.
Denman, L.
de Ros, L.
Digby, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Harlech, L.
Hartismere, L. (*L. Henniker.*)
Kintore, E. (*E. Kintore*)
Lyveden, L.
Moore, L. (*M. Drogheda.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*) [*Teller.*]
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Templemore, L.
Waveney, L.
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*) [*Teller.*]

NOT-CONTENTS.

Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Derby, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Morley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Sydney, E.

Cranbrook, V.
Sherbrooke, V.

Ashford, L. (*V. Bury.*)
Belper, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Fitzgerald, L.
Hammond, L.
Hare, L. (*E. Listowel.*)
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Ribblesdale, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Thurlow, L.
Truro, L.
Tweedmouth, L.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 9*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* the Borough of Wexford, *v.* Timothy Michael Healy, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [254]; Sea Fisheries [257].

Committee—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Seventeenth Night*] —R.P.; Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment (*re-comm.*) * [39]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Bankruptcy (*on re-comm.*) [243].

Reported from the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping and Manufactures—Patents for Inventions * [3-261] [No. 247].

Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) * [197]; Poor Relief (Ireland) [154], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention * [113]; Charitable Trusts * [179]; Police [106]; Universities (Scotland) * [131]; Naval Discipline and Enlistment Acts Amendment [241]; Representative Peers (Scotland) * [242]; Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) * [191]; Yorkshire Register Acts Amendment * [221].

PARLIAMENT—PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS BILL.

Bill *reported* from the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures;

Minutes of Proceedings to be *printed.* [No. 247.]

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* 23rd July, and to be *printed.* [Bill 261.]

QUESTIONS.

REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (GREAT BRITAIN)—UNCERTIFIED DEATHS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to an article in the "Lancet" of 23rd June, setting forth that, while the average proportion of uncertified deaths in the large towns of England is less than two and a-half per cent., in Scotland, according to the Returns of the Registrar General, the proportion in the eight principal towns in 1881 and 1882 was nearly twenty per cent.; and, whether it is true, as stated by the "Lancet," that the post mortem examinations in cases of uncertified death is decreasing, in consequence of the stringency of the Exchequer in disallowing fees, and—

> "That, in many counties, Procurators Fiscal declare that pressure is put upon them for the purpose of diminishing expenditure in their direction?"

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, I believe the discrepancy noticed in *The Lancet* between the numbers of uncertified deaths in England and Scotland is more apparent than real. In the first place, the Registrar General in Scotland makes up his return of uncertified deaths weekly, while the medical practitioner may certify the deaths at any time within 10 days, so that a considerable proportion of deaths elsewhere in large towns by senior medical students, and also the cases investigated by the Procurator Fiscal and found to present no element of suspicion. I have no reason to suppose that the number of *post mortem* examinations in cases of uncertified deaths is decreasing; but questions have arisen in the accounts of Procurators Fiscal whether a *post mortem* examination was reasonably necessary in particular cases.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—SUSPECTED CASES OF INFANTICIDE IN SUTHERLANDSHIRE.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether two cases of suspected infanticide in March and April last were reported by the Police to the Procurator Fiscal of Sutherlandshire; whether it is true that in one case the dead body of a child was discovered in an ashpit, and in the other there was evidence that a child which had been born had disappeared; and, whether the Procurator Fiscal held any inquiry into the cases; and, if so, when the Crown authorities received his precognitions?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Sir, two cases of suspected infanticide were reported by the police to the Procurator Fiscal of Sutherlandshire—one in March, and the other in April or the beginning of May. In one case the body of the child has not been found, and in the other it was found near the house where the accused person lived. The precognitions in both cases were reported to the Crown Office on the 6th of this month. In the first case, the child was born on 14th March, and the first witness was examined on the 27th of March. The delay in the proceedings is accounted for by the Procurator Fiscal by the necessity of finding the reputed father, who had absconded, and whose evidence was essential. The delay in the second case has not yet been satisfactorily explained ,but an explanation will be called for.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE (SCOTLAND)—HARBOUR ON THE NORTH-EAST COAST.

Mr. BAXTER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can now state what arrangements have been made for sending down Commissioners to inquire as to the best site for a harbour of refuge on the north-east coast of Scotland?

returned as uncertified is afterwards duly certified. There is no annual return of uncertified deaths; but I understand that the Registrar General some time ago decided that it was desirable to have one. In the second place, there is a considerable number of deaths with respect to which trustworthy information is obtained, though they are not certified by qualified practitioners; for example, the large number of poor patients who are attended to in dispensaries or

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Sir, my right hon. Friend has asked me to say that arrangements are in progress, and are almost completed, for sending down Commissioners.

Mr. BAXTER: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman tell me who the Commissioners are?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I am not as yet in a position to give the names.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS—MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOL AT TUNBRIDGE.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether a final decision has been arrived at with regard to the proposed Middle Class School to be established at Tunbridge or Tunbridge Wells; and, whether, if not, he will consent to receive a representation from the inhabitants of Tunbridge, who consider themselves aggrieved by the proposed establishment of the School at a distance from their own homes?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the scheme for establishing a middle-class school in or near the parish of Tunbridge, as approved by Parliament and the Queen in Council, requires that the site proposed by the Governors shall be submitted to and approved by the Charity Commissioners. The Governors did submit a site at Tunbridge which did not receive the approval of the Commissioners, and in signifying their disapproval the Commissioners indicated their opinion that the school should be at Tunbridge Wells. The Governors have now intimated their intention of proposing another site, which will be duly considered. As the question of approving the site is one which, according to Act of Parliament, is vested in the Charity Commissioners, it is not competent for me or any other authority to interfere in the matter.

NAVY—THE TRANSPORT SHIP "ORONTES."

MR. CHARLES PALMER asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is correct, as reported, that £60,000 has recently been expended at one of Her Majesty's dockyards in refitting the transport "Orontes;" what was the original cost of this steamer; what amounts have since her construction been expended on her, with the dates, and in what dockyards; and, what were the estimates made previous to the expenditure of such sums?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I will endeavour, as briefly as I can, to answer the several points of my hon. Friend's Question. The *Orontes* was built by Messrs. Laird between 1861 and 1863; her original cost was, for hull, £83,834; for machinery, £27,328; and for rigging and stores, £12,955. Total—£124,117. Her first large refit was at Portsmouth Dockyard in 1868-9, when she was thoroughly repaired for four years' service, new boilers being put on board and a poop fitted. The estimate for this work was £30,225, and the actual expenditure £33,381. The next large repair of this vessel was between 1874 and 1876, when she was cut in two, lengthened 50 feet, fitted with new engines and boilers, and thoroughly repaired. It was originally intended to lengthen her only 30 feet, and only partially to repair her, and for this work tenders were invited. No one of the tenders was actually accepted; but communications were conducted with Messrs. Laird, who were among the firms tendering, and the result was that they contracted to lengthen the ship by 50 feet, and place new compound engines on board, for £66,500. Further extensive alterations and repairs were executed by the same firm, which brought up the total cost of the work performed by them to £123,800. A sum of £16,313 was also spent on the ship at Portsmouth in the year 1875-6, of which £11,444 was for rigging and stores, and the rest for completing hull and machinery for sea. No other large repair has been undertaken until the one now nearly completed at Chatham. The estimate for this, for hull and machinery only, was £32,534, and the actual cost will probably be under £40,000, including value of stores, and also including a sum of £3,300 for electric lighting, neither of which were provided for in the original estimates.

MR. CHARLES PALMER: I should like to ask whether it is the practice to receive estimates?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; from the contractors.

MR. CHARLES PALMER: But whether estimates are received from the Dockyards, and whether they are approved of by the Board of Admiralty before the work is sanctioned?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In most cases, except those of urgency, that is so; but it is obvious that the estimate, when the ship is first opened up and looked into, may not cover the whole of the needful expenditure before the ship is completed?

MR. CHARLES PALMER: The answer to the Question discloses such a very unsatisfactory state of affairs in Her Majesty's Dockyards that I beg to give Notice that I shall, next Session, as it is too late this, move for a Select Committee to be appointed to investigate the subject.

NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—FIRE-EXTINGUISHING APPARATUS.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the case that, when certain fire-extinguishing apparatus was recently tried at Portsmouth Dockyard, Foster's Chemical Fire Engine Company, whose invention has been highly spoken of by Admirals Sir William Mends and Sir H. Keppel, was not allowed to compete; and, if so, if he would explain the reason why?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in answer to the noble Lord I have to say that the trial recently made at Portsmouth of fire-extinguishing apparatus was confined to such machines as are capable of being carried about and worked by one man. Foster's machine does not fulfil this condition.

RAILWAYS—ENGINE DRIVERS—HOURS OF DUTY.

MR. THEODORE FRY asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to a statement of the great danger in which the Irish Mail was placed between Chester and Holyhead on Tuesday the 26th, owing to the engine driver and stoker on another engine being asleep and unable to obey the signals; and, if it is a fact that these men had been on duty for 15 hours, and, notwithstanding this great strain, they had been discharged by the Company?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I have communicated with the London and North-Western Railway Company, and am informed that the engine driver and fireman had worked a special goods train from Chester to Carnarvon, and that, there being no load for them to take back, they were authorized to return to Chester with their engine alone; but, in order to obtain this authority, the men, in their anxiety to get home to Chester, wilfully made a mis-statement to the effect that they had commenced work at 12.45, instead of 8 o'clock, that morning. I am informed that for this falsehood they have both been dismissed. The signalman at Llandudno Junction exercised great presence of mind when the engine ran through that station in telegraphing to the signalman at Colwyn Bay, as the Colwyn Bay staff was thus enabled to take measures for protecting the line.

RUSSIA AND PERSIA.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as stated in a telegram from Teheran, dated 3rd July, that a Treaty has been concluded between Persia and Russia in regard to the north-eastern frontier of Persia, and that, according to the wording of that Treaty, Merv is to be considered Russian territory, and, in the event of England or any other Power protesting against the Treaty, Persia is to refer them to Russia; if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will lay any information it may have received on the subject upon the Table of the House?

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that a Treaty has been concluded, or that negotiations for a Treaty are in progress, between Russia and Persia relating to the frontier of Persia; whether Her Majesty's Government has addressed any remonstrance on the subject to the Government of Russia; and, if so, with what result; and, whether he will lay upon the Table any Correspondence that may have taken place upon the subject?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, in reply to these Questions, I may state that a Treaty was concluded in December, 1881, between Russia and Persia, with the purpose of "accurately defining the frontier of their possessions east of the Caspian Sea." That Treaty, which has been presented to Parliament (C. Asia, No. 1, 1882) defined the frontier up to the neighbourhood of Baba Durmez. Her Majesty's Government have not received any information of the conclusion of a further Treaty between Russia and Persia.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: The Question I have asked is, whether Merv is to be considered Russian territory?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: We have received no information as to that.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: But will the noble Lord answer that part of my Question as to whether Her Majesty's Government has addressed any remonstrance on the subject?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As Her Majesty's Government have received no information as regards the Treaty, Her Majesty's Government are clearly not in a position to make any remonstrances.

EGYPT—AHMED BEY MINSHANI.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government or the Egyptian Government have as yet recognised, or intend to recognise by any official marks of approbation, the gallantry and humanity displayed by Ahmed Bey Minshani, on the day of the massacres at Tantah, July 13th 1882; and by Hassan Fuad and Shekeeb Bey at Mahallet-el-Kebir, on the same day, in, at considerable personal risk, suppressing the riots, saving the lives of Europeans, and affording large numbers of Christians shelter and means of escape to Ismailia, as detailed in Major M'Donald's report to Lord Dufferin of April 30th, in the Egyptian Papers, C. 3632; and, whether care has been taken, and will be taken, not only to discover and punish those implicated in the massacres, but to reward in as public a manner as possible those Egyptians who during that time gave assistance and shelter to Europeans?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the question of rewarding the persons referred to, and others who acted in a like praiseworthy manner, is a matter for the consideration of the Egyptian

Government. Inquiry is being made as to how that Government has acted. The Papers presented to Parliament show that the Egyptian authorities have made every endeavour to discover the persons implicated in the massacres, and to bring them to trial.

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT—PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION.

MR. LEWIS FRY asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that many Acts of Parliament, classed as "Local Acts," which are of great importance to the public in the localities they affect, such as Towns Improvement and Gas and Water Acts, are out of print; whether copies of these Acts can be obtained at all; and, if so, upon what terms; whether it is not right that the public should be able to obtain copies of all Acts of Parliament at a fixed and reasonable charge; and, whether he would consider the propriety of supplying local and public institutions, such as free libraries, with copies of all Acts (both public and local) without charge; and, also, of reducing the charge for the public general Acts of each Session with which it is very desirable that all Her Majesty's subjects should be acquainted?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, my hon. Friend is, perhaps, not aware that under present arrangements the Queen's printers, and not any Government Department, have in their hands the sale of Acts, both Public and Private. The Government have, therefore, no official knowledge whether any Local Acts are out of print. The Queen's printers are bound to sell to the public any Acts that may be required at a price not exceeding 3*d.* per folio sheet for Private Acts and 1½*d.* for Public Acts; but there is some doubt whether they are bound to reprint, unless the sale of not less than 25 copies is guaranteed. The present arrangement comes to an end in about two years, and will then be open to reconsideration; I should hope arrangements might be made for facilitating the sale; but I doubt whether the price of the Public Acts could be reduced below the present very moderate price of 1*d.* per sheet for the Acts of the current year. My hon. Friend further suggests that copies of the Acts should be presented to free libraries and others. Apart from the objections to gratuitous distribution, I doubt very much whether such local libraries, whose space is necessarily limited, would welcome the four or more annual bulky volumes of Private Acts, very few of which could possibly be of the slightest use to their readers.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—CHANCERY DIVISION.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to the arrear of business in the Chancery Division of the High Court; and, whether steps will be taken forthwith to remedy the great public injury resulting from the present state of the business of the Courts?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, there was, no doubt, a very large amount of Business in arrear, and the attention of the Lord Chancellor had been called to it. There had already been 80 causes referred from the Chancery Division to what was now called the Queen's Bench Division. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that every effort would be made to relieve the Court of Chancery as much as possible.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACTS—EXTRA PAY TO PRISON SURGEONS.

MR. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government have come to any final decision as to the claim of the surgeons of Irish Prisons for additional remuneration for the extra work cast upon them under the Peace Preservation Acts; whether the Irish Prison Surgeons were not promised by the Irish Executive at the time the duties were imposed that they would be suitably remunerated for this extra work; and, whether any offer has been made to the Irish Prison Surgeons on the subject?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government have decided that they cannot entertain claims of this character merely on the ground of a temporary increase of work; but the cases of any prison officers who can show that they were put to any extra expense will be specially considered. The right hon. and learned Gentleman is, no doubt, aware that this was the principal ground upon which the claims of the police were entertained. I am not aware that any promise of extra pay was made to the prison surgeons, or that any special offer had been made to them on the subject.

Mr. GIBSON: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Dr. Carte, on behalf of the prison surgeons, had an interview with the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster), in the presence of Mr. Burke, at which it was promised distinctly that favourable consideration would be given to their claims for extra services under the Peace Preservation Acts; and whether, if on inquiry he finds this to be so, he will have the facts considered?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am not aware of any such interview; but I will make inquiries about it.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, &c. (PATRONAGE).

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked Mr. Attorney General, What arrangements have been made with regard to the patronage formerly vested in the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and, under what Statute they have been made?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, that in the Session of 1881 a Bill was introduced dealing with this subject; but there had been a great deal of opposition, in which he thought the right hon. Gentleman had assisted somewhat. A similar Bill had been introduced in 1882; but it was found impossible to proceed with it. No such Bill had been introduced this Session; but there was an intention to introduce an amended Judicature Bill, in which the question referred to might be dealt with. The amount of patronage was so minute that he could scarcely say it existed at all.

ITALY—THE NEW TREATY OF COMMERCE.

Mr. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether under the new Treaty of Commerce with the King of Italy any concessions have been obtained respecting the admission of English woollen goods into Italy on more favourable terms than hitherto; if not, whether Her Majesty's Government have reason to anticipate that a revision of the Italian Customs Tariff, in a sense favourable to freedom of commerce, is likely soon to take place; and, if he will state when the Treaty will be in the hands of honourable Members?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the new Treaty of Commerce with Italy provides for a "most-favoured-nation" treatment, and does not contain any special stipulations as to duties on particular goods. Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome has been asked to report on the question of the proposed revision of the Italian Tariff. The Treaty is contained in the Parliamentary Paper (No. 23 Commercial, 1883), and was distributed last Friday.

ARMY—DOVER CLIFF.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether all due precautions have been taken to prevent injury and loss by the falling of the face of the cliff at Dover, and other injuries, consequent on the firing of the powerful guns in battery at the end of Dover Pier?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, the advisers of the War Office had been consulted on this matter, and they had recommended that certain precautions should be taken in the event of the guns being fired.

IRELAND—COUNTY CESS COLLECTION—CAPTAIN ALISEN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it a fact that Captain Alisen, an officer in the Antrim Artillery Militia, is also a collector of county cess for the barony of Upper Antrim; and, whether it is competent for a collector of county cess to live out of his district?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Secretary of the Grand Jury informs me that Captain Alisen, of the Antrim Artillery Militia, is a county cess collector for the barony of Upper Antrim. It is competent for a collector of county cess to live out of his district, the statutory prohibition which once existed having been long since repealed.

INDIA—CHOLERA AT BOMBAY.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the deaths from cholera at Bombay during the last fortnight of May numbered 25; whether it is true that, as the "Bombay Gazette" of the 5th June states—

> "There is a good deal of cholera still in the districts, there being in the Thana and Poona collectorates alone nearly 500 deaths in one week;"

whether in the last week of May there were 118 deaths from cholera in Calcutta alone; whether these facts were made known by Her Majesty's Government to the Egyptian Board of Health; and, whether it was represented by Her Majesty's Government that the quarantine regulations might be safely removed or relaxed in the case of vessels from India arriving at Egyptian ports?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the figures given by the hon. Member regarding cholera in certain places in India are generally correct; but I may say that cholera has been little, if at all, more prevalent in Indian ports during the last six months than it usually is. In Calcutta the deaths in April were 459, against 318 in April, 1882; in May they were 383, against 380 in 1882; and in June 150, against 254. The health statement of Indian ports is always telegraphed fortnightly for communication to the Sanitary Boards in the Levant; and the cholera deaths in Bombay are telegraphed weekly to the Consul General at Cairo. Her Majesty's Government have objected to the imposition of special measures of quarantine against arrivals from India with clean bills of health, and having no suspicious cases on board after a voyage of 10 days.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked whether it was true that at a meeting of the Alexandria Board of Health the English delegate protested against immediate action being taken in reference to vessels arriving from India; and whether it was true, as stated in the Egyptian official journal, that a passenger landed at Port Said on the 18th of June and proceeded to Damietta a few days before the outbreak of cholera in that town?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of that Question to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE EX-TAHSILDAR OF CONJEVERAM.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that the ex-Tahsildar of Conjeveram, who was sentenced to imprisonment for theft and forgery by the Madras High Court, has been released on bail; and, if so, on what authority has the release been effected?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the case of ex-Tahsildar of Conjeveram is not one which would be reported to the India Office; but it appears from the Indian newspapers that he had been released by order of the Government of Madras.

IRELAND—DISTRESS IN GWEEDORE.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in a letter lately published in a London paper by Mr. Ernest Hart:—

> "I have recently been in Gweedore. I took with me copies of official reports, declaring that there was no exceptional distress in that part of Ireland, and nothing but what the resources of the Poor Law could deal with. . . . I found 14,000 persons in dire destitution and tragic suffering, utterly unrelieved by the Poor Law, the whole of the children in one district living on two biscuits a day each, distributed at the schools, and no small proportion of adults kept alive by a daily pennyworth of meal, made into a stirabout and given by the priests, chiefly in return for small local relief works set on foot and organised by them;"

and, whether he is still prepared to maintain that the existing system of relief is equal to the task of dealing with distress in Gweedore and the neighbouring regions?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am not aware, Sir, that it has been stated in any official Report that there is no exceptional distress in the Gweedore district. What has been stated is that there is no exceptional distress which could not be relieved by the operation of the Poor Law. That has been, and still is, the opinion of the officers by whom the Government is advised, and who are fully alive to their responsibility in giving such advice. I may say, with reference to the case as stated in the Question, that the whole population of the Gweedore district is under 5,000; and I have no doubt, therefore, that some paragraph must have been omitted which would throw light on the figures given.

Mr. O'BRIEN: As to the right hon. Gentleman's statement that the Poor Law could relieve the destitution in Gweedore, I would like to ask him, is it not a fact that the two principal members of the Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians, instead of doing anything to relieve the destitution, at the Lifford Quarter Sessions last week obtained ejectment decrees against a number of these poor people; and is it not a fact that Father M'Fadden had to pay a half-year's rent out of charitable funds in order to save them from eviction?

[No reply was given.]

MERCANTILE MARINE — PASSENGER ACTS—INFECTIOUS DISEASES IN EMIGRANT SHIPS.

Mr. MOORE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table Dr. Bloxall's Report on Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, it is proposed to publish the Report of Dr. Bloxall in the Appendix to the Report of the Medical Officer of the Board; and it is intended that in this form the Report shall be presented to Parliament.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION COURT—MR. RYAN.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will draw the attention of the Irish Land Commissioners to the fact that a person against whom an unrefuted charge of disloyalty to Her Majesty the Queen has been made still remains officially reporting in their Court; and, if he will represent to them the undesirability of employing the staff of a political journal, taking a strong view of the working and policy of the Act, in a position which necessarily gives special and exceptional facilities for obtaining information?

Mr. O'BRIEN: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers, I would like to ask him whether the official reporters to the Privy Council and the Green Street Commission Court are not gentlemen connected with the permanent staffs of certain Conservative newspapers; and whether, as a matter of fact, there are any professional shorthand writers available for such a purpose in Dublin except gentlemen connected with the Dublin Press?

Mr. CALLAN: And, before he answers, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether what is called the "unrefuted charge" is anything more than an imputation conveyed by the hon. Gentleman, having been borrowed from the end of a Question put by another Member of this House?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, in the absence of the mention of any name, I must infer that the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham) intends this Question to refer to Mr. Ryan, about whom he has already made inquiry. If so, I can only say that I have already given to the House all the information which I have on the subject; and I do not think the question is of such a character as would justify me in making to the Land Commissioners any such representation as is here suggested. I think the House viewed the matter in that sense when it was previously before them.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: Then, Sir, are we to understand that the charge which I have distinctly made in the Question cannot be refuted?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Why, Sir, what was the charge? It was that the reporter of a Dublin paper remained seated when the Queen's health was being drunk. [*Cries of* "Shame!"] I may say I join in that cry of shame. I made careful inquiries from a source of the most undeniable nature with regard to the obtaining of information; and I was informed that Mr. Ryan had never, on any occasion, that my informant or his informants were aware, given any open manifestations of disloyalty. The only possible way I have of getting any further information is to ask Mr. Ryan himself, and I must decline to do that. It is very questionable whether the Irish Government in Ireland, or whether the English Government in this country, should make inquiries if ever there was a report that a person did not take off his hat during the singing of the National Anthem.

Mr. TOTTENHAM: Then, Sir, are we to understand that the members of the staff of a political journal are the proper persons to be official reporters?

Mr. TREVELYAN: All, or almost all, journals may be said to be political; and when persons are retained for the purpose of taking shorthand notes by members of a Judicial Body I do not think the Executive ought to make any inquiries.

Mr. CALLAN: Might I ask the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham) whether what he calls an "unrefuted charge"— [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member was not entitled to put a Question to the hon. Member which did not relate to a Public Bill or Motion.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—CHANNEL ISLANDS MILITIA.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state the limit of age at which Commanding Officers of the Channel Islands Militia must retire?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There is no Regulation which limits the age at which Commanding Officers of the Channel Islands Militia must retire.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—ALLEGED FORCED LABOUR.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Government have any information with regard to a statement in the "Cape Argus" of June 12th, that two hundred refugees from Mapoch's stronghold have been allotted to the farmers; and, if not, whether, taking into account the fact that the "Cape Argus" is a highly respectable journal with good means of obtaining information, and that "allotting" men to farmers is generally understood to mean subjecting them to forced labour, the Government will take immediate steps to inquire into the correctness of this statement, and, if necessary, to secure the fulfilment of the fifteenth Article of the Pretoria Convention of 1881, which declares that—

> "The Provisions of the fourth Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the Transvaal?"

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, I hold in my hand a copy of *The Cape Argus;* but I cannot find any paragraph of the nature referred to by my right hon. Friend.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Has my hon. Friend referred to the weekly supplement? He has, perhaps, seen the wrong paper.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I may, however, say that in consequence of my right hon. Friend having called attention to this matter we have written an inquiry to the officer administering the Cape Government, and instructing him, if the report proves to be true, to direct that the attention of the Transvaal Government may, through the Resident, be called to the 15th Article of the Pretoria Convention.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE NATIVE RESERVE.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is a fact that the Zulu Native Reserve was expressly set apart—

> "For the location of those Zulu Chiefs and people who might be unwilling or unable to come again under the authority of Cetywayo;"

and, whether there is any reason to doubt the correctness of the statements contained in Despatch No. 8 of Blue Book, C. 3616, to the effect that Uhamu, Umfanawendhlela, and Tyingwayo had signified such unwillingness; in No. 12, in which Umlandela's refusal to live under Cetywayo is also reported; and in No. 71, which includes in the same category Siunguza, Umgitjwa, Zakukazingo, John Dunn, and Hlubi; and, if not, whether the Government are in a position to carry out the promise made to those nine deposed Chiefs that sufficient locations shall be assigned for themselves and their people in the Reserved Territory?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, I have referred to the Blue Book, and I see the mistake into which the hon. Member has fallen. The Chiefs named in the first portion of the paragraph have certainly expressed their dislike to the restored power of Cetewayo; but they have neither claimed nor apparently desired to come into the Reserve Territory. As to the names set out in the second part of the paragraph, the context in the Blue Book will show that they are given as names of persons already in the Reserve Territory, and cannot, therefore, represent the deposed Chiefs, except, of course, the two—namely, Dunn and Hlubi. I presume that as there is in any English country probably more than one Jones or Robinson, so there are more than one bearing these names in Zululand.

SPAIN—EXPULSION OF CERTAIN CUBAN REFUGEES FROM GIBRALTAR—COLONEL MACEO.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government intend to take any further steps to secure the prompt restoration to liberty of Colonel Maceo, who was illegally arrested and handed over to the Spanish Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take any further steps at present in this matter.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE "REPUBLIC OF STELLALAND" — MURDER OF MR. J. W. HONEY, A BRITISH SUBJECT, BY DUTCH BOERS.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British subject, by Boers, in the country taken from Montsioa, the Bechuana chief, and now known as Stellaland; whether it is true, as stated in the "Scotsman" of June 30th, that he was last seen in the company of three Boers, one of whom was an official; that "his remains were found in the bush perforated with bullets and battered with stones;" and that the magistrates at Christiana declined to make any inquiry into the matter; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will instruct the British Resident at Pretoria to investigate all the circumstances of the case?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, my answer on Friday covered the whole of this Question. I gave all the information we are at present in possession of. I may add that it appears to me that information is more likely to be obtained at Kimberley than at Pretoria; and, as far as the intervention of the British Resident is concerned, this affair did not occur in Transvaal territory, and as it had nothing to do with Natives, it would not come under any of the provisions of the Convention.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Is it not a fact that Mr. Honey was taken before the Transvaal authorities in Transvaal territories, tried there, and acquitted of the charges made against him.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I have already given the House all the information I have on the subject. I can add nothing more.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—THE PLAYFAIR SCHEME.

Mr. PULESTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will now facilitate the granting of a Committee to inquire into the working of the Playfair scheme?

Mr. COURTNEY: Two months ago, Sir, I told the hon. Member that I thought it would be altogether premature to institute an inquiry into the working of the Playfair scheme, and he can scarcely expect that I should now think it expedient, after so short an interval, and when we are looking to the end of the Session. The scheme is even now not in full operation, and it would be far too soon to arouse expectations and excite agitation by an inquiry into it. All who are best competent to judge would, I think, deprecate frequent and hasty change in the organization of the Civil Service, and would rather recommend that the new system should be left at rest until its normal action can be ascertained.

MINES—USE OF DYNAMITE IN MINING —THE ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to a Memorial presented to him from lead miners and others in South Shropshire on the subject of the use of explosives, Whether he can see his way to make any concessions in the Regulations under the Explosives Acts for those engaged in industrial and mining operations, with a due regard to the public safety?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, could not say he thought it safe that dynamite should find its way into the hands of any persons who wished to have it, without any security that they were proper persons to possess it. In that respect he could not modify the Order in Council. With regard to the miners, no man who was known to be a respectable character could have the smallest difficulty in getting a certificate; or if he did not wish for one the mine-owner could keep in a registered store all the dynamite required, and serve out enough for the day's work, the rest being retained in store. That, after all, seemed the safest and best way of using dynamite in mines. He was bound to say that complaints of inconvenience had not come to him so much from persons who used dynamite as from those who manufactured it. They were promoting Petitions everywhere upon this subject, because they thought it placed them at some disadvantage as compared with the manufacturers of gunpowder.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE ASHBURNHAM MANUSCRIPTS.

Mr. ERRINGTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has as yet been able to come to some arrangement for the purchase of the Stowe Manuscripts in the Ashburnham Library; and, if so, whether he is in a position to give the House any information as to the disposition of the manuscripts so purchased, especially those relating to Ireland?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that Her Majesty's Government have arranged to purchase the portion of the Ashburnham Manuscripts which is known as the Stowe Collection, for £45,000, subject to the House of Commons passing the necessary Vote in Supply. An Estimate for this purchase, with Papers on the subject, is in course of preparation. The greater part of the manuscripts will go to the British Museum; but certain Irish Papers will be deposited in Dublin. The Estimate will state which manuscripts it is proposed to send to Dublin, and the institution will be named in the Papers.

MR. RAIKES: Is there no prospect of other portions of the Ashburnham Collection—besides the Stowe Manuscripts—being purchased?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The only portion which Her Majesty's Government have purchased, and I think are likely to purchase, is the Stowe Collection.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—APPLICATION FOR LOAN.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Daniel Murphy, of Ballinclay, county Wicklow, has applied to the Land Commission for a loan to buy Lot 63 on the proporty of Mr. W. R. O'Byrne, said lot being advertised in the particulars of sale as being in possession of the owner; and, if Daniel Murphy's application has been entertained, why a similar application from the evicted tenant of the holding, Joseph O'Brien, was refused by the Land Commission, on the ground that he was not in possession?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Mallow appears to have been misinformed on this subject. The Land Commissioners report that they have not received any application from Daniel Murphy for a loan to purchase the lot referred to.

THE AGRICULTURAL RETURNS.

MR. DUCKHAM asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Summary of the Agricultural Returns cannot be published earlier than heretofore?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, that every effort would be made to secure the publication of these Returns at the earliest possible date consistent with accuracy and completeness; but he was afraid that he could not hold out any hopes of their being published materially earlier than in previous years—namely, about the middle of August, as all the Schedules from occupiers had not yet been received.

NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he could explain to the House the nature of the evolutions in which Admiral Lord John Hay is engaged in exercising the officers and men on board the Mediterranean Squadron now under his command; if any special instructions in the practical working of floating and submarine torpedoes, also in the use of machine guns; how many of these are on board each vessel, and are they of the same calibre as those now in use in the French Navy; if he will, as early as possible, place upon the Table of the House Copies of all Despatches which may from time to time be received from Admiral Lord John Hay relative to the tactics in which he is educating the officers and men under his command; and, if he will furnish similar Despatches when received from the Admiral commanding the Reserve Squadron?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the cruise of the Mediterranean Squadron, which will occupy some months, is undertaken for the purpose of exercising the squadron in steam tactics, and in fleet evolutions of every description, both under steam and under sail. Exercise in the use of torpedoes and machine guns will form part of the instruction given in the course of the cruise. I cannot give the hon. Member any authoritative information regarding the torpedoes and machine guns in the French Navy; but I believe that the latter are of larger calibre than ours, but much less rapid in their fire. The periodical Reports received from Admiral Lord John Hay, and the Report which will be made by the Admiral commanding the Reserve Squadron, are confidential, and such documents are not usually made public.

RAILWAYS (INDIA) — THE NIZAM'S TERRITORY — HYDERABAD AND CHANDA RAILWAY.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is the fact that a London Company were in treaty with the Nizam's Government to extend the Railway from Hyderabad to Chanda, on condition of a guarantee by the Nizam of six per cent. on the paid up capital; whether it is true that the existing Railway to Hyderabad, built on a similar guarantee of six per cent., does not pay more than two per cent., the rest having to be made up by the taxpayers of Hyderabad; whether the existing Railway was built for strategic objects, and not for the commercial development of the country; whether objection was raised by a section of the Native population against the proposed extension, on the ground that another guarantee of six per cent. to be paid in interest to London promoters and shareholders would unduly tax the resources of Hyderabad; whether persons interested in the success of the London Company applied for the authorisation of the British Resident at Hyderabad to forcibly remove into British territory the leaders of the agitation against the proposed guarantee scheme; whether the attention of Government has been directed to the following telegram in the "Times of India," dated the 23rd May:—

> "The deportation of obstructionists to the Chanda Railway scheme continues. Last night Mr. Aysagi Hoshang, a Parsi and a third class Talukdar, was deported from Secunderabad, with the aid of the cantonment magistrate, Major Ludlow, and his police. Several other residents of Chudderghaut are likely to be deported;"

whether Dr. Agornath, Principal of the Hyderabad College, was arrested in the night time, with the sanction of the British Resident, and carried by force into British territory, and is now said to be imprisoned at Sholapore; whether it is true that the offence of Dr. Agornath consisted in calling a public meeting for the purpose of discussing the terms of the Chanda Railway Concession, and to protest against its acceptance; and, if inquiry will be made into the reasons for the intervention of British officials at Hyderabad on behalf of a Company of English Railway promoters?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, in answer to a Question on the 11th of June, I informed the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) that for some time past the Nizam's Government has been in negotiation with capitalists in this country for the extension of the present State Railway to Chanda. The negotiations are still pending, and I can, therefore, only say that the guarantee proposed is a terminable one, and is less than 6 per cent. The proposals now under discussion were sanctioned by Sir Salar Jung before his death. The existing railway was not constructed for strategic purposes only, but for the commercial development of the country. At present it pays between 2 and 3 per cent; but the traffic is expected to be largely increased, if the proposed extension to the mineral districts of the State be made. The individuals referred to in the last part of the hon. Member's Question, who are not Natives of Hyderabad, but foreigners residing there, were deported by the Nizam's Government, with the concurrence of the Resident, for their part in a seditious agitation, dangerous to the public peace, and based on wilful misrepresentations of facts. These two foreigners are the only persons who have been deported. On their departure the agitation subsided. Dr. Agornath is not imprisoned at Sholapore. Neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State have seen reason to interfere with the action of the Nizam's Government.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Was not this Dr. Agornath appointed Principal of the Hyderabad College by the late Sir Salar Jung?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: I could not answer that without Notice; but it would not affect the answer I have just given if it were so.

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state what steps have been taken in Egypt for preventing the spread of cholera; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have given or offered to the Government of Egypt any, and, if so, what, assistance to further this object?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I propose to give to the House a short summary of the information which has reached Her Majesty's Government from Sir Edward Malet and Consul Cookson regarding the measures taken for preventing the spread of cholera in Egypt. These measures are under the control of the Central Government in Cairo. Sir Edward Malet states that the Sanitary Board at Cairo is composed of Native and foreign doctors, among whom is Dr. Grant, the Medical Adviser of Her Majesty's Consular Court. They have, from the beginning of the outbreak, sat every evening, in conjunction with the Minister of the Interior and General Baker; and Sir Edward Malet adds that doctors, medicines, and food have been supplied to the infected places; and he expresses the opinion that the Government have done all in their power to stamp out the disease. At Alexandria, Consul Cookson states that a Commission has been working hard in inspecting nuisances and suggesting sanitary measures; and he trusts that good results will ensue from the appointment of sub-committees, to whom the Government have left, on Mr. Cookson's representation, great latitude of action. An independent British Committee has, moreover, been formed to visit the houses of British and Maltese residents at Alexandria. The infected houses have been isolated by cordons of police. With regard to the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government, I may state that a Departmental Committee has been appointed by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board on cholera precautions generally; and a competent medical authority connected with the India Office is about to be despatched to Egypt under the direction of the Board. The Egyptian Government has been informed of the desire of Her Majesty's Government to afford them every assistance in the difficult task they have to perform.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask when this Committee was formed by the President of the Local Government Board?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think Questions relating to this Committee had better be addressed to the President of the Local Government Board.

MR. ONSLOW: Will the noble Lord say whether this competent medical authority has had any experience of choleraic epidemic?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: At the proper time, either I or my right hon. Friend will be perfectly ready to state the name of this gentleman to the House, and I feel perfectly certain that it will meet with general approval.

MR. ONSLOW: Might I suggest, as we have a number of troops there, whether it would not be advisable to telegraph for medical officers from India, who have had practical and great experience in the treatment of cholera?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Questions as to the Army Medical Department would be more properly addressed to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War; but I may state at once that every precaution is being taken, and I feel certain that my hon. Friend will see that both with regard to the English and Native troops Her Majesty's Government are most anxious to do everything to prevent disease.

MR. O'DONNELL: Will the noble Lord inquire into the alleged isolation of the infected districts? Will he see whether it is true, as stated in the German Press, that Damietta has lost by migration more than half of its population, which have escaped on all sides through the cordon and gone by boats over the lakes; that, although the Sanitary Commission are sitting, they have neither soldiers nor police nor any trustworthy representatives to maintain a cordon effectively; and that, to all intents and purposes, no means exist for limiting the spread of the disease at present existing?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; I cannot give accurate or detailed information on these various points; but, as far as I have read the papers, it would appear that a very different complaint has been made—namely, that the cholera cordon has been kept up with such strictness that very painful scenes have been the result. As I am touching upon this subject, I may, perhaps, touch upon its more pleasant side—namely, that during the last few days there has certainly been a diminution of deaths in the very district to which the hon. Member has alluded. In the Damietta district, on the 1st of July, there were 141 deaths; on the 2nd, 130; on the 3rd, 112; on the 4th, 111; on the 5th, 109; on the 6th, 107; on the 7th, 92; and on the 8th, 88. These figures show that, at all events, there has been a gradual diminution in the number of deaths in that district. At Mansurah there was also a diminution, though not so marked. On the 5th of July, the deaths there were 68; on the 6th, 39; on the 7th, 45; and on the 8th, 48; so that, on the whole, that shows a certain diminution as compared with the previous dates. There was a very slight increase in three other places; but in Menzaleh, where there were 11 cases on the 7th, the Return on the 8th gives no new cases at all.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked whether the diminution in the number of deaths in Damietta was not due to the fact that many thousands of persons had taken refuge in the surrounding villages; and whether inquiry would be made as to the number of unregistered deaths which were now occurring everywhere over a large space of country in small villages?

[No reply was given.]

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE RIVER CONGO—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND PORTUGAL.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What is the present state of negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Portugal regarding the state of affairs on the River Congo; and, whether there is any probability of any Treaty being agreed upon?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, it is not in my power to make any statement on these matters at present.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he would repeat the Question on that day week.

EGYPT—THE SUEZ CANAL.

Mr. GOURLEY asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to the opinion recently given by two English counsel relative to the concession of the Turkish and Egyptian Governments to M. de Lesseps for the construction of the Suez Canal; and, if he will be good enough to cause a copy of the concession to be printed and placed upon the Table of the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the attention of Her Majesty's Government has already been directed to the opinion referred to by my hon. Friend. The concessions, &c., relating to the Suez Canal were laid before Parliament in 1876 (Egypt, No. 6).

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—THE NEW HEBRIDES—REPORTED ANNEXATION BY FRANCE.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the report that the New Hebrides have been taken possession of by the French Government?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that there is any truth in the statement referred to.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—STATISTICS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state what were the numbers of diseased women in hospital in the protected districts previous to the abolition of compulsory examination; and, how many there are now in hospitals, specifying in both cases the respective numbers at each station?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, the number of diseased women in hospital at the time compulsory examination was suspended was 267. The number now in hospital is 134. If the hon. Member wishes for the information by stations, perhaps he will be good enough to move for it as a Return.

TREASURY SOLICITOR ACT, 1876—THE GOODS OF FELONS.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If it be the fact that they have given, or are about to give instructions for the confiscation of the furniture of two widows at Port Glasgow, on the ground of forfeiture to the Crown, their husbands having been executed; and, if he is aware that these widows are in extremely destitute circumstances, having the one three and the other five children to support; and, if, under these circumstances, he will give instructions to the Edinburgh authorities not to proceed further in the matter?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, instructions have been sent by telegraph to suspend all proceedings for realizing the goods forfeited to the Crown on the conviction of the two Port Glasgow murderers until full inquiry shall have been made and a Report sent to the Treasury.

TURKEY—GREEK SUBJECTS OF THE PORTE.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has been engaged in correspondence with the Government of the Sultan upon the alleged intention of the Porte to withdraw certain ecclesiastical privileges of the Greek subjects of the Porte; and, if so, whether he proposes to lay such Correspondence upon the Table of the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, this matter has been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government by Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople and Her Majesty's Minister at Athens, as well as by the Representatives of Turkey and Greece in this country. Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople has recommended the Porte not to act in such a manner as to promote irritation among the Greek subjects of the Sultan; but Her Majesty's Government do not consider that it is a question calling for their official intervention, at all events in its present stage, nor that any advantage would be gained by publishing the Correspondence.

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS (ENGLAND) BILL — CLAUSE 8 — CHARGES ON HOLDINGS OBTAINED UNDER COUNTY COURT JUDGMENTS.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he will inform the House whether he proposes that charges on holdings obtained by landlords from county courts under Clause 8 of the Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill shall rank after pre-existing mortgages and incumbrances on the property, or whether they will take priority of such mortgages and incumbrances as do charges obtained for improvements under 27 and 28 Vic. c. 114, s. 59?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said, that as the Bill stood these charges ranked in their natural order after pre-existing mortgages and incumbrances on the property.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (CONTINUOUS SITTINGS) BILL.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN asked Mr. Attorney General, If the fact that the High Court of Justice (Continuous Sittings) Bill was allowed to pass its second reading on Thursday without opposition is to be taken as signifying that the Government intend to support the measure?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, that it must not be assumed, because, as a matter of courtesy to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley), the second reading of the Bill was allowed to pass at a very late hour, that Her Majesty's Government intended supporting the measure. The Bill, as it now stood, could not be supported by the Government.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked whether the Attorney General considered it right that the Government should allow to pass the second reading a Bill of which the majority of the House disapproved?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): That is an abstract Question into which I will not now enter.

PARLIAMENT—SPEECH OF MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE AT ACTON.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been drawn to the report of a speech by one of the Junior Lords (the honourable Member for Leeds), at Acton, on 4th instant, when he is reported to have said that—

> "He thought the Government would be prepared, as soon as they could find time, to take up the subject, and try and amend the Irish Land Act;"

and, whether the sentiments therein contained express the policy of the Government?

Mr. BRODRICK asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the statement made by the Junior Lord of the Treasury in a speech delivered at Acton on Wednesday last—

> "It must be remembered that the Land Act was not perfect, owing to concessions demanded by the Tories, and the Government were anxious to amend those defects; but they were aware of and deterred by the knowledge of the opposition which such measures would have provoked from the Tories, and the pro-

tracted discussions which would have come from the Irish Members. He thought the Government would be prepared, as soon as they could find time, to take up that subject and try and amend the Act;"

whether the Junior Lord of the Treasury was authorised to announce an early re-opening of the Irish Land Question by the Government; and, whether Her Majesty's Government still adhere to the policy announced by the First Lord of the Treasury in March, that—

> "We think it an essential part of our duty to make it clearly understood that we can give no encouragement, either on the ground of crime or on any other ground, for entertaining hopes of the disturbance of the provisions of the Land Act contained in this Bill. . . . . It would be a violation of our duty were we now to give encouragement to a demand for new sacrifices which we do not think in the main justice requires?"

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the hon. Member has judiciously in his Question mentioned "the report" of the speech; but he has not committed himself to the opinion that the report is necessarily an accurate one. The only report I have seen of the speech was not so much a report as an account—an extremely succinct account—which it was impossible to accept as an accurate report. I have made inquiry of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), and, as far as I can gather, the position taken up by him was precisely that which has been taken on several occasions by the Government, and it is to this effect:—I stated, as clearly as I could, and very minutely, in a speech at the early part of last year, and again, though less minutely, in a speech this year, that there were certain points in the Irish Land Act with respect to which the Government had always considered it was desirable for the House again to open. These were the date of the judicial rents, and certain particulars as to leases. The third point has been re-opened by the House itself on the urgent representations of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I am not at all sure that it was wise for the House to commit itself by an abstract promise of that kind. But that has been done. It was in reference to points of this class that the hon. Member for Leeds expressed a hope that the Government would be prepared, as soon as they could find time, to take up the subject and try to amend the Act. The quotation which the hon. Member for Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) has made from the speech refers to alterations in the Act of a totally different character—alterations which we regard as being of a fundamental character; and with respect to these no engagements or opinion at all was expressed by the hon. Member for Leeds.

Mr. BRODRICK: Might I ask the Prime Minister whether the Junior Lord of the Treasury was authorized to make any announcement on the subject?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member for Leeds is not the Junior Lord of the Treasury any more than any other Lord; but any Lord of the Treasury is perfectly in his right in announcing what the Government and the Prime Minister have already repeatedly announced.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When he will be in a position to fix a day for the consideration of the Indian Budget?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, all I can say upon this subject is, that we cannot venture to fix a day for the discussion of the Indian Budget until the House has disposed of the most important and urgent matters which it has before it—namely, the Committee stage of the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Committee stage of the Tenants' Compensation Bill.

EGYPT—SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it be true that (subject to the approval of the British Government) a satisfactory understanding has been arrived at between the English Directors of the Suez Canal and M. de Lesseps relative to the construction of a parallel Canal; and also for the reduction of the tonnage tariff; and, whether he can now inform the House of the nature of the alleged arrangement?

Mr. CHARLES PALMER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is prepared to make a statement respecting the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Suez Canal Company; and, whether the time has arrived when he is prepared to receive representations and assistance from the commercial community, in accordance with his promise made on the 26th of June last?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have to say very little upon this subject; but in saying that little it must not be supposed that I am going to recede from the statement which I made on a previous occasion, in as far as it expressed our belief that there was a fair and reasonable expectation of making progress in our communications with M. de Lesseps. But we have not yet arrived at a point in those communications at which we can make an explicit statement to the House. We were most happy to receive to-day a letter from the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), setting forth what he believes to be the views of the commercial community, and certainly the points so set forth are those to which in the main the Government has given its attention. Not from the hon. Member alone, but from others who are well informed on the subject, we shall be happy to receive communications, and now is the proper time for addressing communications to the Government.

MR. CHARLES PALMER asked the Prime Minister whether it was clearly to be understood that the commercial community in general would have an opportunity of expressing their views before any Treaty was concluded, and more especially that the House would have the Treaty submitted to it, and have the opportunity of expressing its views upon it before the Treaty was ratified?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not sorry that my hon. Friend gives me a further opportunity of stating the intentions of the Government. No engagement will be entered into by the Government with regard to the Suez Canal except subject to the approbation of the House.

MR. BOURKE: I wish the right hon. Gentleman would answer this Question, which is of very great importance, whether any concession will be necessary in case a parallel Canal is proposed and adopted by Her Majesty's Government, or in case any other Canal is proposed to be adopted? The right hon. Gentleman has already answered the Question about a Treaty which the hon. Member has put; perhaps he will tell us with whom that Treaty is to be made? At any rate, the right hon. Gentleman will, perhaps, answer the Question with respect to the future concession. If not, I will put it down for another day.

MR. GLADSTONE: The word "Treaty" was used by my hon. Friend, but was not used by me. I think I said "arrangement." I have, however, great hopes that upon a very early day either I or one of my Colleagues will be in a condition to make an explicit statement to the House. I hope, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman will allow the question to stand over.

POST OFFICE—THE CHOLERA IN EGYPT—MAILS FROM THE EAST.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Can the Postmaster General inform the House what steps have been taken to provide for the transmission of the overland mails from the East which were not allowed to be landed at Brindisi, and what future arrangements will be made with regard to mails coming homeward through the Suez Canal?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, we received information from the manager of the Peninsular and Oriental Company on Saturday that a mob of people had refused to allow the mails to be landed at Brindisi, and the course we adopted was this—a telegram was at once sent ordering the vessel to proceed to Trieste and land the mails there. When I went to the Post Office a short time since we had not been able to ascertain what length of quarantine the Austrian Government would require at Trieste, and consequently it is impossible to say positively when the mails will arrive in London. With regard to the next steamer, which will bring a much heavier mail, the opinion at the present moment is that it would be better, under the circumstances, to order the vessel to proceed direct by sea to England, and instructions will be given to that effect.

Subsequently,

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE wished to ask, as the right hon. Gentleman said that the next mail would be a heavy one, and instructions had been given for it to be sent by sea to England, whether the Government thought it necessary to establish a quarantine at Plymouth or other ports, or what precautions were to be taken to prevent the importation of cholera?

Mr. FAWCETT said, that he had communicated with the Privy Council on Friday last. Every care had been taken to disinfect the bags by soaking them in tar. The Sanitary Committee of the Privy Council thought that was a sufficient precaution, and the matter rested with them.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, that such a process would not disinfect the passengers and crew on board the vessels.

Mr. FAWCETT said, he thought the noble Lord would see that that Question was not one for the Post Office. The Question ought rather to be addressed to the Local Government Board or other authority whom it concerned.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE asked the Postmaster General, in reference to the Scheme suggested by him for the reduction of the minimum charge for Post Office telegrams to 6*d*. and described as Scheme 1 in the Treasury Minute of the 14th June 1883, proposing that—

> "Free addresses should be abolished, and a ½*d*. charged for each word, including the address; minimum charge 6*d*.;"

whether he is aware that, if that scheme should be adopted, it would effectually prevent there being any 6*d*. telegrams whatever, and increase the charge for telegrams of twenty words from twenty-five to fifty per cent.; and, whether he is aware that Scheme 2, viz.:—

> "Address of receiver to be free, but that of the sender to be charged for; 6*d*. to be charged for the first five words, and 2*d*. additional for each subsequent five words,"

would also preclude the possibility of 6*d*. telegrams being used, and would increase the charge for telegrams of twenty words thirty per cent.?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, it will no doubt be the case, as stated by my hon. Friend, that if either Scheme 1 or Scheme 2 mentioned in the Treasury Minute were adopted, the charge for messages containing 20 words in the body of the telegram might be greater than it now is. I cannot, however, agree with him that, under this scheme, no telegrams would be sent at the minimum charge of 6*d*.; on the contrary, I think the number of such telegrams would be very large. It was stated on Thursday last that no decision as to the particular scheme to be adopted would be come to by the Government until next Session. I may add, however, that if a charge were made for the whole or any part of the address, or if the charge for 20 words in the body of the telegram were greater than it now is, it would be necessary, as free addresses are allowed and the present tariff is fixed by Act of Parliament, to introduce a Bill to give effect to the new arrangement. The House would, therefore, have an opportunity of discussing the question.

POST OFFICE—THE NEW PARCEL POST.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Postmaster General, Whether, in the new parcel post service, extra servants are to be employed in the carriage to rural districts; whether the present staff of messengers are not in many places quite able and willing to discharge the extra duty in consideration of the additional pay, their salaries being very small at present; and, whether, if the present messengers are employed, they are to be provided by the Government with the means of carriage, or are to provide it themselves?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I may say that extra servants will be employed when necessary in the conveyance of parcels in the rural districts. In many places the messengers will be able to discharge the extra duty without assistance, and in all cases, where the circumstances warrant it, extra pay will be given. Where the present foot service is replaced by a mounted service, either an allowance to meet the expense will be made to the present messengers, or they will be transferred to another walk, and a mail cart service provided at the expense of the Government.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE RECENT DISASTER ON THE CLYDE.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the exceptional magnitude of the recent disaster on the Clyde, and the fact that inquiries by procurators fiscal into accidents attended with loss of life in Scotland are conducted in secret, and that their Reports to the Crown Office are never made public, he will instruct some competent independent official to assist at the inquiry and furnish a report on the occurrence for presentation to Parliament?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, I am asked by my right hon. and learned Friend to say that at his request Sir Edward Reed, late Chief Constructor of the Navy, a Member of his House, has proceeded to Scotland, and is now holding a public inquiry into the disaster on the Clyde.

ARMY—THE STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the series of assaults and robberies committed by soldiers of the Staffordshire Regiment at Athlone; and, whether he will take steps to protect the public from the recurrence of these outrages?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I am informed that the only disturbance which has recently occurred at Athlone was on the 24th of June, when there was a drunken quarrel. It was alleged that a civilian had been assaulted by soldiers of the North Staffordshire Regiment; but when the commanding officer investigated the case, the civilian was not forthcoming, and the soldiers could not be identified. On the 4th of July a soldier was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment for stealing a watch while drunk. With these exceptions the troops at Athlone are said to have been particularly well-conducted.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE RAILWAY PASSENGER DUTY.

In reply to Mr. FRANCIS BUXTON,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, with reference to the Railway Passenger Duty Bill that it would be committed *pro formâ* in order that it might be reprinted, and be in the hands of Members some days before the question was discussed. He would take care that due Notice should be given.

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister with reference to a letter which appears in several newspapers this morning purporting to be addressed by Mr. Bradlaugh to the right hon. Gentleman, in which Mr. Bradlaugh informs him that it is his intention at an early day "to take my seat for the borough of Northampton," and goes on to say—

> "In doing this I shall disregard the Orders of the House made this Session as being in the teeth of the law, and therefore null and void."

I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has received such a letter, and, if he has, what course he proposes to take in the matter?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I received on Friday a letter from Mr. Bradlaugh, which I see has been printed in the papers. It runs as follows:—

> "Sir,—In accordance with the requirements of my constituents, I beg respectfully to inform you that I shall, in compliance with the law, at an early date take my seat for the borough of Northampton. In doing this I shall claim to disregard the Order of the House made this Session, as being, to use the words of George Grenville, in the teeth of the law, and therefore null and void. I am confirmed in this view by the judgment of Mr. Justice Field in the suit brought by myself against Mr. Erskine, when, in answer to my hypothesis that the House of Commons had passed a Resolution forbidding me to take the oath, his Lordship said that he could not assume that the House would do an act which in itself would be flagrantly wrong. As the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, and the Standing Orders of the House make no other provision than that the oath shall be taken and subscribed in manner therein prescribed, I beg to inform you that I shall so take and subscribe the oath in the manner binding upon my conscience. When I so took and subscribed the oath on the 21st of February, 1882, I sought to obtain the opinion of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice on the legality of the oath so taken by me, but the Court refused to allow a friendly action to be argued or tried. If any legal decision could be obtained, or if the House would discharge me from the services it by force prevents me performing, so that a new writ would be issued, I should be relieved from the painful necessity of finding myself once more in collision with the House; but I cannot and must not passively permit my constituents to be robbed of the voice and vote to which they have a constitutional right.—I have the honour to be, &c., C. BRADLAUGH."

I am glad, Sir, the Question of the right hon. Gentleman has given me the opportunity of placing the House in possession of this information. Her Majesty's Government have, in more than one form, suggested to the House the different modes in which they have thought that an escape would be found from the many difficulties attending the subject; but our recommendations have not received, in any case, the approval of the House, and therefore, of course, it will rest with those who have advised the House, and whose advice has been accepted by the House, to act upon the information I have given. I am glad of this opportunity of placing the matter before the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, the concluding observations of the right hon Gentleman render it necessary for me to call the attention of the House very shortly to the position in which we stand. Of course, I do not ask the House to re-open the question as to the propriety of Mr. Bradlaugh being allowed to go through the form of taking the Oath. That is a point on which the House has decided, and recently decided, by a very considerable majority. But I shall call attention to the fact that from this letter we are led to infer that it is Mr. Bradlaugh's intention, at such time as he may select, to come before the House and endeavour to override that decision to which the House came some weeks ago by some action on his part. In fact, we may pretty clearly understand from the language of the letter that Mr. Bradlaugh's intention is to come before the House as he did two years ago and administer the Oath to himself as he did on that occasion. I need not remind the House that his proceedings on that occasion met with the censure of the House; and, unquestionably, if the House has already determined that it will not allow Mr. Bradlaugh to go through the form of taking the Oath, it cannot sit by and allow such a taking of the Oath as that to which I have alluded. That being so, I apprehend from the notice we have received that we may expect our proceedings will be interrupted at some uncertain period, and therefore we are called upon to act in order to prevent a scandal in the proceedings of this House. I do not think that is a position in which the House ought to be placed. I have by circumstances been obliged to take a part on several occasions which I would much rather had been taken by the Leader of the House for the protection of Order and, as I think, the dignity of the House, and I regret to find myself again obliged to take a similar course on the present occasion. I have always endeavoured, when I have had to propose anything with regard to Mr. Bradlaugh, to confine myself to what seemed to me to be absolutely necessary. When on the last occasion of his presenting himself and tendering himself to take the Oath, the House decided that he should not be permitted to do so, I thought it unnecessary to make any further Motion, because I assumed that Mr. Bradlaugh, whatever his opinions might be, would bow to the decision of the House, and not put us to any further inconvenience as long as that Order was in force. It appears that that is not his intention, and therefore it is necessary to take some steps for the protection of the Order of the House. It is quite impossible that we can expect the great bulk of Members of the House to be here at all times and at all hours when Mr. Bradlaugh might present himself, and, therefore, I can see no course open but to make a Motion similar to that made by me two years ago which prevented Mr. Bradlaugh's intrusion on the proceedings, until he gives an assurance that he will not disturb them. Therefore, I make this Motion entirely in what I may call a spirit of self-defence, and for the preservation of that Order which I think is threatened to be disturbed, in the same terms as my former one. It is—

"That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House."

The words are the same as in the former Resolution. It will be recollected that some question arose about the phrase "precincts of the House;" but when the former Resolution was proposed in the same terms as this the House maintained that Mr. Speaker and the Officers were justified in putting on that Resolution the interpretation which it was intended to bear, and excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts. On the former occasion the words were proposed when Mr. Bradlaugh was present; but I shall now move this Resolution as he is not present. If you, Sir, think it more proper that I should mention "precincts," of course I will make the Motion in that form; but I understand from the decision come to on the former occasion that it is unnecessary.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE: I wish to ask, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is in Order in making this Motion without Notice?

MR. SPEAKER: I understand that the right hon. Gentleman makes the Motion on the ground that it is a question of Privilege. The hon. Member for Northampton declares his intention to disregard the Orders of the House, and it therefore becomes a question of urgency on the part of the House to decide what is to be done. That being so, the right hon. Gentleman is quite justified in the course he has taken.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Are you, Sir, satisfied that the word "precincts" is unnecessary?

MR. SPEAKER: On a former occasion when a similar Motion was passed by the House Mr. Bradlaugh attempted to force himself within the doors of the House. Having regard to the Resolution passed by the House, I directed the Serjeant-at-Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh by force, and the House approved of that course. Therefore, I presume the House will support me in taking, if necessary, the same course again.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am one of those, Sir, who, rightly or wrongly, believe that a Member elected by a constituency derives his right from the constituency to go through all the Forms at the Table necessary for him to take his seat in the House. I merely state that to let the House know that I shall be obliged to challenge a decision of the House on the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman. I am not going into this matter at any length; there are only two points on which I would call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. The first is, that I understand that the Whips of the Party of which the right hon. Gentleman is the Head have issued a Notice to their followers to come to the House this evening; and I would put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether it is quite in accordance with fair play to bring forward this Resolution without any Notice, having brought together all those who are in favour of it to vote for it, while those who might be opposed to it were not aware that it would be brought forward? The other point is, that Mr. Bradlaugh has asked the House to void the election. He finds himself in an exceedingly difficult position. He has no wish to put himself in antagonism with the House, but he desires that his constituents should be fully represented here; and if the right hon. Gentleman would only move for a new Writ for the borough of Northampton, or support me were I to move for it, I should not complain of the course taken by the House. But I think it is somewhat hard to say that Mr. Bradlaugh is not to take his seat, having been duly elected, and that owing to this action the constituency is to be punished by not being represented by the number of Members the Constitution gives to it. I shall not detain the House, but I feel it my duty to divide on the Question.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think it is but natural on the part of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, on an occasion of this kind, to propose to the House the measure which he thinks necessary to give effect to the decision of the majority. It would not be my province, or that of the minority, to make any such proposal. But I own I do feel it within my province to make an appeal to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and to express an hope that he will not divide the House, because it is part of my duty, on the one hand, to ask the House to make great sacrifices of its time, and on the other, to endeavour to avoid, as far as possible, unnecessary sacrifices. It appears to me that we who are the minority have had ample opportunity of arguing the case in every form in which it has been brought forward. The majority of the House have courteously consented more than once to hear Mr. Bradlaugh at the Bar. We cannot say that we have not been fully and fairly heard. I deeply regret the decision of the majority, and all that I felt on former occasions I still feel; but I think that respect to the majority, and regard to the time of the House, and to the extreme urgency of the position in which we stand with reference to Public Business, ought to prevent us from interposing any obstacle to a Motion if that Motion be reasonable in itself. The question is, is it reasonable? Certainly not, from my point of view. But the unreasonableness of it lies in the unreasonableness of the original decision of the House. From the point of view of the right hon. Gentleman it is a strictly reasonable Motion. It is strictly consequent on the Resolution of the House. He declares it to be a Motion of self-defence, and undoubtedly, being a Motion to defend the House against the consequences of the course formerly taken by the House, it is quite natural that the House should adopt this course. Under those circumstances the matter is a very simple one, and it is unnecessary to go over the ground we have gone over before. This Motion is a necessary corollary of the steps taken by the House on a former occasion; and although I am not an approving party to any portion of the procedure, I would deprecate exceedingly the offering of any further opposition to the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman. I will not encroach any further upon that valuable commodity of the House—time, and I will appeal to the hon. Member to adopt a similar course in respect to this Motion.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: I am not going to detain the House. I only wish to say that several hon. Members below the Gangway here are as anxious to avoid any waste of time as the right hon. Gentleman; but this is a matter on which we must divide, because we feel that upon every opportunity when steps are taken which we consider to be illegal or unconstitutional we are bound to resist them to the best of our power. On these grounds some of us will feel bound to divide the House.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 232; Noes 65: Majority 167.—(Div. List, No. 183.)

Mr. NEWDEGATE: I wish to make a suggestion to the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that there is no Question before the House, and if the hon. Member wishes to put a Question to the right hon. Baronet, it should be confined to any Bill or Motion before the House.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: I am very anxious to confine myself to the Question, and am most unwilling to intrude unnecessarily upon the House with reference to a subject which is still before it. ["No, no!" *and cries of* "Order!"] The House has just taken a very necessary precaution, and I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon—[*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must repeat to the hon. Member that he is out of Order. When the House was engaged with Questions the right hon. Gentleman interposed with a Question which has been disposed of. The House is still engaged with Questions put to Ministers of the Crown, and if any hon. Member has a Question to put to any Minister he will be in Order; but the hon. Member is not in Order in the course he now takes.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: I apologize, Sir. I did not intend to go beyond your ruling. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon who has moved the Resolution now adopted, which has been found necessary to correct and enforce a former decision of the House, whether he will move that this Resolution be made a Standing Order of the House?

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish, Sir, in the first instance, to put the question to you as to whether it is competent for me to make that Motion?

Mr. SPEAKER: The question is one of great importance. It is not for me to restrain the power of this House; but as this question affects the political rights of a Member of this House, it would not, I think, be competent for the right hon. Gentleman to move that the Resolution be made a Standing Order.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION BILL.

BILL WITHDRAWN.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir, for the purpose of fulfilling an engagement I entered into with the House on the part of the Government, to the effect that we should this day make as comprehensive a statement as time and circumstances would justify with regard to the state and prospects of Business, and I will preface it by saying that I shall not mention the Bills of comparatively minor importance; but the number of those I shall mention is considerable, and the House will feel that we have redeemed the pledge we have given with regard to the work of the Session. I shall close my remarks by moving that certain Orders for the consideration of the further stages of Bills be discharged

—the most convenient course to take, I think, if the Government have made up their minds that they must abandon them, so that they shall be at once removed from the Order Book, and the minds of Members relieved from all further care in respect of them. I am afraid the prospect I have to present is not at all a cheerful one with regard to the duration of the Session; because, even if the House consent to make considerable sacrifices the Session cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, reach any but a late termination. In the first place, I may say there are certain Bills with respect to which the House perfectly understands it is the intention of the Government to submit them to the judgment of the House definitively, and therefore I need not dwell upon any of them. These are the Bills which have been through the Grand Committees, and the three Bills that are before the House—the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Tenants' Compensation Bill for England, and the Tenants' Compensation Bill for Scotland. The other Bills which we propose to proceed with are as follows. We think it of great importance to take the sense of the House on the National Debt Bill. We believe that any differences of opinion on the Bill are not differences of detail, requiring time to dispose of, but that may be dealt with in a single and probably not very long discussion. Then there is a Bill which is of great importance to a profession which is itself of the utmost weight and importance—namely, the Medical Bill; and I am encouraged to hope with regard to that Bill the difference of opinion upon which is small, and we propose to proceed with it. With regard to Scotland, we propose to proceed with the Local Government Bill for Scotland, in the belief that it is generally acceptable to those whom it more immediately concerns, and, that being so, we do not anticipate any very great difficulty in its conduct through the House. I then come to Irish Bills. There is the Registration of Voters Bill; the Bill for pauper relief—which I have mentioned because, although it has not actually passed the House, it has gone through all its stages except the third reading, therefore may be considered as having all but passed; the Bill for the re-organization of the Police Service; and there is also a Bill which Her Majesty's Government are anxious to introduce, which they think may probably be received with favour by the House—I mean a Bill for the promotion of tramways in Ireland. That is an announcement which contains the answer which I promised some time ago to give to my hon. Friend the Member for County Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). Those are the Bills with respect to which we propose to proceed. With regard to the melancholy list of Bills that we will find it necessary, or at least that we think it our duty to the House at once to drop, the first of those is the Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill, and, second, the Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill, with regard to which, of course, we shall place the general law as it now subsists in the Continuance Bill; but we shall get rid of the question of the amendment of the law. The third is the Bill relating to Charitable Trusts, and the fourth the Bill relating to Scottish Universities. That is a Bill of very considerable importance, and its provisions are both weighty and beneficial; but it certainly touches some matters that are of a rather high nature, and which we should not think it justifiable to press on the House at a period of the Session when we could not have a reasonable chance of carrying it forward. Then there is a Bill which comes from the House of Lords, called the Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill, which I believe excited a good deal of difference of opinion, and we do not propose to proceed with it. There are two or three other Bills which we feel it necessary to drop, but, at the same time, which we drop with very great regret. One of them is the Bill for police superannuation, the second is the Bill relating to naval discipline, and the third is the Bill relating to Irish Sunday Closing, with respect to which, of course, we should place the present law in a general Continuance Act. With regard to these Bills, which are on different grounds, I must express a very earnest hope, on the part of the Government, or those who may be the Government, that it may be possible to bring them in at an early period next Session. Naval discipline ought not to continue in suspense, and the Irish Sunday Closing Bill is one which largely interests public opinion in Ireland, and it is very highly disagreeable to us to drop it. The Police Superannuation Bill is a Bill of very great local importance for the healthiness and efficiency of the force on which we are dependent for the maintenance of civil order; but there are questions which it raises in relation to the charges imposed under it, with which it will not be in our power to grapple in the present Session. Those are the eight Bills we propose at once to drop, and I shall move for the discharge of the Orders for the further stages upon these Bills. There are three other measures, one of them not yet introduced, and two others that have been introduced, but have not made progress, with regard to which we wish to suspend our judgment for a time, and to form that judgment according to circumstances as they may present themselves perhaps 10 days or a fortnight hence. There is, first, the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill, dealing with a subject of great interest with regard to the education of that country, and the others are the Detention in Hospitals Bill, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. In regard to these measures, we ask the House to allow us a little time before arriving at a final decision. I think that the list I have given will be found to include all of what would be commonly considered the important Bills of the Government. Such a Bill as my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has referred to to-night in regard to railway passengers will, as a matter of course, form part of the Budget, and Bills of that class I do not refer to in detail; but I have spoken of nearly a score of Bills, and these will, I think, dispose in the main of the subjects upon which, as far as the Government are concerned, the length of the Session may depend. But besides these Bills there are one or two points which I should wish to mention. It is necessary now to refer to the subject of the Grand Committees. I need not refer to the particular nature of the pledge we gave; but it was to this effect —that if we asked the House during the present Session to arrive at any new Resolutions with respect to these Committees, it should be done in the course of the present month, when the House will be in full attendance and competent to deal with such matters of importance and comparative novelty. Now, we stand thus. I will not undertake to anticipate at this moment what will take place with regard to the several Bills that have been before the Grand Committees; but it is our opinion, looking at the labours of these Committees, that they have proved to be in the present Session, and promise to be hereafter, a great success, and afford very material assistance to the House in the great work of maintaining, or perhaps I ought to say, with due respect, restoring its legislative efficiency, in enabling it to overtake the large and constantly increasing mass of work, which the necessities of the Empire require it to confront. There are two courses which might be taken with regard to the Grand Committees—one, to propose an experimental renewal of them for the next Session only; and another, to submit to the House some plan of a general and more comprehensive character. I do not wish at present to enter upon the question which of these two courses is the better; and it is quite plain that we could not submit at this time a plan of a permanent nature with regard to Grand Committees, without setting aside the Legislative Business which we have in hand. That, I think, we should not be justified for a moment in contemplating, and, consequently, we do not intend to make any extended proposal at the present time. If such a proposal is to be made at any time, it must stand over for the present year. Then the question arises whether it would be wise to advise the renewal of those Committees which we have had already. Now, Sir, undoubtedly, with the opinion we entertain about the working of the Grand Committees, it will be our duty to make proposals with that object. But proposals for a temporary and experimental renewal of the Grand Committees, if such should be the form in which we should ultimately think it wise to proceed, clearly ought not to be made until we come nearer to the time when we can know what Business the House will have to do. The circumstances of last autumn were very peculiar. It so happened that a large number of important and practical questions had to be thrown over for want of time, and we were able to see in the autumn what Grand Committees we should specially want and might make use of for the purpose of trying our experiment. As far as we can anticipate the legislation of next year, we do contemplate the introduction of certain Bills; and in a country like this the renewal of the Grand Committee with respect to trade and such matters could hardly ever be out of place; but then, again, we may not be able to say, with respect to other matters, what measures it might be the duty of the Government to introduce next Session which might be found of such a nature as to fit them for the consideration of Grand Committees. In fact, the experimental question with respect to next Session ought not to be considered piecemeal, but as a whole. It would be more satisfactory to the House, and far better, that the subject should be reserved until we can see, if not upon a larger scale, yet, at all events, for the coming Session, what is the exact amount of the proposals we should wish to make with a view to the greater despatch of the Public Business. I hope, therefore, that it will be understood, as far as Her Majesty's Government are concerned, that they have been confirmed in their favourable views of the working of these Grand or Standing Committees as a means of expediting a large portion of the Business of the House by the experience which the present Session has afforded them, and they would consider it a breach of duty on their part were they to allow these Committees to drop. But they do not think that circumstances permit them at present to act either upon a large or upon a more contracted scale, either with a view to a permanent or great scheme, or with a view to another experimental trial; and whatever course they may think proper to adopt, they think that the proper time to propose it will be when Parliament has again been summoned together after the Recess. Then comes the question as to what ought to be the course of procedure. There are many Members, undoubtedly, who have expressed their readiness that we should ask for what is called the whole time of the House. As far as Tuesdays and Wednesday are concerned, that is a proposal which we intend to make for the residue of the present Session. Mondays and Thursdays are always in possession of the Government. Fridays are already in their possession as far as Morning Sittings are concerned, and we do not propose to ask the House for the Evening Sittings on Fridays, for several considerations. One is, that it is not usual for the Government to make that request to the House. We are asking the House for Tuesdays and Wednesdays somewhat earlier than usual; but it is not usual to ask for Friday evenings. We are very unwilling entirely to close the door, as far as the Rules of the House are concerned, against the introduction, at the option of independent Members, of subjects which they might deem of great practical and urgent importance. What we do earnestly hope is that, viewing the position in which the House is placed, independent Members will be disposed to waive for the remainder of the present Session—I make this appeal merely to their judgment and discretion — their right of pressing on the consideration of the House the discussion of subjects with regard to which they do not contemplate any immediate practical result. I do not mean subjects which contemplate legislation, because there may be subjects connected with the policy of the Government, for instance, which hon. Members may think it right to question, and they may find opportunities for doing so on these Friday evenings. On the other hand, if they do not take advantage of these Friday evenings, I hope the House will be inclined to allow those evenings to be turned to account by going into Committee of Supply. For the present, the only Motion I shall make will be a Motion for the discharge of certain Orders. With regard to obtaining a larger proportion of the time of the House, the form of proceeding which I propose is this. To-morrow it is quite understood that matters will stand as they are. But on Wednesday morning at 12 o'clock, if I find the proposal I now make is agreeable and suitable to the House in the circumstances, I shall propose that Government Orders on Tuesdays and Wednesdays have precedence during the remainder of the Session, and in that case I believe it would be agreeable to the House if on Tuesdays the House were to meet at its usual hour, in lieu of meeting for a Morning Sitting, and then again for an Evening Sitting. With regard to the course of Business to be taken first, I would say one word on the state of the Civil Service Estimates. We are able to go on a little longer with Civil Service Estimates generally; but there are a very few Votes of a non-contentious character, with respect to which it so happens that more money is required, and on Thursday as the First Order of the Day—I believe it will constitute no material interruption to the present course of Business—we must ask for some money for these particular Votes. Further substantial progress with the Civil Service Estimates must be reserved for a future day. On Monday next we propose to take the Navy Estimates, and on Tuesday we propose to devote the first part of the evening to a Bill which I trust will then be in Committee—namely, the Tenants' Compensation Bill. On that point, however, it is not for me to say how much longer time the House may think it proper to take in discussing the remaining clauses of the Corrupt Practices Bill; but I am unwilling to contemplate the possibility that that Bill will not be out of Committee several days short of Tuesday week. Assuming that the Tenants' Compensation Bill will have got into Committee on Tuesday evening, we shall propose to break off the consideration of that Bill at about 10 or half past 10 oclock, in order to allow of the resumption of the adjourned debate on the Resolution of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) on the subject of the payment of a certain amount of money as a contribution to the expenses of the warlike operations in Egypt. That, Sir, is as much as I can say at present with regard to the exact course of Business, it being understood that the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Tenants' Compensation Bills for England and Scotland form the substance of the engagement we are bound first to redeem, as far as carrying them through Committee is concerned. I have but a few words to add. With regard to the Bills of private Members, the Government have no choice but to say that it is impossible that they should be able to discharge the duties under which they themselves lie, and, at the same time, offer any accommodation to those Members who have Bills before the House. Those Bills, I am sorry to say, are generally in an extremely backward state; but, backward or forward, we are not able to depart from the arrangement I have now sketched out, for the purpose of allowing those Bills to be promoted, should the House be prepared to make to us the gift of time for which we ask. I said at the outset that this was not a brilliant prospect; and I think that if hon. Gentlemen will think well in their own minds and consider the number of days that the Corrupt Practices Bill has taken in Committee, and the probability that it may still require a few more days, and the work to be done on the Tenants' Compensation Bill and upon the Bills which have come back from the Grand Committees, and then the measures which I have stated it is our intention to proceed with, they will see that there is a good deal of legislative work in prospect. I speak on the 9th of July. And although the number of days allotted to Supply in the present Session down to the present date has been very considerable, yet the Business of Supply, like other Business, grows and extends. Then it so happens that there are one or two questions of public importance, involving our policy abroad, that will have to be discussed in Supply. It would, therefore, be sanguine to say that less than eight or nine days would suffice to do what remains to be done. I do not like to enter into minute computations. To those who are experienced in the Business of the House, I think it is quite plain that we have much to do, and that we cannot, in circumstances the most favourable, hope for an early deliverence from our labours. I hope, however, that the House will think that we have made a reasonable contribution towards the attainment of that happy period by the eight measures which we now propose to abandon; and I would, in the first instance, move that the Order of the Day for the Rivers Conservancy Bill be discharged.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading of the Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill be read and discharged."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I cannot say that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman has been altogether comfortable as regards the prospects of Business. The right hon. Gentleman has frankly told us that there are eight Bills which he proposes at once to strike off the Order Book altogether. But, having taken that course, the right hon. Gentleman has accumulated no less than 14 measures which he hopes to proceed with. I must say it is hardly likely that we shall see our way, in an ordinary Session, to dispose of those measures. From my own experience of the conduct of the Business of this House, I am bound to say that Ministers rather fall into an error in trying to keep too much on the Order Book, and retaining it there too long. I have not the least doubt that the right hon. Gentleman will do his best to get the whole of the 14 measures through. But, looking to the character and magnitude of some of these Bills, I venture to think that he will find it a difficult task. However, with regard to those he proposes to drop, I suppose he will be altogether justified. I would venture, however, to say a word with regard to Saturday Sittings. We are now making the Government masters of the whole time of the House, excepting on Friday evenings, and I think we have a right to demand that they shall not impose upon us the burden of Saturday Sittings. I mean Saturday Sittings for the purpose of legislation and *bonâ fide* work, because sometimes, at the end of a Session, a Money Bill requires to be passed through, when the House will sit for an hour or two; but Saturday Sittings for the purpose of legislation are an intolerable burden, and I take this opportunity of entering a *caveat* against them. Then, with regard to the Estimates, I shall be glad to know what the Votes are which are non-contentious; but I must express some little doubt as to the prudence of beginning on Tuesday a discussion on the Agricultural Holdings Bill and breaking it off about half-past 10. I do not think that course will be conducive to the saving of time. The right hon. Gentleman has not committed himself to any date, but I hope he does not contemplate keeping us here till all these 14 measures are passed, and all the Estimates are voted; but if he does, I am afraid it will be very long indeed. What I would suggest is, that when we have made a little further progress in the course of another week or two, he should take courage and sacrifice a few more measures. I quite understand what the right hon. Gentleman has indicated with regard to the discussion of questions of policy in Committee of Supply. He contemplates that we shall have an opportunity of discussing questions in regard to Egypt, South Africa, India, and also the very important question in regard to education.

MR. RICHARD said, that if the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill should not be passed this Session there would be in Wales deep, general, and bitter disappointment. Last Monday the Prime Minister gave a positive assurance that the Government did not intend to abandon the Bill. Wales had given the present Government a very loyal and all but unanimous support. He much feared that if this Bill were abandoned the effect would be to produce general discontent, and a feeling that, for their loyalty, the Welsh people had been unworthily requited by very shabby treatment.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Prime Minister to use his influence with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to induce him to withdraw his Resolution on the franchise, which no doubt was very interesting, but was of a purely abstract character, in order that he (Mr. Dawnay) might proceed with his Resolution with reference to the state of affairs in Zululand.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not propose to withdraw his excellent Resolution in favour of a Resolution referring to Zululand. He knew his Motion would not, after one evening's discussion, be accepted; but he meant to ask the House to project itself into the future. After the appeal of the Prime Minister he felt that he had only one thing to do, and that was to say that, so far as he was concerned, he would not interfere in any way with the course of Public Business by pressing the Resolution which stood in his name. He trusted the hon. Member for the North Riding (Mr. Guy Dawnay) would follow his (Mr. Labouchere's) excellent example, instead of bringing on some wild-cat Resolution about Zululand.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that the Secretary for War had promised an early opportunity to discuss the Reserves Vote and the Medical Vote, and he hoped the noble Lord would redeem his promise.

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN said, he concurred in the regret expressed by the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) at the abandonment of the Welsh Education Bill, which might have been passed with a comparatively short discussion, and the abandonment of which would be received with great disappointment in Wales. Welsh Members would be very glad to sit on a Saturday to proceed with the Bill.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he hoped the Prime Minister would kindly consider the possibility of giving an opportunity for the discussion of his Motion on the subject of emigration from Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman would admit that under any circumstances this was a matter of paramount importance; but, after the recent action of the American Government, it might be considered to have acquired the character of urgency. He did not wish in any way to hamper the Prime Minister; but he trusted that an opportunity might be afforded of discussing the question, either upon the Estimates or in any other form in which it might be most convenient to the Government. If the right hon. Gentleman granted facilities for this discussion, he (Mr. J. Lowther) was quite ready to forego proceeding with his Resolution calling attention to the shortcomings of the Government.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, said, he would remind the House that the Arrears Act passed last year, gave a certain sum of money for Irish emigration. He imagined that the money was nearly all spent, and he wished to bring before his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister the fact that if nothing was done this Session all assisted emigration must cease—which, to his mind, would be a misfortune—because he believed much good had been done by it; and by no persons could such a decision be heard with so much regret and lamentation as the unfortunate people themselves. He understood his hon. Friend to say that Bills were to be brought forward for the extension of tramways in Ireland, and he was exceedingly glad to hear it; but he hoped they were not to suppose that nothing was to be done for emigration. As to South Africa, he would reiterate his conviction that the House would not be fulfilling its duty of taking its share in important Imperial questions without some discussion on that subject before the end of the Session. They were, of course, all aware that very little time remained; and on that ground he would avoid asking for a debate on a special Motion for South Africa, and would content himself with a discussion on the Vote. He hoped, however, that the Vote would be brought on at a sufficiently early hour to admit of a real discussion taking place.

Mr. RAIKES said, he thought the House would agree with the right hon. Gentleman in postponing the question of reviving the Grand Committees. He trusted that on Friday evenings, after the Motions, operative Supply might be set down, and not Bills which had no chance of passing this Session. He should also like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister intended to complete the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill before he took the Report on the Corrupt Practices Bill?

Mr. RYLANDS reminded the House that the state of Supply at the present time was extremely unsatisfactory. The total number of Votes in the Army, Navy, and Civil Services Estimates was 193, and of these upwards of 140 had yet to to be passed. He thought Supply ought to have precedence over any Bill, except the Corrupt Practices and the Agricultural Holdings Bills, and those coming from the Grand Committees. If the Government still retained the idea of pressing forward some of the Bills of secondary importance which had been mentioned, the result must be either that those Bills would be very inadequately discussed, or Supply would be driven into a corner, or the convenience of Members would be seriously interfered with by the prolongation of the Session.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he hoped that the Scotch and English Agricultural Holdings Bills would be taken nearly together for the sake of facilitating the discussion.

Colonel KINGSCOTE said, it would be inconvenient for Members interested in the Agricultural Holdings Bill to return from the Royal Agricultural Society's show at York next Tuesday for the sake of a discussion which would be broken off so early as half-past 10 o'clock.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he was rather dissatisfied with the arrangement with regard to the Motion he had on the Paper, inasmuch as he had withdrawn it at a time when, if he had persisted with it, the Government would probably have been defeated. But he did so on the strict understanding that an opportunity for discussing it would be given before the 11th of July. He hoped, therefore, he was not to be put off with only the fragment of a night. As to the Congo, he trusted that if a Treaty were come to it would be laid on the Table during the Session, and that an opportunity would be given for its discussion.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he hoped that if the National Debt Bill were proceeded with it would be brought on at an early period. He was quite certain, from what he had heard, that that Bill would not pass through the House without great discussion and opposition. He wished also to refer to the question of emigration, and he hoped the Prime Minister would give no time to the discussion of that question in the direction of increasing it. At present he believed there were not at all too many people in Ireland, and a great deal of labour was wanted which could not be obtained. He hoped, however, the result of the Tramways Bill would be to secure employment for the people who were ready to work.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the Prime Minister seemed to be under the impression that the Local Government Board (Scotland) Bill would not be opposed. That was a mistake. It would receive the greatest opposition, not only from several of the Scotch Members, but from himself. He could also entirely confirm what had fallen from the hon. Member who spoke last with regard to the National Debt Bill. He had no doubt that that Bill would provoke much opposition; but he thought it would be very unwise to break off the discussion on the Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Bill in the middle of the night. Perhaps the Prime Minister would say what Votes he considered non-contentious? He thought it would also be advisable to fix a day for their consideration.

MR. DILLWYN said, the Prime Minister had not said that it was determined to abandon the Bill dealing with education in Wales; and he very strongly appealed to him, in his reconsideration of the measure, that he would allow it to be one of the measures to be proceeded with.

VISCOUNT EMLYN said, he understood that in 10 days or a fortnight the Prime Minister would state whether he would proceed with the Bill referred to by the hon. Member who last spoke, and he suggested that it would be desirable to have the Bill introduced and circulated in the meantime.

MR. GLADSTONE: It has been said, Sir, by my hon. Friend behind me, that Tuesday would be an inconvenient day for the discussion of the Tenants' Compensation Bill, and I think that we had better allow the arrangements for Tuesday week to stand over for further consideration, with the view to suit the convenience of hon. Members as far as possible. It may be found convenient to divide the day, and have a Morning Sitting. With respect to the demands of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), I am obliged to contest entirely what he has said. It is really not reasonable to ask that an entire night should be voted to the further consideration of the question of Indian Finance, unless the hon. Gentleman is prepared to sit here until Christmas. With regard to Zululand, I understand the obstacle in the way of discussing the matter has been removed by the spontaneous action of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). The hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) has asked me whether we can give opportunities for the discussion of the Recruiting and Medical Votes. As to that, we shall do the best we can. We are, however, committed to finish the Corrupt Practices Bill in Committee, and then it is proposed to carry through the two Tenants' Compensation Bills. When that part of our work is done we shall have every disposition to give time to bring on this important and interesting question in Supply. With regard to Welsh education, if the noble Lord (Viscount Emlyn) will communicate with my right hon. Friend about the production of the Bill, that will be the most convenient course. The Bill is, I believe, prepared and ready for introduction; but whether its introduction would be convenient at the present moment I will not undertake to say. I am bound to say, however, that I myself am extremely anxious for a Bill of that kind to pass; but this one contains very complicated provisions, involving a great deal of novelty, and I cannot think we ought to pass a Bill of that kind without sufficient discussion; and, therefore, the question will be how much time the House can give in that direction before it is completely exhausted. With regard to emigration, I quite feel that hon. Gentlemen ought to have an opportunity of testing the feeling of the House upon it, and the question of the Tramway Bill for Ireland will probably afford such an opportunity. If not, I shall be ready to revert to the subject on a future day. The Chief Secretary for Ireland has also something to say on that subject; but he does not intend to make a statement at the present moment. Then, I have been asked whether it is intended to have the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill before the Report on the Corrupt Practices Bill, and I think that we should. I cannot give absolute pledges on the subject; but that is what we shall aim at. As to the question of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) with regard to Congo, the hon. Member may depend upon it that if there be any Treaty—and I cannot throw any light on the probability of there being such a Treaty—we shall lose no time in bringing it under the notice of the House, so that the House may have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion upon it. I have taken due note of what has been said about the Local Government (Scotland) Bill and the National Debt Bill; but I do not think it would become me to enter upon either of these subjects at the present time, when the question before us is the discharge of certain Orders. With regard to the non-contentious Votes, before the time comes my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury will endeavour to make a statement with respect to them, and I have no doubt he will be able to do so.

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked when the text of the Italian Treaty would be laid on the Table?

Mr. BUCHANAN said, there was one important Bill relating to Scotland which the Prime Minister did not mention in the list of measures which he said it was the intention of the Government to proceed with this Session. It was the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, and he was sure the Scottish Members would be glad to hear from the Prime Minister whether it was the intention of the Government to pass that Bill during the present Session. There was another Bill which he should like the Government to go on with, and that was the Bill for the amendment of the Education Act of Scotland. With regard to the Local Government Board (Scotland) Bill, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) that, so far from there being any opposition to that measure among Scottish Members on the Liberal side of the House, the more they considered it the better they liked it, and he was very glad that the Government had decided to proceed with it.

Mr. R. POWER said, he agreed with the hon. Member for County Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) in the protest he made against any more time and money of the House being given to the helping of Irish emigration. He regretted, however, that the same hon. Member did not see his way to join the Irish Members on that side of the House when on three or four occasions they tried to reduce the money, the using of which he now thought was so injurious. He wished to ask the Prime Minister what had become of the Union Officers' (Ireland) Bill? Did he propose to massacre also the first legislative effort of the junior Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone)?

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he wished to ask the Prime Minister whether he could not hold out some hopes that several important subjects which were not in the shape of Bills should receive attention before the Session closed? The first of these was the existing condition of India, and the proposed legislation in that part of the Empire. Her Majesty's Government had afforded the House no satisfactory information with respect to those matters, and all that had been ascertained was that India was gradually going from bad to worse. He thought, therefore, that it was very important that Government should give some early opportunity of discussing the disastrous results of their policy in that country. Another subject was the condition of South Africa, where a serious change of policy had recently taken place. The Government had abandoned their intention of sending out a High Commissioner, and had decided to receive Commissioners from the Boers instead. That, he thought, should be made the subject of discussion, as it doubtless had an important bearing upon affairs in the Transvaal. There were other questions of great importance to the trade and commerce of this country which were likely to be excluded from Parliament—such as French aggression upon Madagascar, the Congo, the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, all of which, although the names might be strange and unfamiliar, affected our trade and commerce much more than any of the Bills before the House. Then there was the question of the annexation of New Guinea and the adjacent Islands, which was of the utmost importance to our Australian Colonies and the development of their trade. Yet nothing had, up to the present, been said about it. The home question of housing the poor was also of the greatest importance. That, owing to the influence of the Government over the hon. Member who was to have brought it forward, had been postponed; but he would urge upon the Government that the housing of the poor was a subject of much greater importance than the long, tedious, and impracticable scheme now before the House. He wished to make one very brief protest against the management of Business by Her Majesty's Government. He could not help thinking that it was very unfortunate that the Tenants' Compensation Bill had been made to yield to the Corrupt Practices Bill, as it was very necessary that the former Bill should be sent to the Upper House in ample time to allow of full discussion. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government would see their way to devote some attention to the subjects he had referred to before the Session closed.

Colonel KING-HARMAN regretted that the Government had also massacred another important Irish measure—the Sunday Closing Bill. That measure was looked forward to with pleasure by all classes in Ireland. [Mr. Callan: No, no.] He (Colonel King-Harman) insisted that it was a Bill called for loudly by all classes in Ireland. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would reconsider its decision regarding that Bill.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON said, that he had not intended addressing the House until the Prime Minister actually moved that the Order for the Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill be discharged. But as his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Colonel King-Harman) had introduced the subject, he must not hesitate to supplement his remarks, and to enter as strong a protest as he possibly could against the conduct of the Government in respect to this Bill. Indeed, he felt so strongly about the conduct of the Government, that he should have to be careful lest his feelings caused him to say something which he might afterwards regret. This Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland had been taken up by the Government at the instance of deputations representing every class in the community, which waited upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland before the opening of Parliament, and his action was supported by the most unanimous expression of opinion from the districts affected which had ever proceeded from the inhabitants likely to be affected by a social measure. The Bill passed through the House of Lords without a Division very early in the Session, and this, coupled with the fact that the Irish Government pledged itself to pass the Bill, caused the mind of its supporters to be quite easy. They took no pains to get a private measure of a similar nature through the House, and here was the result. Why, the Government had placed the supporters of this measure in the position of the historical donkeys which were coaxed over their journey by carrots being judiciously held to their noses. ["No, no!"] Well he certainly felt himself in that position. The conduct of the Government was a direct breach of faith with the supporters of the Bill. On the 27th of April last, replying to a deputation of Irish Members, the Chief Secretary for Ireland used these words—

> "The Irish Government could never acquiesce in the Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill not being passed into law this Session."

There could be no firmer pledge than that; and yet the Government came and announced the throwing over of the Bill. Now, he must state, in the most emphatic manner, that he acquitted his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland of any chage of mind on this subject. He was convinced that the right hon. Gentleman was of the same mind still. But other influences in the Government had prevailed. He must point out that, in this matter, the Government were teaching a very bad lesson to their Irish Supporters. He, himself, had hitherto been one of the firmest and closest supporters of Her Majesty's Government. Many of the strongest supporters of the Bill were among the supporters of the Government, and from the principal opponents of the measure the Government received nothing but opposition. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) and the hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Callan) were opponents of the Government; but the Government now played into the hands of those hon. Gentlemen, and they were throwing their own followers overboard. He supposed it was too late to induce the Prime Minister to go on with the Bill; but, at any rate, he would supplement the appeal made by the hon. and gallant Member opposite.

Mr. GLADSTONE explained that the existing Act would be continued.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought that the Government had adopted a very reasonable course in this matter, and hoped that the Government would not facilitate measures being brought forward on Saturdays by private Members.

Colonel NOLAN hoped the Government would next Session take the matter of Sunday Closing entirely into their own hands. He was very glad to see that the Government intended to bring in a Bill to establish tramways in Ireland.

Mr. STEVENSON protested against Sunday Closing being described as the "fad" of a private Member. It was the demand of great numbers of the people of the country. If there was not any progress to be made with the Irish Bill this Session, he hoped they would give facilities to pass the cognate measure relating to this side of the Channel.

Mr. CORRY said, he could not be regarded as a consistent supporter of Her Majesty's Government; but he should say he heard with very much regret the announcement that the Irish Sunday Closing Bill was to be abandoned for this year, after the various representations made by the Chief Secretary that there was no chance of the Bill being dropped. That step would cause immense discontent and dissatisfaction among his constituents. He trusted, however, that the measure would be again brought in early next Session and passed into law.

Mr. MAC IVER wished to know the intentions of the Government with regard to the Bankruptcy Bill. He hoped that the House would have timely Notice when the Bill was to come before them.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said his hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had asked whether the Government intended to proceed with the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, and he wished to repeat the question, although, as far as he was concerned, he hoped the Bill would be at once abandoned. It was a Bill of upwards of 600 clauses, many containing a great deal of contentious matter, and it would be utterly futile to endeavour to proceed with it at this late period of the Session. With regard to the Local Government Board (Scotland) Bill, however, that was a measure which the majority of the Scotch Members highly approved of; and he trusted the Government would endeavour to pass it this Session. It was down for second reading for next Monday, when he was afraid there was little chance of its being reached; and he would suggest that it should be set down for Tuesday, on which day there would be a very good chance for it.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, in the absence of his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade, hoped that the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) would take an opportunity of consulting his right hon. Friend on the Bankruptcy Bill.

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he rose to support the request of the hon. Member for Edinburgh that they might be favoured with some information with regard to the Education (Scotland) Bill as well as the Police Bill. The Education Bill was a small one, and he believed it was generally acceptable to Scotch Members, and also was a Bill that was anxiously looked forward to by many people in Scotland. Under these circumstances, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would state what their intentions were with regard to it.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that while the Government believed the Police Bill to be one of great importance, he feared that if many parts of it were made contentious, the measure could not be passed this year, and they should be obliged to drop it. The case of the Education Bill, however, was materially different. That was a comparatively small measure, and he could not think that it would be the subject of much argument. It was the intention of the Government to proceed with that Bill.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, with regard to the remarks of his hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate, so far as he was concerned, his objection to the Police Bill only applied to a few clauses specially affecting his own constituency. If the Lord Advocate would withdraw those clauses, which had no necessary connection with the Bill itself, he did not see why the rest of the Bill, with the co-operation of the Scotch Members, should not go through this Session, even although its length was so extended, because the majority of the Amendments ought not to occupy much time.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, the question ought to be how to press forward the legislation which was most desirable for the country and most beneficial to the majority. He would say a word as to the Irish measure. Let no one complain of him, an English Member, for mentioning an Irish Bill, for the greater part of their time for many years had been devoted to Irish measures. Anything which tended to the amelioration of Irish misery and distress must be matter of the highest importance. The House had heard a great deal about Irish landlords. But the amount of money taken by Irish landlords from the people of Ireland was small compared with that which had been swallowed by the Irish publicans. It was proved that the Bill passed by late Government had saved the Irish people £3,000,000.

MR. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Baronet was not entitled to go into the merits of the question.

MR. CALLAN said, notwithstanding the interest which the hon. Baronet professed to take in Irish poverty, he (Mr. Callan) could not help remarking that the other night the hon. Baronet came down to the House and waited up until 4 o'clock in the morning to prevent the Irish Members doing something to relieve Irish poverty. The hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman) called the Registration Bill a Party Bill. He was not surprised at the hon. and gallant Member opposing the Bill, as it was well known a proper registration of voters would make his own seat for the county of Dublin exceedingly insecure. As to the speech of the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Corry), he wished to say that he spoke in the presence of the two Representatives of Dublin, the two Representatives of Limerick, the two Representatives of Waterford, and the two Representatives of Cork, and these four cities were all opposed to the extension of the Act to them. As to the Union Officers' Bill, he hoped it would pass, as it was a Bill for the benefit of a very well deserving class.

MR. M. BROOKS said, there was no doubt, that notwithstanding all that had been said, that there was in Dublin at least a very strong feeling against the extension of the Sunday Closing Act to that City.

MR. GIBSON said, he differed with the hon. Member (Mr. M. Brooks). In his opinion the feeling of the vast majority of the people of Dublin ran counter to what the hon. Gentleman had said, and in favour of the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

NAVAL DISCIPLINE AND ENLISTMENT ACTS AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

[BILL 241.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged."

SIR JOHN HAY said, that in his opinion, and in the opinion of the vast number of naval officers he had consulted, the Bill was not one which, in its present shape, would be of any advantage to the Navy, and he was excessively glad that the Bill was not to be proceeded with.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

POLICE BILL.—[BILL 106.]

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged."

Colonel ALEXANDER said, that the statement made by the Prime Minister on this subject would be received with great regret by the Police in Great Britain. It would have been better not to have brought forward the Bill at all than not to press it to a conclusion. In the case of the Scottish Police there was no superannuation at all. He hoped, however, that the Bill would be mentioned in the Queen's Speech of next Session, and pressed forward early.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON hoped that, on account of the opposition the Bill had encountered, it would be introduced early next Session, so as to allow of the questions it raised being thoroughly threshed out.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said he was glad of the opportunity to express his extreme regret that the Bill would not be passed this Session. It was due in justice to the Police Force of the United Kingdom. But, unfortunately, it had encountered such a strong combination of violent opposition from the side of the House to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman belonged, that the Government, seeing no chance of its passing, had no alternative but to withdraw it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged;* Bill *withdrawn.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—∞0∞—

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[Bill 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 6th July.*]

[SEVENTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Miscellaneous.

Clause 41 (Punishment of bribery or treating committed in houses open for refreshment).

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had promised to make a statement in regard to Clauses 41 and 42. Having considered the matter he had come to the conclusion that it would be better to withdraw both of these clauses, the first of which rendered any person occupying premises kept open for public refreshments and entertainment in which any intoxicating liquor was sold, liable to indictment or summary conviction for illegal practices if he permitted any act which constituted bribery or treating within the meaning of the Act. Clause 42 involved the forfeiture of the licence by any person licensed to sell intoxicating liquors, when proved guilty of suffering either bribery or treating to be committed on his premises. The object of these clauses was to transfer the power of dealing with these offences from the Election Judges to the licensing authority, who at present had the sole power of dealing with a person carrying on a business of this nature for an infringement of the licence, and of exercising and controlling power over the mode in which the business was carried on. Of course, it would be necessary, in the first instance, before any action could be taken, that there should be a report from the Election Judge. In the event of any person being convicted after he had been reported, the licensing authorities would take into consideration all the circumstances of the case, and would have the same powers as the Election Judge. He found it would be necessary to modify Clauses 41 and 42 for the purpose of substituting the licensing authority for the Election Court or the Special Commissioners, and he proposed to introduce a new clause on the Report. He would place the new clause upon the Paper as soon as it was possible, and, of course, he would afford ample time for the consideration of the question before he asked the Committee to pass the clause. He hoped this course would have the effect of removing the opposition which had been raised to the clause.

Question proposed, "That Clause 41 stand part of the Bill."

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had placed an Amendment upon the Paper to leave out in the first part of the clause the words "premises kept open for public refreshment," in order to insert the words "used either solely or partially for supplying refreshments, or for pleasurable resort and entertainment, &c." He was glad to hear the statement which had been made by the Attorney General, and, as he entirely acquiesced in the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman, he would not press the Amendment, which he had only placed on the Paper as an act of justice to a particular class of individuals.

MR. LEWIS said, he was not in a position to state what course it would be desirable to take in the matter, until he had an opportunity of seeing what the new clause was. He confessed, however, that he did not understand why they should stigmatize a particular occupation or business in this way; and, therefore, he wanted to see how far it was intended to carry legislation in this direction. He thought it would be better to deal with the matter through the Licensing Court, rather than through the Election Court or the Special Commissioner. As to Clause 42, he was of opinion that it was altogether wrong. He would not, however, discuss the matter now, but would defer any observations he had to make until the new clause was brought up.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he thought no one ought to object to the course which the Attorney General proposed to take. There were strong objections to these clauses in their present form, and it would be better to save the time of the Committee by withdrawing them now, in order that a modified clause might be brought up on the Report.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he hoped that, in bringing up the new clause, the Attorney General would take into consideration the Amendment he (Mr. Tomlinson) had proposed to move—namely, the omission of the words "suffers to take place," with the view of inserting the words "knowingly permits." The object of that Amendment was to require that any act constituting bribery or treating within the meaning of the Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts should have been done with the permission, knowingly, of the occupier of the premises.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would consider all the Amendments which had been placed on the Paper; and he thanked the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) for postponing his observations until the new clause was brought up.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause 42 (Forfeiture of licence by person licensed to sell intoxicating liquors when quilty of committing or suffering bribery or treating on his premises).

Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Clause 43 (Removal of incapacity on proof that it was procured by perjury) *agreed to.*

Clause 44 (Amendment of law as to polling districts and polling places).

MR. CALLAN said, he thought the adoption of this clause would materially increase the expense of an election. In Ireland there had been no complaint of the present system. He believed the practice there was to divide the county into Petty Sessional districts, constituting each one into a polling place; and he thought that was a most efficient and a most convenient mode of proceeding. He believed that the extension of this clause to the boroughs in Ireland would occasion a great deal of confusion; and he, therefore, trusted that it would be modified.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked whether the Attorney General accepted the Amendment which the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had placed on the Paper for extending the operation of the clause to boroughs as well as to counties?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Amendment had not been moved.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN remarked that as the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) was not present to move the Amendment, he (Mr. J. Cowen) would move it instead. He had understood that the Attorney General had made an agreement with the hon. Member in regard to certain Amendments by which he had undertaken to deal with them himself; and it was scarcely fair, as far as the Committee were concerned, that that understanding should be departed from, because the hon. Member for Wolverhampton did not happen to be present. The object of the Amendment was to meet the case of large borough constituencies; and in the absence of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton he begged to propose the Amendment which appeared in that hon. Member's name.

Amendment proposed, in page 30, line 3, after "county," insert "and borough."—(*Mr. J. Cowen.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not intend to be discourteous to the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler); but he thought both the hon. Member for Wolverhampton and the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) would see that the Amendment could have no result if it were inserted here. The effect of inserting it would be to provide that every county should be divided into polling districts, and that separate polling places should be assigned to each district, no matter how small the borough constituency might be—for instance, the borough of Portarlington and various other small Irish boroughs which had never hitherto been divided into polling districts would have, in future, to be divided, and separate polling stations provided. It was a very different thing in regard to a county; but in the case of small boroughs it was quite unnecessary to divide them, and the only effect would be to impose a large additional expense upon the candidate.

Mr. CALLAN said, they had now abolished the employment of cars, and it would be necessary in such a borough as Drogheda, which extended for more than five miles into the county of Louth, to have various polling districts. He knew that in one part of the borough there were about 80 voters resident who were at least five miles from the centre of the borough; and as it would be impossible in future to provide them with carriages these voters would be obliged to walk to the polling place, a distance of from three to five miles, in order to vote. The case of Galway was a similar one, and in that instance they would oblige many of the voters to walk a distance of more than five miles. He, therefore, hoped the Attorney General would promise on the Report to see whether this difficulty in regard to some of the Irish constituencies could not be removed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would consider the matter both in regard to Ireland and England; but the two cases of Galway and Drogheda, mentioned by the hon. Gentleman, were separate and special cases. If there were any other exceptional cases in which the borough was not divided into wards, if any hon. Member would call attention to it he would see what provision ought to be made.

Mr. CALLAN said, he had only mentioned Galway and Drogheda; but he believed there were other cases.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN remarked, that in England there were boroughs similarly situated—such, for instance, as Morpeth. He would not, however, press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. LEWIS moved, in line 7, to leave out "three," and insert "seven." The object of the Amendment, which stood on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt), was to provide that, whenever it was reasonable and practicable, every elector resident in a county should have a polling place within a distance not exceeding seven miles from his residence.

Amendment proposed, in page 30, line 7, leave out "three," and insert "seven."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. ONSLOW said, he did not know how the Attorney General proposed to deal with this question. He knew a part of Cornwall in which the constituents were small farmers scattered over a wide district, and he wished to know who was to conduct the polling if it was required to be within three miles of the voters' residence? He believed that in many districts, if they fixed this as the mileage, a considerable amount of difficulty would be experienced, and that some of the voters might be left out because there would be no polling booth to which they could have access. He thought if the Attorney General would substitute "five" for "three" miles it would be an improvement, and it would be better than going as far as seven miles.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he thought the Amendment was a backward movement towards the law as it now stood. They had abolished the use of carriages to convey voters to the poll, and it was, therefore, necessary to bring the voters near to the polling booths. Something must be done to render the voting more easy, although, no doubt, the multiplication of polling booths would increase the expense.

MR. ONSLOW wished to put a case to the hon. and learned Attorney General. Supposing that a farmer were in the habit of attending a market at a considerable distance from his residence, would he be allowed to vote at the place where the market was held? He might be two or three miles away from his regular polling booth in the district where he lived, and it might not be convenient for him to go there. If, then, he came to the market on business, would he be entitled to go to that central place and record his vote there?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that no voter would be able to vote exactly where he liked; but, in a case such as that mentioned by the hon. Member, the voter could attend the Registration Court, and complain to the Revising Barrister of the polling district provided for him being inconvenient.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. WHITLEY said, he had a very important Amendment on the Paper, which he hoped would receive favourable consideration at the hands of the Attorney General. He proposed to add the following Proviso at the end of the 1st section of this clause:—

> "Provided always, That it shall be lawful for any elector, on making a declaration before a Justice of the Peace, to the effect that he is unable to vote at the polling station at which his qualification is situate, to vote at such polling station as he may select, and such selection shall be made in manner following, that is to say, at least two days before the election the elector shall sign a declaration according to form in Schedule, and the returning officer, on receipt of such declaration, shall furnish the presiding officer, at the station selected, with a list of those voters who have selected to vote at such station; and he shall also notify to the presiding officer in which the voter's qualification is situate, that the said voter has elected to vote elsewhere, and the said presiding officer shall thereupon erase the voter's name from the list for that station."

He wished to point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman, and to the Committee generally, that the present provision in regard to polling booths would not help working men in the city which he represented. In the city of Liverpool the vast majority of the working class were employed at a considerable distance from their residences, some of them five or six miles, so that it would be utterly impossible for them, under the new regulations, to vote unless they were prepared to sacrifice their day's wages. At present it was the practice to bring them up to the poll in carriages and omnibuses. By that means they were able to vote within their dinner hour, and then return to their work; but it would be utterly impossible for them to walk a distance of four or five miles to record their vote, and then return to their work within the hour; and the consequence would be that a large number of the workmen would be disfranchised. The Amendment simply carried out a principle which had already been adopted with regard to the county of Middlesex, where a voter could select the place at which he would vote. He proposed that an elector should make a declaration before a Justice of the Peace that he wished to poll at the place at which he was working, and not where he resided; and upon that declaration being made two days before the election, the presiding officer of the district in which the voter proposed to vote should have authority to record the vote, having received from the Justice before whom the declaration was made a notice that A or B had decided to vote in the place where he was working. He thought that in that way any attempt at personation might be avoided, and he assured the Attorney General that a privilege of that kind would be most acceptable generally to the vast majority of the working classes, who felt that, under the Bill as it stood, they would be, practically, disfranchised. The class most affected were the really hard-working and respectable members of the working class. Those who worked without any regular employment might be able to vote; but those who were in constant work would be, practically, disfranchised by the Bill. He hoped the Attorney General would consider whether, by altering the present clause, or by bringing up any other clause to effect the object which would equally serve his (Mr. Whitley's) purpose, he could not consent to this request. He (Mr. Whitley) had not met the Bill in any captious spirit. Indeed, he was anxious that it should pass; but he was also anxious to secure that the working classes especially should have the privilege of enjoying their votes. He would, therefore, be glad if the Attorney General would accept the Amendment, or bring up another clause to carry out the view expressed in the Amendment in any way that might seem best to himself. He could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman that if he did so he would earn the gratitude of a large number of working men who would otherwise be disfranchised. As he had pointed out, there was a precedent in the case of the county of Middlesex, where it was provided that a voter whose name was upon the register should be able to make an application to be allowed to record his vote in another district.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD remarked, that the application would have to be made to the Revising Barrister.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he only wanted to effect that object. He was quite careless as to the way in which it was carried out. He begged to move the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 30, line 9, after the word "electors," to insert the words,—"Provided always, That it shall be lawful for any elector, on making a declaration before a justice of the peace, to the effect that he is unable to vote at the polling station in which his qualification is situate, to vote at such polling station as he may select, and such selection shall be made in manner following, that is to say, at least two days before the election the elector shall sign a declaration according to form in Schedule, and the returning officer, on receipt of such declaration, shall furnish the presiding officer, at the station selected, with a list of those voters who have elected to vote at such station, and he shall also notify to the presiding officer in which the voter's qualification is situate, that the said voter has elected to vote elsewhere, and the said presiding officer shall thereupon erase the voter's name from the list for that station."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, they were all agreed in the desire to prevent anything like the disfranchisement of any voter; but he thought the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) would see that the Amendment he proposed went far beyond what was necessary. The proposal made by the hon. Member was to allow any person to go to the Revising Barrister, to give in his name, the place where he resided, and to state the name of the district in which he wanted to vote. It might be advisable to give such power to the voter in boroughs if they were bringing forward a new Registration Bill; but that was not the case at present, and his own opinion was that it was desirable for a man to vote among his neighbours by whom he was known, and that he should go to the poll with his neighbours. If the hon. Member knew the extent to which personation was carried on at elections, he would be induced to see that the only check upon it was that a voter should poll where he was known. Therefore, any suggestion of this kind would require careful consideration, and it would be necessary to see what safeguards there were by which the voting could be surrounded. The Proviso moved by the hon. Member was very loosely drawn. It stated, in the first place, that it should be lawful for any elector, on making a declaration before a Justice of the Peace to the effect that he was unable to vote at the polling station in which his qualification was situate, &c. Now, he confessed he could not understand what those words meant. How could a man's qualifications be situate in a polling station? He did not wish to be hypercritical; but he really did not see what his hon. Friend meant, and he did not think the words of the Proviso would carry out what was desired. The other parts of the clause were drawn with equal looseness. As he had already said, it might be proper, if they were introducing a new Registration Bill, to consider the question; but they ought to be chary how they provided that a man on the eve of an election should vote at some different place from that at which, according to the register, he was entitled to poll. He was afraid that the Amendment would open the door to a large amount of personation. He had every desire to facilitate the power of the elector to vote; but the Amendment moved by the hon. Member was of too dangerous a character to justify its insertion in its present form.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he could not help thinking that the objection which the Attorney General had raised to the Amendment of the hon. Member was illusory. As a matter of fact, people did not vote in the presence of their neighbours, and the only way to prevent personation was to have a personation agent in attendance—some person acquainted with the district from which the voter came. The Attorney General seemed to think it was desirable that every man should march to the polling booth with his neighbour; but if that were done it would have no beneficial effect, because each man would go in singly to vote, and would be left by his neighbours at the door of the polling booth. It therefore seemed to him that the objection of the Attorney General came to nothing; and as to the verbal criticism of the hon. and learned Gentleman, it would be got rid of by the insertion of words showing that the polling station was to be "in the district" in which the qualification was situated. If they prolonged the hours of polling into the hours of darkness, he believed that deeds of darkness would prevail. He thought it had been the impression of Parliament hitherto that it was not desirable to extend the hours of polling. He knew that there had been a strong effort made in that direction; but the general feeling of Parliament had been against it. It was thought that they would facilitate corrupt practices by allowing an election to take place at a late hour. The Proviso moved by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) would get rid of a difficulty in the case of persons engaged in labour. As the Attorney General did not promise to bring up any clause upon the subject himself, and as there was no promise of any future legislation in that direction, he certainly should support the Amendment.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had pointed out serious objections to the Amendment in point of form. Another objection was that it was proposed to add it to the sub-section of a clause which related to county elections only, whereas the contention of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) applied only to borough elections. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) did not see why they should insert the Proviso in the middle of a clause which related entirely to county elections. The hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) had referred to the question of extending the hours of polling, and had asserted that the feeling of Parliament was strongly against such a change. That was not so, because in the last Parliament the question was discussed on several occasions at some length; and not only was the feeling of the House in favour of the proposal, but the hours of polling in London had been extended.

MR. CALLAN remarked that, by the law as it stood at present, no application could be made to the Revising Barrister to transfer an applicant from one polling place to another until next September. He (Mr. Callan) knew from experience that if they adopted the Proviso of the hon. Member for Liverpool, they would have to keep up a very extensive and expensive staff of personation agents. He knew some voters who would require at least half-a-dozen of these personation agents to prove whether they were the proper persons to vote or not.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, the additional objection which had just been made from the Treasury Bench by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board was also an objection, upon a matter of form, to the place in which this sub-section was proposed to be inserted. He hoped the fact that the objections were substantially objections to matters of form would induce the Government to give some facility such as was asked for, in order to enable large bodies of working men to record their votes. He knew something of what occurred in a large constituency, where there were a considerable number of working men. He had undergone two contested elections in one of these constituencies, and he must say that serious difficulty was experienced in getting the votes recorded at all. It must be remembered that under the state of things constituted by the present Bill there would be no power to convey voters to the poll. Although in the elections which took place in the Metropolis in 1880 the poll remained open until 8 o'clock in the evening, he knew that there was very great difficulty, in the borough he was specially referring to, in getting working men up to the poll on both sides, even by a very extensive use of carriages. The use of these conveyances was now forbidden, and he was satisfied that in a large district of that kind it would be impossible, even if the hours were extended until 8 o'clock, to get up the full strength of the working men to the poll, unless there were some provision of this kind. He thought it a most desirable provision to add, both in regard to large constituencies in boroughs and also county constituencies, where there was a good deal of time sacrificed by requiring the voter to vote in the place in which his qualification was situated. It was quite true that in the counties a voter could, by giving notice to the Revising Barrister, select the place at which he should record his vote. But the Revising Barrister sat in the month of September, and the list of voters came into operation in the following January; and it might be that the election did not take place until November, and by that time it might have become a matter of importance for the voter to vote in another district altogether. He trusted that the Attorney General would give proper consideration to the matter, and bring up some clause in order to deal with the subject.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, the Attorney General had criticized the manner in which the Amendment was drawn up; but he thought some of the clauses of the Bill itself were very much open to the same objection. He believed that everyone connected with the large manufacturing towns would be desirous of affording facilities for the voting of large gangs of working men who were employed at a distance from their place of residence. In his own district there was a considerable number of shipwrights and engineers who possessed a right to vote, but whose work was situated some six, eight, or ten miles away from the place where they resided. What the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) wished was to give these men facilities for voting without obliging them to lose a day's wages on the polling day; and if that object were not met in the present clause, it might be met in some other way. He (Mr. J. Cowen) was quite sure the difficulty did arise, and, if some provision was not made to guard against it, it would disfranchise a large number of working men.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, it appeared that the only objection raised to the Amendment by the Government was that it would give facilities for personation; and he thought that objection had no foundation. It was quite true that if the elector appeared before the Revising Barrister, and showed that he was working in another part of the constituency from that in which he lived, facilities might be given for changing the polling place; but that was not what was wanted in the present case; and in regard to the personation, he failed to see how the Amendment would assist anyone who desired to commit that offence. This provision would enable an elector, on the eve of the election, to apply to the Returning Officer for leave to vote in another district; and, in that case, the name of the voter would be struck out of the list for the district in which he resided, but where he might not be very well known, and would be inserted in the list for the place where he worked, and where he could be identified. In fact, the Amendment afforded security against personation, inasmuch as it required the voter who applied for the change to make a declaration before a Justice of the Peace, and thereby to afford evidence for his identification. If some such modification were not made, he thought a good many electors who belonged to the working classes would be disfranchised.

Mr. STANTON wished to point out that the register must be prepared some little time before the election took place, and the lists were usually prepared at the end of the year. In the case of working men, they were constantly changing their places of abode, and, in a good many instances, were constantly changing their places of work; and if, on a sudden, an election took place, and if the Returning Officer, a few days before the election, when his hands were full of all kinds of arrangements, were to find himself surrounded by 300 or 400 working men who wished to change their place of polling, he would have his labours in connection with the election enormously increased. He (Mr. Stanton) did not think it practicable or possible to change the lists in the short time fixed in the Amendment. A very large number of the lists of voters would be required for distribution all over the borough or county, and the Returning Officer would find it absolutely impossible to conduct the election under this Proviso. He thought the objection of not being able to poll might be met by giving the working classes a couple of hours during the middle of the day instead of the dinner hour, or by extending the hours of polling generally, or by adopting a system of voting such as he (Mr. Stanton) and other hon.

Members were prepared to support—namely, in the shape of voting papers.

MR. LEWIS said, that the question was only one of a choice of evils. He did not think that he should have supported the Proviso of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) if the Bill did not go a great deal further by getting rid of the use of conveyances, notwithstanding the fact that, in many instances, they would have the infirmities of human nature to deal with, and very long distances to travel. All they had to consider was this—whether, for the sake of that idolatry they were all more or less going through with regard to the Bill, it was necessary to say that it was a high crime and misdemeanour to take a man to poll in a cab, or to pay a shilling for conveying a working man or an infirm person to the poll. He failed to see how they were to deal with the question when it arose in regard to the great constituencies of the country, or how they were to provide men with an opportunity of polling at a great distance from the place where they worked. One hon. Member suggested that there should be an hour for polling in the middle of the day; and another suggested that the hours for polling generally should be extended. The present proposition was to allow an elector to make a declaration before a Justice of the Peace, and to get his polling place changed. As it was only a choice of evils, and as the Amendment would prevent the necessity on the part of a working man of travelling for many miles, he should not oppose the Amendment.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) said the Bill got rid of the power of carrying voters in conveyances to the poll; but it was only since 1880 that they had the power of doing that. Suppose on the day of polling 200 or 300 people went to the Returning Officer and said they wanted to go to another polling station, and to have their names struck out from the list in which they appeared, how was the Returning Officer to know the persons who made the application, and be satisfied that they were not cases of personation? Take the case of Liverpool. The place of a man's work might be some distance from the place where he resided. It was said that they might have personation agents at the polling booths; but unless the personation agents lived among the people, how could they know who they were? They could not send a personation agent out of the district in which he was acquainted with the electors; and, therefore, this practical difficulty in respect to personation agents would still exist, and upon that ground he opposed the Amendment.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, it was quite true, as the Attorney General had pointed out, that before 1880 it was not lawful to pay for conveying voters to the poll. But the law in 1880 was considerably altered; and the hon. and learned Gentleman must remember that the law in 1880 was not so stringent as it would be made now by this Act. At that time a man could exercise charity by ordering carriages to convey voters to the poll; but at the present moment, if any man did such a thing, he would bring the most serious consequences, not only upon himself, but upon innocent persons. Now, in the first place, he did not think this was a personation matter at all. He took exactly the view of the Bill which had already been stated, although in far better words, by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). He was not at all in love with the clause nor with the Amendment; but he admitted that the Amendment would be better than nothing. He was sure, from his own experience, which was not very small in electioneering matters, that the ban which had been placed upon the employment of conveyances would disfranchise a large number of voters. At the same time, he knew perfectly well that many hon. Members who voted with the Attorney General wished to see a large class of these electors disfranchised solely upon the ground that such electors did not agree with themselves in political opinion. [*Cries of* "No!"] At any rate, that was his experience, and it was not a very small one. There were many voters who, like the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), desired to see nobody represented or have a vote except they happened to agree with him in opinion. The Liberal Party thought that a large portion of the electors living away from the polling places were likely to vote in a different way from that in which they would vote themselves; and, therefore, they desired to prevent them, as far as possible, from being taken to the poll. They all knew the difficulty of getting electors to poll unless the polling place was handy. If the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) went to a Division he should support the Amendment.

Mr. W. M. TORRENS said, the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down told the Committee that he had had some experience in elections. So also had he (Mr. Torrens), and he deprecated this Amendment most decidedly. He would tell the Committee why. In London there had been an extension of the hours of polling; and he was bound to say, from his own personal observation, that nothing in the world could work better or more orderly, and he only wished the Government could be induced to extend that provision to their fellow-citizens in the country towns. If there was one thing he found it hard to eradicate from the minds of what were called half-educated people, it was the notion that personation, when it was done honestly, was not wrong. He would tell the Committee what happened to himself at the last Election, and he would leave the Committee to judge whether he was dealing with an imaginary case. In the course of the contest he had an interview with a foreman of a large establishment, and he took occasion to ask him if they had voted there. "Oh, yes," he said, "we all voted before 9 o'clock this morning, excepting So-and-so; and we intend to put that all right. I will take care that if he does not come up by 3 o'clock I will go and vote for him." This was said in perfect good faith, and the man evidently thought he was doing something perfectly right. Of course, he (Mr. Torrens) regarded the idea with horror, and told the man to do nothing of the kind, adding that he would only vitiate the election. The reply he received was—"Mr. Charles is as well entitled to vote as any man in England, and we must take care that his vote is not lost." That was a danger which the Committee might not realize. Persons of this class had a notion that if a man was qualified his vote ought to be given, and he was afraid that if the Committee consented to pass this Amendment they would only be giving facilities for personation. He would give the Committee another experience he had obtained of a different character. In the Metropolis, thanks to the exertions of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, the poll was now kept open until 8 o'clock. At 7 o'clock on a winter's evening he had gone to the furthest suburb of the borough he represented in order to see how things were going on. He found that there was a great portion of the constituency in that part of the town who worked in the centre of London, but who lived at Stoke Newington. They could not give up their day's pay in order to vote; but they hastened from their work to be in time, and they were in time. They came in from the centre of London, and went into the polling booth with such order, regularity, and as silently as a troop of ants. If the Committee was to take the same course in regard to other borough constituencies, and extend the hours of voting, they would have orderly voting; but if they attempted to carry out the Proviso moved by the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) they would only bring about personation, and render elections liable to be vitiated without any real cause.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he understood that the principal objection of the Attorney General had reference to personation. He should be the very last to desire to do anything to encourage personation; but he did not think there was the slightest difficulty on that head. He believed that a certain amount of personation did exist now; but there would be no danger of personation if the Amendment were adopted, and if it were not, great numbers of the working classes would be practically disfranchised. His experience was that it was only the most respectable of the working classes who would avail themselves of the privilege. The Amendment required every man taking advantage of it to make a declaration before a Justice of the Peace, and he would know that in making that declaration he would render himself liable to a serious punishment if he made a false declaration. It would be found that men who were prepared to make such a declaration before a Justice of the Peace would be the last men to attempt anything in the shape of personation. The difficulty he proposed to deal with was no imaginary one. The hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. Torrens) said that an extension of the hours of polling might meet the case. Probably it might in some localities, and in regard to large boroughs he was not at all opposed to extend the hours of polling; but, at the same time, a measure of that kind would not remedy the evil in a place like Liverpool. They had in Liverpool tried, on one or two occasions, to prolong the time for election in connection with parochial affairs; but a strong feeling was expressed against voting in the dark hours. In the summer, when the days were long, there was no difficulty in this respect; but in the winter time, in some parts of Liverpool, it would be absolutely dangerous to conduct elections. He gathered from the remarks of the Attorney General, that the only thing they had to guard against was the possibility of personation; and he certainly was of opinion that personation would be prevented if they required a man who wished to change his polling place to make a declaration before a Justice of the Peace some three or four days before the day of polling. The names of such men would then be transferred from the place at which they resided to the place where they worked, and they would be easily identified. If the Government declined to concede this privilege, they would virtually disfranchise a very large number of working men who were among the most respectable men in the borough, and who had a fair claim and right to the consideration of Parliament. They had already made it penal for anyone to hire a carriage and convey a working man to the poll; and under the Bill, as it stood, no working man could hire a carriage to convey himself and some of his fellow-workmen to the poll. Surely, under such circumstances, the labouring classes had a right to the favourable consideration of the House. Objection had been made to the way in which the clause was drawn; but he did not tie himself to the words of the clause. They might alter it as his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) had suggested, by inserting the words "in the district," after "polling station," or he should be perfectly contented if the Attorney General would bring up some clause to meet this very urgent case—a case which he could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman would in Liverpool alone affect from 15,000 to 20,000 voters. Surely a case like that was worthy of the attention and consideration of Her Majesty's Government. As he had already said, he did not think for a moment that the alteration he suggested would lead to personation, which he would be the last man to defend. The Attorney General said that men ought to go up to the poll in company with their neighbours and friends by whom they were known. That might be all very well in the borough of Taunton; but he (Mr. Whitley) represented from 60,000 to 80,000 electors—men who did not know their neighbours any more than the "man in the moon." The presiding officer would not know them, neither would their neighbours know them; but an opportunity would be afforded, if necessary, of making inquiries and identifying the voter by requiring a declaration to be made before a Justice of the Peace three or four days before the polling took place. He thought it would be a great hardship if the elector was not allowed to make that declaration; and he hoped the Government would seriously consider, if they found themselves unable to accept this provision, whether they could not bring up some clause of their own to meet the difficulty. By that means they would earn for themselves the gratitude of a large number of the working classes.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would appeal to the Committee to come to a decision at once upon the Amendment. As a matter of fact, up to that moment, they had made no progress with the Bill. The first clauses brought under the consideration of the Committee had been dropped, and it was now time that progress was made. He, and his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, had already several times pointed out the objections which were entertained against the Amendment and the form in which it was now proposed. In addition to the other objections, the Amendment would render the conduct of elections absolutely impossible. Towards the close of the poll there might be a large number of voters in a borough desiring to record their vote at a particular polling place under the Amendment, and the Returning Officer would have no means of checking their votes. He would be altogether unable to cope with the difficulty at the last moment.

Mr. WARTON said, he did not think the Committee ought to listen for one moment to the suggestion made by the President of the Local Government Board that, although they had been sitting for an hour, they had made no progress with the Bill. No doubt, they sometimes went rather quickly, and sometimes rather slowly; but the real question to consider was how they could best do justice to a large number of their fellow-subjects. The first objection to the Amendment was one taken by the Attorney General as to the manner in which it was worded; but that objection was hardly worth serious consideration, because, in two minutes, the Committee could obviate it by altering the phraseology of the Amendment. The next objection was that the clause was in the wrong place; and that was an objection which was got rid of quite as easily. In point of fact, the Attorney General had pooh-poohed and sneered at the Amendment; but, after it had undergone some discussion, the hon. and learned Gentleman began to see that there might be something important in it after all; and, finding that a considerable number of Members did attach importance to it, another Member of the Government got up upon the Treasury Bench to tell them they ought to divide, because, so far, they had made no progress with the Bill. Now, it seemed to him that the Government had not given the slightest consideration to the proposition; and, if they had any real desire to make progress, they would not have met the Amendment with ridiculous criticisms about the words in which it was framed. The adoption of the Amendment would facilitate the polling of working men; and, upon that ground, he (Mr. Warton) would support it.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he had one or two verbal Amendments to propose which would remedy the objection raised to the Amendment by the Attorney General. In the first place, in line 9, at the end of the 1st sub-section, after the word "electors," he would move to add the words "in any county or borough."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, in line 1, after the word "elector," insert the words "in any county or borough." — (*Sir Hardinge Giffard.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would accept that Amendment, and also any other Amendment the hon. and learned Gentleman had to propose, in order that they might divide upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) in the form in which hon. Members opposite desired to put it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD moved, in line 3, after the words "polling station," to insert the words "in the district."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD moved to extend the time for making the declaration from two to four days, and also after the words "the elector shall sign," to insert the words "and forward to the Returning Officer." It appeared to him that two days were too short a time for the declaration to be made and sent to the Returning Officer, and he proposed to strike out "two" and insert "four." The second Amendment made provision for the reception of the declaration by the Returning Officer.

Amendment proposed, in line 5, leave out "two," and insert "four."—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in line 6, after the word "sign," insert "and forward to the Returning Officer."

Amendment *agreed to*

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment by inserting, in line 11, after the words "presiding officer," the words "of the district."—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GORST rose to Order. He wished to make a suggestion to the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Amendment—namely, whether it would not be as well in the last words of line 4 to insert an Amendment requiring the district in which the voter resided to be notified to the Returning Officer?

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he did not think that would be necessary.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that now the Amendment had been amended he should ask the Committee to reject it altogether.

Question put,

"That the words 'Provided always, That it shall be lawful for any elector in any county or borough, on making a declaration before a justice of the peace, to the effect that he is unable to vote at the polling station in the district in which his qualification is situate, to vote at such polling station as he may select, and such selection shall be made in manner following, that is to say, at least four days before the election the elector shall sign, and forward to the returning officer, a declaration according to form in Schedule, and the returning officer, on receipt of such declaration, shall furnish the presiding officer, at the station selected, with a list of those voters who have elected to vote at such station, and he shall also notify to the presiding officer of the district in which the voter's qualification is situate, that the said voter has elected to vote elsewhere, and the said presiding officer shall thereupon erase the voter's name from the list for that station,' be there inserted."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 30; Noes 79: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 184.)

MR. E. S. HOWARD said, he thought the Amendment he was about to propose would not be objected to by Her Majesty's Government, because the Committee had agreed to the abolition of payment for conveyance of voters; and this was an attempt to remedy the inconvenience which some voters would suffer in consequence of that abolition, by bringing the poll nearer to their doors. The clause proposed that every county should be divided into polling districts, and a polling place assigned to each district in such a manner that, so far as was reasonably practicable, every elector resident in the county should have a polling place within a distance not exceeding three miles from his residence, provided that no polling place should be constituted which contained less than 100 electors. That meant that the electors should have the polling places nearer to themselves, and if it were carried out there was no doubt there would be a great increase in the number of polling places where the population was scattered, and a corresponding increase of the expenses; but he did not think they ought to complain of the latter, because the expense of polling places would be as nothing compared with that of conveying voters to the poll. At the same time, he did not see why needless expense should be incurred for clerks, messengers, and officers, as well as a waste of time. It was his experience that in many of the outlying districts in his county the poll, even where there were 300 or 400 electors, was closed at 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and that the rest of the day was spent by the officers in chatting with the persons who came in with the election agents. Now, the adoption of his Amendment would utilize the staff during the whole day, because, where the electors were widely scattered in any polling district, he proposed that the poll should be taken at such two places successively as might be determined upon by the local authority, with the proviso that the poll should be open for not less than three hours at each place. At the risk of not having stated the case as strongly as he might have done, having regard to the time of the Committee, he would conclude his remarks by pointing out that the Amendment was only permissive in its character; and if the local authorities did not think it practicable they need not put it into effect. He trusted, under all the circumstances, that the Amendment which he now begged to move would receive the favourable consideration of the Attorney General.

Amendment proposed,

In page 30, Sub-section 2, at end, add:—"Where in any polling district the electors are widely scattered, the poll may be taken successively at two places which shall be determined upon by the local authority in such manner to equalize as far as possible the distance to the poll to be traversed by the surrounding electors: Provided, That the poll shall be open for not less than three hours in each such place."—(*Mr. E. S. Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. CHEETHAM said, he rose to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Cumberland, which, if it were adopted, would provide an especial convenience in counties where the electors were scattered, and where the character of the district rendered communication difficult. In counties like Cumberland and Derbyshire the means of conveyance to the poll had always been especially necessary; and he thought that the restrictions which they had put upon the conveyance of electors in the earlier portion of the Bill placed them under a strong obligation to bring the poll nearer to the door of the elector. He apprehended that the expense would not be so much in the cost of the stations to be provided as in the staff necessary to carry on the business of the polling; and, therefore, if they made the staff do double duty in the manner proposed by the hon. Member, it would make a great difference in the cost on the side of economy. He trusted the Attorney General would see his way to accept this Amendment, or one of a similar character.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, while he could not complain of the Amendment of his hon. Friend being brought forward, he hoped that the Committee would perceive that the question involved in it did not naturally arise on this Bill. It ought to be rather an appendage to the Ballot Bill than to a Bill for the suppression of corrupt and illegal practices at elections. He should be quite willing to consider the hon. Member's proposal in connection with the Ballot Bill; but he could see at once a considerable disadvantage in it, and that was that it would give one staff to two different polling districts, or, in fact, it would cut one polling district in half. In that way they would disfranchise, to a certain extent, persons who went away from their homes in the morning and could not get back before the polling place in their district was closed. Nor did he think it would add to economy in the matter of the staff, who, when they had finished at the first place, would have to follow the presiding officer and catch him up at the second polling place. He trusted his hon. Friend would not press his Amendment.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had been on the point of rising to ask whether the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Cumberland was in Order. The Committee had passed a clause making the payment of voters' travelling expenses illegal, by which means a large number of persons had been disfranchised. Hon. Members on those Benches would, therefore, have to call upon the Government to find some machinery by which those voters who were too poor to pay the necessary travelling expenses would be able to get to the poll. It was all very well to say that the Ballot Bill would offer a more appropriate opportunity of introducing the Amendment of the hon. Member; but the Ballot Bill would not make its appearance that Session, and they could not wait until then for machinery necessary to enable the persons he had indicated to record their votes, because no one could say what a year might bring forth. What he desired to impress on the Government was that they must settle some means of getting voters to the poll before the Bill passed.

Mr. GORST said, he thought the idea of the hon. Member for East Cumberland an excellent one, although it would take too long to discuss it at that moment, and defend it against the strictures of the Attorney General. But he hoped the hon. Member would not be disheartened by the manner in which his suggestion had been received, and that when the Ballot Bill was before the House he would bring it forward again. The Amendment would be more appropriate to that measure, and he gathered from the Attorney General's remarks that he was not unfavourable to its principle. Having put a stop to the conveyance of voters, some means must be devised, in the case of districts where the electors were scattered, for getting the electors to the poll.

Mr. E. S. HOWARD said, that, on the principle that a bird in hand was worth two in the bush, he should have liked to have taken the sense of the Committee with regard to this matter. As, however, it was to be taken up again he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. WARTON said, that in line 10 the words "who have" evidently ought to be "which has." He would, therefore, move to make the alteration.

Amendment proposed, in page 30, line 10, leave out the words "who have," in order to insert the words "which has."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, they might as well discuss the question as to whether the Committee has or the Committee have. It was usual for the words to take the form in which they appeared in the clause, and it was hardly worth while altering them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. RANKIN said, he wished to propose the Amendment standing on the Paper in his name, which was, after the words "Much Wenlock," to insert the word "Leominster." The object of the 3rd section of the clause, into which his Amendment would be incorporated, was to treat certain large boroughs—East Retford, Shoreham, Cricklade, Much Wenlock, and Aylesbury — as if they were counties. These places were more like counties than boroughs, and his desire was to include Leominster, the circumstances of which place were similar to those of the places enumerated in the sub-section. Leominster had a large number of voters scattered over a very extensive area—about 25 square miles—and many of the electors lived further than three miles from the polling station; and as conveyances were not to be allowed, and many of these people were poor agricultural labourers, they should be treated as though they were electors for a county.

Amendment proposed, in page 30, line 16, after "Much Wenlock," insert "Leominster."—(*Mr. Rankin.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Leominster' be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said that certain boroughs in this country had for a long time been treated as counties. In 1867, East Retford, Shoreham, Cricklade, and Much Wenlock were treated as counties at the request of their Representatives, and at that time nothing was suggested as to the exclusion of Leominster. He would ask the hon. Member not to press the proposal.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he had no doubt he should be corrected if he were wrong; but to the best of his recollection there were four places originally included, and that Much Wenlock was added in 1867, which place was included on the representation of a very distinguished man, the present Lord Forester, who, at that time, represented the borough. It seemed to him (Mr. R. N. Fowler) only reasonable that Leominster should be added in the same way on the Motion of its Representative.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, there were a large number of other boroughs in the country which could make the same claim, and which it would be difficult to exclude if the request in the case of Leominster were acceded to. For instance, he should be prepared to move that Wolverhampton, with its 25,000 electors, and its area extending 10 or 12 miles, should be included. Wolverhampton was not all one town, but was a variety of towns grouped together; and it seemed to him that any argument that applied in the case of Leominster equally applied in the case of his borough. [Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No, no!] He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) claimed to be better acquainted with the place than the hon. Member for Eye. He did not think the Committee ought, on a simple off-hand Motion of this kind, without any inquiry, but simply on the Motion of the Member representing the borough, to adopt a change of this kind. He was sorry that he had not been present when the clause dealing with polling places was considered; but, at the proper time, he proposed to bring up a new clause, providing that all large boroughs should have polling places provided at a distance of not more than a mile from the residence of the electors, provided there were not more than 100 electors in each place. Without questioning the claims of Leominster, he objected to any exception being made in its favour, unless many other places were included.

MR. H. T. DAVENPORT wished to point out that there was a great difference between the boroughs of Wolverhampton and Leominster. In the case of Leominster, the district was a very large one, and the polling places were very far apart; but in Wolverhampton the polling places were scattered all over the borough.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT hoped the hon. Member for Leominster (Mr. Rankin) would not allow himself to be deterred by the dictatorial instructions of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), because, as the hon. Member who had just sat down had shown, there was an immense difference between the boroughs of Wolverhampton and Leominster. He (Mr.

Ashmead-Bartlett) might, with much reason, propose the inclusion of the borough of Eye; but, for the satisfaction of hon. Members opposite, he would state that he did not intend to take that course. What was the difference between Much Wenlock, Aylesbury, and the borough of Leominster? Why should Much Wenlock and Aylesbury be treated as counties, and not the borough of Leominster? Because five places had already been treated as counties, it was no reason why another borough, under similar conditions, should not be treated in that way also.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 39; Noes 93: Majority 54. — (Div. List, No. 185.)

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, the next Amendment was in his name, and it was one which it was hardly necessary to explain at any length. Its object was to provide a polling station for every 500 electors. It was not unnatural that there should have been some considerable discussion to-night upon this subject, and he thought that hon. Members had a perfect right to endeavour to remedy the evils in this Bill with regard to the difficulty that many electors would have of getting to the poll. It might be argued that this was not the proper place to insert such an Amendment as this, and he was not himself sure that this was the best part of the Bill in which to insert it. He made his proposal, however, as much as anything else for the purpose of hearing the views of hon. Members, and of having a discussion on the question. It might be said that the proper place for such a proposal would be in the Ballot Bill; but they had heard that that measure was to be dropped this Session. Well, before that measure passed a great many things might happen. As disabilities were to be created by this Bill, and as a provision preventing the use of conveyances for taking voters to the poll had been adopted, unless some such alteration as that he proposed were accepted many electors would be disfranchised. He begged to propose his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 30, line 18, after "county," insert "Provided also that in every county and borough, whether a district borough or not, there shall be at least one polling station for every five hundred electors."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Hart Dyke) seemed to think that his Amendment required no explanation; but it would have been advantageous if he had given the Committee some explanation of it. What, for instance, did he mean by polling station? Did he mean to retain those words? [SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: Yes.] A polling station was not a polling place, but was only a building in which a voter polled. A polling place might be a market place, and, if this Amendment were accepted, in such a place as a market place they would not be able to poll more than 300 voters; and it seemed to him that in very many cases they might have as many as 1,500 voters who would require to poll in a market place. Polling stations and polling places were very different things. In the case of county voters residing in a large area surrounding a town, the people were accustomed to come by railway to the place where there were hotels to dine, and so forth; and it might be convenient for them to vote in that central place—the necessity for them to go elsewhere putting them under very great inconvenience. No doubt the intention was that they should not have too many voters coming to the same polling place, and that the voters should not be inconvenienced by having the polling place too far away. He thought the right hon. Gentleman's desire would be met by the clause as it stood, as it provided that every elector resident in a county should have a polling place within a distance not exceeding three miles from his residence.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he thought that no district containing 500 electors should be without a polling station, and that, it seemed to him, was the clear object of the Amendment.

MR. GORST said, to his mind the meaning of the Amendment was perfectly clear, and it was only unintelligible to those who did not choose to understand it. There were provisions dealing with the representation of the people requiring local authorities to provide convenient polling districts; but none of them laid down any particular limit. They said generally what were convenient districts, but did not point them out. If there were 500 electors in any district, that was surely a district sufficiently large to have a polling place of its own. Probably some districts around central market towns might find it convenient to have their polling station in a market place; but other districts of 500 electors, which were not so situated, might require, and surely were entitled to have, their own polling place. He could not, for the life of him, see the objection to enacting either that, or something like it. Why should they not lay down a limit as to the number of electors in a district which should have a polling place? It did not at all follow that two or more districts should not have their polling places in the same town.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was not surprised that some confusion arose as to this matter, and he had no doubt that his right hon. Friend (Sir William Hart Dyke) had full reason for introducing his proposal. He knew that the Ballot Bill was not to be passed this Session, and the words he proposed were, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) believed, practically taken from that measure. In the 2nd sub-section they gave the local authorities power to divide the county into polling districts, and to assign polling places to those districts; and the right hon. Baronet asked that they should so divide those districts as to have 500 electors for each polling place. It was desirable that polling districts should not be overcrowded, and the right hon. Baronet wished to give the local authorities power, whilst deciding the question as to the polling places, to have regard to the desirability of giving a polling station to each 500 electors.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, a difficulty arose upon this point—namely, as to what constituted a district. His impression was that the 1st sub-section, which provided for the division of the polling districts, and the assignment of polling places to each district, so as to give every elector a polling place within three miles of his residence, would meet the object of the right hon. Baronet. But directly they got their polling district, it did not matter whether 500 or 600 people polled at one place. If the district was a populous one, and the polling place was central, it would be convenient to send more than 500 people to that place; and it would not be satisfactory to say that, however convenient such place was, no more than 500 voters should poll in it. As he had said, there was some confusion at the polling places and polling stations. He had never heard as yet that there had been a block in a polling station in consequence of voters not having had sufficient accommodation.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he must plead ignorance as to what was the definition the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General sought to draw between polling places and polling stations.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. Gentleman would see the distinction in the Ballot Act.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that that was no answer. The Ballot Act had been the cause of introducing no little confusion into their proceedings on this Bill. On a former occasion some very reasonable—and, he made bold to say, necessary—Amendments were proposed to the Bill; but the Chairman, acting, no doubt, rightly enough upon that which was then before him, decided that these, although of great importance, and he might say even of urgency, would more appropriately be introduced into the Ballot Act Continuance Bill. Well, he (Mr. J. Lowther) understood that they were no longer hampered with that confusion. He understood the Prime Minister to say that that Bill, which many of them, months ago, were of opinion had no chance of passing, had been definitely withdrawn. The Committee, therefore, was now in a position to deal with this subject as a whole. The right hon. Baronet had proposed that facilities for polling should be given to every body of electors numbering 500. Well, he would not follow the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General into the subtle distinction between a polling place and a polling station, which, to his (Mr. J. Lowther's) mind, was one and the same thing. He had often heard that a polling district might be sub-divided into minute departments; but he would not ask what was the the correct phrase for them. They all knew what his right hon. Friend meant. He simply desired to give facilities to voters to record their votes. He wished to ask whether the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) with regard to voting papers, to which he attached considerable importance, would be taken up in consequence of the Ballot Act Amendment Bill having been withdrawn?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, that with regard to the distinction between a polling station and a polling place, the law required that every Returning Officer should provide a sufficient number of polling stations for the accommodation of voters entitled to vote at such a place.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked how the distances were arranged?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, there must be a polling place and a polling station. The polling station was the place at which people were to vote; and in a populous district or polling place it would be most convenient to let them go to a particular town.

The CHAIRMAN: With regard to the point which the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) submitted for my opinion, I cannot now express any opinion about the clause which I see in the name of the hon. Member for East Sussex. When that clause comes on I shall be ready to give my opinion. As to the other point respecting an Act of Parliament which is at present in force, what I know is that the Ballot Act is at present in operation.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, what he wished to ask was whether he or any other Member would be in order in moving an Amendment raising the question of voting papers or any other matter dealt with in the Ballot Act?

The CHAIRMAN: It is premature to express any opinion upon that now.

Colonel NOLAN believed that the Amendment would create no increased facilities, but would add to the expense.

Mr. C. S. PARKER said, he would like to put it to the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) whether the discretion of the local authority might not suffice to deal with this queston? There was ample power given to the local authorities, and they had every motive to arrange for polling stations in the best way, with a view to the convenience both of the candidates and of the voters. He was afraid that the Committee was going too much into detail in this Bill. This was not a matter in which the Imperial Parliament should lay down rules for all possible cases; but it was rather a matter in which the local authorities might be safely left to make the most convenient arrangements.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he was loth to take up the time of the Committee; but he thought it due to himself to explain why he had put the Amendment on the Paper. In the Ballot Act Amendment Bill, which was now not to be proceeded with, he saw in the 1st Schedule a proposed addition to Rule 15, providing that in every county and every borough, whether a district borough or not, there should be at least one polling station for every 500 electors. That provision, however, was not to apply to municipal elections. Seeing that these words were in that Bill, and observing the disfranchising effects of this Corrupt Practices Bill, he thought it fair to bring the question before the Committee. If this provision was fair and right, he thought it was not unnatural that he should bring it before the Committee, and ask them to consider this point carefully—namely, whether, as by a clause in this present Bill a great number of voters would be virtually disfranchised by being deprived of all means of getting to the poll, the Committee should not consider the advisability of inserting in this Bill the words which were proposed in the other Bill? With regard to the question of polling stations, the object of his Amendment was to place a polling station within the reach of every 500 voters.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he thought that the right hon. Baronet's explanation was very reasonable. The provision for polling stations was intended to prevent a crowd of electors at one particular spot; but that would not meet the right hon. Baronet's view as to bringing people to the poll. A station was a building, and the object was that too many voters should not be brought to one particular building or booth.

MR. ONSLOW said, he thought there was a great deal in the suggestion of the hon. Member for Perth (Mr. Parker), that this matter should be left to the local authorities. That was at present done; and in the borough which he represented there were two polling places provided for Parliamentary Elections, although he thought that was one too many. For municipal elections there was only one polling station, and, so far as he knew, no more would be wanted, and this Amendment would only increase the expense. When a Returning Officer saw that, under this Bill, conveyances were not allowed to be used, he would, no doubt, decide that he must have more polling stations. He (Mr. Onslow), however, thought it would be very hard to lay down in this Bill that in every county and borough there should be, at least, one polling station for every 500 electors. Suppose there were 1,600 electors, how many polling stations should there then be? According to the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet, there would have to be four; but he did not believe that so many would be required. This matter had much better be left in the hands of the Returning Officer.

MR. RITCHIE said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed, for he thought the right hon. Baronet could not have considered its effect upon borough constituencies. In the borough he represented (the Tower Hamlets), instead of 20 polling stations, which were now required, 90 would be needed under this provision. Such a number would be entirely superfluous, and would enormously increase the expense. He did not say that they might not have some more; but such an increase as would take place if this Amendment were adopted was not at all necessary.

MR. LABOUCHERE suggested the substitution of ballot boxes for stations. People found great difficulty in finding time to go up to the Presiding Officer to get their ticket and then put it into the ballot box. If it was said that the local authorities should not be interfered with, it must be remembered that they were already interfered with. The difficulty was that men had to wait until the Presiding Officer could give them their papers; and if it were laid down that only 500 people might place their papers in one ballot box, then, he thought, the difficulty might be overcome.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he was prepared to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR JOHN HAY said, he observed that Clause 65, Section 2, prevented the application of this clause to Scotland. Clause 45, which would shortly be under consideration, allowed, as he understood it, the use of vessels and boats to convey voters at the expense of the candidates; but this clause did not apply to the Islands to which this Amendment referred. He should, therefore, ask leave to withdraw an Amendment which he had been asked to move, if the Attorney General would see whether some arrangement could not be made by which floating polling places might be provided and taken to the Islands to voters who otherwise might be disfranchised.

Clause *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 45 (Conveyance of voters by sea in certain cases).

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR said, the object of the Amendment he wished to propose was to enable candidates to act as heretofore in certain counties, especially Scotch counties, which were difficult of access, and in which the electors were widely scattered, and to enable them to bring electors to the poll at their expense. It was apparent that in this clause the principle was admitted that there must be certain exceptions made to the prohibition against the conveyance of electors. If there was no such exception with regard to Scotland the effect would be that 40 or 50 per cent of the voters would be unable to go to the poll. The object of his Amendment was to extend this exception to a slight extent. He proposed in certain counties to allow, in addition to sea conveyances, the use of land conveyances under certain circumstances; and, as a matter of fact, in those very counties intersected by arms of the sea, unless land conveyances were allowed as well as steamboats and other vessels, voters would not be able to vote. In the district of Lochgoilhead there were from 35 to 40 electors, and in order to vote they had to go by road about 18 miles to St. Catherine's, and then across Loch Fyne to Inverary. In the Islands of Colonsay, Oronsay, and Jura, there were

69 electors. They had to poll at Bowmore, in Islay, and had to be taken some 15 miles to Portaskaig by sea, and thence 15 miles more by road to Bowmore. At Arisaig, in Inverness-shire, there were 40 to 50 electors, and they had to poll at Fort William, 40 miles away by road. In the parish of Laggan there were 45 electors who had to go 30 miles by road to their polling place; in the parish of Fortingall, in Perthshire, there were 124 electors, of whom 33 were within five miles, 23 from 10 to 20 miles, and 10 over 20 miles from the polling station. Then, in Banffshire there were nine polling stations; and in No. 1, the electors were from six to seven miles from the polling station; in No. 2, seven to nine miles; in No. 6, 10 to 12 miles; in No. 9, 22 to 23 miles. In one polling district in Argyllshire — that at which he (Mr. Craig-Sellar) voted — there were 219 electors, of whom only some 15 were within five miles of the polling place. It was obvious that some provision must be made in order to enable those electors in the Highland counties to have the benefit of the franchise. The hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) had suggested earlier in the discussion that the Returning Officer should authorize the employment of carriages, and charge the expense to the candidates; but the Attorney General had shown that that would not work effectually. Another hon. Gentleman had suggested that there should be perambulating stations, and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) had suggested a floating station. He thought the Committee, however, were satisfied that neither perambulating nor floating stations would exactly answer the purpose. Then it had been suggested that additional polling places would meet the case. But additional polling places in these remote regions involved very great additional expense. In the county of Argyll at the last Election there were 14 stations, and the expenses were about £600; and the reason of that was that in that county there was not a sufficient number of men learned in the law who were able to act as Presiding Officers, and the Returning Officer had to import professional men from Edinburgh and Glasgow, who went down with their clerks, and charged from three to five guineas a-day. If, therefore, the suggestion of additional stations were adopted, the expenses would be increased enormously, especially as these stations would have to be provided and manned with Presiding Officers and their staff, whether there was a contest or not. Then, there remained his own suggestion, and he thought it would answer very well. He proposed that where the nature of the county was such that the electors were widely scattered, a certain amount might be paid for means of conveyance, in addition to the maximum amount allowed by the Bill. If that were adopted, he thought it very likely that the agents of the two candidates would meet and arrange for a coach or omnibus to go and take up the voters for both sides, and take them to the polling station, and in that way the expense would be comparatively small. That plan was adopted at the last Election, and he had no doubt that it would be followed in most counties. The Amendment referred exclusively to resident voters, and not to out-voters or faggot-voters, and he limited the distance to five miles. He did not insist on that figure, because three, seven, or ten miles would suit his purpose. Then there was the further safeguard to which he especially wished to call attention—namely, that, by the additional Amendment which he would move if this were carried, the Registration Officer and Revising Barrister—the Assessor and Sheriff in Scotland—would, when they revised the register each year, have to make up a list of the electors in each polling district who should be entitled to be conveyed, and none but these could be conveyed. The clause, so safeguarded, could not possibly be abused. He should probably be told that the object of the Bill was to diminish expense; but he did not think his Amendment would much increase the expense, and if it did there was something to be considered besides the mere expense. There was the question of the enfranchisement or disfranchisement of voters, and he was sure the Attorney General would not wish to disfranchise electors wholesale who were duly qualified. The danger had been recognized by the partial provision made in the Bill for such cases. He did not urge this Amendment on Party grounds, for it would apply equally to both Parties; he urged it in the interest of qualified voters who, without some such provision, would be unable to vote.

Amendment proposed,

In page 30, line 31, after "thereof," insert "or where in any county, the electors are widely scattered, and where it has not been found reasonably practicable to divide the county, so that every elector resident in the county shall have a polling place within a distance not exceeding five miles from his residence."—(*Mr. Craig-Sellar.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he hoped the Government would make a concession upon this matter. Under the provision of this Bill, as it at present stood, total disfranchisement must result in many parts of Scotland which were remotely situated from the polling place, and the Attorney General had already given some concession in that direction. But that concession was only a marine concession, and he hoped he would give a dry-land concession as well. He did not in any way wish to weaken the Bill, and he was sure that all who represented counties were grateful to the Attorney General for endeavouring to diminish the expenses; but he hoped that if the Attorney General could not accept this Amendment, he would be able to devise something which would diminish the chance of disfranchisement with regard to Scotch electors while not weakening the Bill.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he entirely concurred with his hon. Friend in regard to this Amendment. He would not detain the Committee by an argument in addition to those which had already been submitted to it, as he thought they fully made out the case. He hoped the Government would make some concession.

MR. LEWIS said, it was pleasing to find this chorus of opinion amongst Scotch Members who had been persistently voting to their hearts' content against any conveyance of voters in England, Ireland, and Wales. Directly, however, the shoe pinched themselves they were inclined to cry out, and in most piteous tones entreat the Attorney General to allow them to pay travelling expenses for voters in certain cases. This Amendment would be a complete departure from the principle of the Bill; and hon. Gentlemen opposite who had felt there was some difficulty about the conveyance of voters by sea, ought to remember that there was an equal amount of difficulty in the conveyance of voters over mountains. If there was difficulty in crossing an arm of the sea there was quite as much difficulty in crossing mountains. As a matter of fact, he believed there were some men who would rather swim across an arm of the sea than climb over a mountain. Hon. Gentlemen from Scotland voted against the conveyance of compatriots in England, Ireland and Wales; and he wondered that they had not a disposition to be straight and fair all round, and object to the conveyance of voters in Scotland also. For his part, speaking from an abstract point of view, the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig-Sellar) was a very sensible Amendment; and in order to be consistent, if the hon. Gentleman went to a Division—which he doubted very much, for it was the practice of hon. Gentlemen opposite to propose an Amendment and then run away—he (Mr. Lewis) should vote with him. He cordially tendered his sympathy and his vote to the hon. Gentleman.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that all throughout his wish had been to make voters go to the poll, as much as a voluntary effort of theirs as possible. Unless they had a boat at their command, it would be physically impossible oftentimes to bring a person across an arm of the sea. And this clause was intended to remove physical impossibilities—as, for instance, when an arm of the sea separated a voter from the mainland on which his polling station might be situated. He must remind his hon. Friend that, while he spoke eloquently for Scotland, he had made his Amendment apply to the whole country; and in regard to this Amendment he (the Attorney General) must be consistent. When they were endeavouring to prohibit the conveyance of out-voters in counties, 20 Conservative Gentlemen voted with the Government, and those Gentlemen he could not now desert. Let them see what would be the effect of the Amendment. If they let their carriages loose, what guarantee had they that they would only bring up voters marked on the list for conveyance? They could not control their drivers, and it was impossible to put a limit upon the number of people conveyed. They would, therefore, do that which they had already decided should not be done—

they would send out an unlimited number of carriages; they would let loose in a constituency a large number of carriages without the slightest guarantee that they would bring up to the poll only the voters marked on the list. This Amendment, therefore, which applied not to Scotland only but to constituencies generally, would be in direct contradiction of what was voted in the Committee by a large majority, including, as he had said, many Conservative Members. The Amendment was one that he could not accept. He admitted that he had had some communication with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Inverness-shire (Mr. Donald Cameron) and other Scotch Members as to whether Scotch counties could not be excepted from the provision prohibiting conveyance of voters. He admitted the difficulty of the position, and he should earnestly endeavour to consult the wishes of hon. Members, and see if there was any way in which the difficulty could be met and overcome. If the Committee would allow him, he would consult further with hon. Members from Scotland, and see what could be done in this matter; because, while adhering to the principle they had adopted, he should be glad to find some way out of the difficulty. He certainly could not accept an Amendment which would allow carriages, unchecked in number and uncontrolled as to their destination, to go forth on the polling day.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, the hon. Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) prided himself upon his consistency; but he (Mr. A. F. Egerton) failed to see it. He did not see the difference between the proposal now made by the hon. Member for Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig-Sellar) and the present system. He (Mr. A. F. Egerton) was at one time a Member for a division of a county, and at one of his elections he was obliged to convey a voter from Bury to his polling station in Manchester—a distance of many miles. By this Amendment the hon. Member (Mr. Craig-Sellar) proposed that a voter living on an island should come his 10 miles, or whatever the distance might be, at the expense of the candidate. He (Mr. A. F. Egerton) could not see the difference between conveying a voter by boat across an arm of the sea, and conveying him by carriage overland. Voters had to be brought up, and it really did not matter whether they were brought by sea or by land. As a matter of fact, the only remedy for this possible disfranchisement rested in this—that they would have to come to a system of voting papers.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was of opinion that the Committee ought not only to reject this Amendment, but the clause as well.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he could not compliment the Attorney General on his consistency in regard to this matter. In his own county—Lancashire—it was quite as impossible for many men to get to the poll, as it would be for the voters in Scotland who had an arm of the sea to cross. [The Attorney General dissented.] The Attorney General shook his head. The hon. and learned Gentleman, however, was a young and a very active man. But many of the voters in the county which he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) represented were very old. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had said that up to the present he had not been able to see his way to accept this Amendment; but he would be glad to see what could be done in the matter. This Amendment had been down on the Paper now for weeks. Therefore it was quite time the Government should make up their minds as to what they would do. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) voted in favour of payment being allowed for carriages for the conveyance of voters in counties, because he saw most clearly that unless the use of carriages were allowed a great number of people would be disfranchised. Certainly, if the hon. Member went to a Division, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would vote with him. He trusted the hon. Gentleman would go to a Division. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) could not allow the Amendment to be withdrawn.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, the question of conveying voters in Scotland was totally different from the conveyance of voters in many boroughs in England. He and his hon. Friends wished to prevent excessive expenditure at elections; but in some counties in Scotland the conveyance of voters was a matter of necessity. If some means of bringing up outlying voters to the poll were not provided the result would be the disfranchisement of a large number of men. Unless conveyance were permitted in certain cases, a much larger number of polling stations ought to be set up at the expense of the county. The Government, however, had said that they would not do that. They, therefore, ought to be prepared to meet the distinct physical difficulties which had been referred to by his hon. Friend the Member for Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig-Sellar). The Attorney General, in stating his objections to the clause, had said that if carriages were hired they might take up other than voters scheduled by the Returning Officers. But the hon. and learned Gentleman hardly realized the character of the country in which the voters were to be picked up; there was no one else living in the country except the voters themselves. As he (Mr, Buchanan) understood it, it was proposed that the Returning Officer should make a list of the voters who had a right to be conveyed to the poll; and it would be found that in the districts in which the Amendment was supposed to apply, no other people but the scheduled voters could possibly be picked up.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, now that the Attorney General appeared to be in a frame of mind which would allow him to reconsider some of the opinions he had rather hastily formed, he (Mr. J. Lowther) would like to throw out one suggestion for the hon. and learned Gentleman's consideration. He owned freely, in the first place, that he was utterly unable to follow the line of reasoning which had led the Attorney General to the conclusions contained in the Bill. He could not understand the Attorney General saying, as he did the other day, that if electors had not a polling station at their doors, they deserved to be disfranchised. The hon. and learned Gentleman apparently forgot that they were discussing the case of electors who were legally entitled to record their votes, whose possession of the franchise was an unalienable right. What did the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General say as to the non-resident voters? Why, that if an elector did not reside within easy distance of the poll, it was his own look out. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would not dissent from the conclusion he (Mr. J. Lowther) had drawn as to the sense of the hon. and learned Gentleman's observations. The hon. and learned Gentleman said, in effect, that he had no sympathy with non-resident voters—that non-resident voters in his opinion ought not to exist—he even thought the hon. and learned Gentleman said that the non-resident voter ought never to have existed, at any rate he was not prepared to afford him any facilities for recording his vote. He wanted to ask the Attorney General, now that he had admitted that there were electors who could not conveniently get to the poll without assistance, what right he had to draw an invidious and illegal, if not an unconstitutional, distinction between one class of electors and another? In one clause of his own Bill—in Clause 45—the hon. and learned Gentleman, in effect, contended that it was right that candidates should have to put their hands in their pockets, and provide means for a certain class of the electors to be brought to the poll. Would the hon. and learned Gentleman tell the Committee by what line of reasoning he came to the conclusion that one class of electors, who were not within easy reach of the poll, ought to be brought at the expense of the candidate, while another class ought not to be so conveyed? His main object, however, in rising was not to go over ground which had been already covered, and which, in the present temper of the Committee and especially of the Government, it would be useless for him to do, but to ask the Attorney General, now that he had held out some slight hope of reconsidering some of the hastily-formed opinions which led to the framing of this Bill, whether he would not once more consider the subject which they were now free to touch upon—namely, the subject of voting papers? He desired to put this question at the present moment, with the object of saving time, and he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would admit that hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House had contributed rather more in the saving of that commodity than Members on the Ministerial side. It was found very difficult to bring Mahomet to the mountain, therefore he desired the hon. and learned Gentleman to consider the advisability of bringing the mountain to Mahomet. That might be effected by a system of voting papers; besides which the adoption of voting papers would lead to a great saving of expense. One of the main objects of the Bill, they were told, was to diminish the expenses of elections; and he was persuaded that if the Attorney General would consider how far he could adopt the system of voting papers, and accommodate it to the principle of secret voting, he would do good service in the interest of the representation of the people. Possibly, voting papers in the form in which his noble Friend (Viscount Galway) had suggested might be objected to on the ground that they would be somewhat inconsistent with the general tenure of the Ballot Act. He, however, did not think his noble Friend had put his Motion upon the Paper with a determination to reject any Amendment which might be moved. He (Mr. J. Lowther) would be prepared, when the proper time came, to move an Amendment which would enable the system of voting papers to be accommodated to the system of secret voting; in accordance with the principles of the Ballot Act. If the system of voting papers were adopted, there could then be no objections raised as to the impracticability of any electors recording their votes.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, it was evident to the common sense of the Committee that this Amendment could not be confined to purely Scotch constituencies, but that it must really be applied to all other parts of the Kingdom. The difficulty seemed to him to be rather a financial than a physical one. One could easily find carriages, but not so easily find his way to the candidate's pocket. Why could not electors in Scotland find their way to the polling booth just as they now found their way to fairs, and markets, and churches? If they were obliged to rely on their own resources for their own accommodation in regard to attending the places he had specified, why could they not also do so when they required to exercise a Constitutional right? The Committee would make a great mistake, if they allowed a principle they had already adopted to be broken down in the interests of a few.

Mr. DUNDAS said, he had been led to consider, by the condition of affairs in the Orkney and Shetland Isles, how the difficulty in question could be met. In nearly all villages there was a school, and there was a schoolmaster who was more or less educated. It appeared to him that these schoolmasters might be utilized as poll-clerks, and the schools might be made available for polling stations. In this way the poll would be brought almost to the very door of every elector. He believed that the adoption of such a plan would be regarded as a very great boon to the electors in poor districts.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, this was a plain and simple question, and if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General re-opened it with regard to the conveyance of voters in Scotland, he (Sir Walter B. Barttlelot) and his hon. Friends would expect the re-opening of the whole question of the conveyance of voters in England.. Every one of those Gentlemen who now advocated the claims of Scotland, voted against the use of conveyances for voters in England. They wished to put a stop even to the use of private carriages; and now they came forward, forsooth, because they found they could not convey some voters in Scotland, and asked to be allowed to provide the means of carrying these voters. As a matter of fact, many of the voters in the county he represented were in quite as awkward a position as many of the electors in Scotland. On the Downs, for instance, there was a very sparse population, who resided many miles away from a polling station. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had said that in no district in England were outvoters to be conveyed. Why, therefore, should out-voters be conveyed to the poll in Scotland? He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would vote against the Amendment, because he wished them all to be tarred with the same brush. He would not give an advantage to anyone which was denied to himself and his hon. Friends.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Haddington Burghs applied to England as well as to Scotland, and for that reason he should vote in favour of it.

Colonel KINGSCOTE said, as the Committee had decided that voters should not be conveyed to the poll, he did not see why any exception should be made in the case of people whether separated from the polling places by sea or any other natural obstacles. He could perceive no reason why there should be any distinction between the people who lived on the high hills of his county and those who lived on the hills in Scotland; the principle of conveying them three miles in either case was the same, and he should therefore oppose the Amendment.

MR. SALT said, the Amendment, to a certain extent, had the same object as the clause they were discussing. He was unable to see any difference, so far as the Bill was concerned, between men living in an island who had no boat and men living at the top of a mountain who had no cart. It was, to his mind, perfectly illogical not to treat them in the same way; and for that reason he should vote for the Amendment, with the intention, if it were lost, of opposing the clause.

MR. RYLANDS said, he thought the remarks of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) constituted a conclusive argument against the clause itself. Were they to maintain the principle of the Bill with regard to the conveyance of voters intact or not? If it was right that voters should not be taken to the poll at the expense of the candidate, then let the principle be carried out fully; but he objected to its being frittered away by exceptions which would lead to a great amount of difficulty. If they were to give facilities to persons living in the places contemplated by the clause and the Amendment, how were they to deal with voters who lived 200 miles from the place of election? It appeared to him that the proper way to deal with the matter was to give no advantage to one class of voters over the other.

MR. WARTON said, that there was no clause of this kind in the Bill introduced last year, and he was unable to see that the Attorney General was consistent in introducing it into the present measure.

MR. KNIGHT said, he hoped the Attorney General would not treat this as a Scotch question only, but consider the question generally. He trusted that an arrangement would be made under which all voters who lived five miles from the polling place might be conveyed there.

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR said, he hoped the Attorney General would give some indication of his intention with regard to this Amendment. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would say that he was willing to put the Scotch counties into a Schedule for the purposes of his Amendment, he should be only too happy to withdraw his opposition to the clause in its present form; but if the hon. and learned Gentleman could not give such an undertaking, he should be obliged to press his Amendment to a Division.

MR. HOPWOOD hoped that, if any assurance was given, the Attorney General would give the assurance that he would withdraw the clause.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 84; Noes 148: Majority 64.—(Div. List, No. 186.)

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, although the Government had made provision for the conveyance of voters to the poll across the sea, they had not made any provision for taking them back again. He would, therefore, move the insertion of words that would carry out the latter object.

Amendment proposed, in page 30, line 32, after the word "to," insert "or from."—*(Captain Aylmer.)*

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. LEWIS said, he saw no distinction, so far as the conveyance of voters was concerned, between crossing an arm of the sea in a vessel and crossing the country in a cart. He thought that to be consistent the Government should take this clause out of the Bill.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the clause had been introduced because the Government considered there was a distinction between the provision which it contained and the main principle with regard to the conveyance of voters. If the Committee thought fit to go further, or deal differently with the matter, they could, of course, do so; but he was not prepared to withdraw the clause or yield to the arguments of the hon. Member for Londonderry, He should, of course, accept the decision of the Committee on the Question that the Clause stand part of the Bill.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 88; Noes 147: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 187.)

Clause 46 (Polling station and committee room not to be in the same building).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that although he thought this a desirable clause, and held that the polling booth should not be in the same building as a committee room, as it would be difficult to make the clause effective if the heavy penalty which a disregard of its provisions would entail upon a candidate were retained, he would not oppose its rejection. He would agree for this clause to share the fate of the last.

Question, "That this Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Legal Proceedings.

Clause 47 (Trial in Central Criminal Court of indictment for corrupt practices at instance of Attorney General).

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he had waited to see whether the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) intended to move the Amendment standing in his name, and, finding that he did not rise, he (Sir Hardinge Giffard) would himself propose it. The Amendment proposed to insert, after the second "the" in line 14, the words "Court may, if it think fit." He did not think the Committee generally appreciated the effect of this clause. It was about the most unconstitutional clause that any Attorney General ever suggested. He had not any distrust of the Attorney General. He had lately very often desired to intrust more to the Attorney General than the Attorney General was inclined to accept; but did the hon. and learned Gentleman see what the effect of this clause would be? It looked innocent enough; but the fact was, it would make a Court of Justice merely a registry office of the Attorney General's will. As the law stood, if there was any reason why the venue should be changed in respect of a particular case, the Court might, if it saw fit—which was the language adopted by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton—order that the trial should take place in a particular Court. Now, the Attorney General would not trust the Court to do that, but asked that the power giving that direction should be in the hands of the Attorney General. That was to say, that in an essentially political offence the Political Officer of the Government should have it in his power to determine where the case should be tried. He (Sir Hardinge Giffard) deliberately stated that it was not for the Attorney General to give this direction. If the hon. and learned Gentleman really appreciated what this clause was, without doubt he would at once join with him (Sir Hardinge Giffard) in recommending to the Committee the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. He begged to move that Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 31, line 14, after the second "the," insert "Court may, if it think fit."—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard.*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he must explain the object of the clause. No doubt, the Committee would understand that trials in localities where political feeling had run high, and where it continued to run high, were places where to try such cases would be an insult to justice. Scenes which had recently occurred in Court had shown the impossibility of obtaining either a fair trial or that proper decency in Court which ought to be maintained in cases of such importance. He did not know whether his hon. Friend was aware of the instance to which he referred; but in these cases he had been informed that jurymen had stood up in the box cheering, that verdicts of acquittal had been received with open manifestations of approval in Court, and that scenes which were highly discreditable, and which ought not to be allowed to occur, had taken place. Where they had heated political conflict they could not find 12 jurymen to bring unbiassed judgment to bear upon the point. What was the object of this clause? Not that the Attorney General should choose a tribunal, but that in all cases the tribunal should be, in fact, the Central Criminal Court. In the first place, they then got a London jury; and he knew no city in the world where they would be able to obtain a more fair and impartial trial without local prejudice being brought to bear. The clause did not say that a trial should take place here and there, but that it should take place in the Central Criminal Court by the direction of the Attorney General. No one could want more than an impartial trial. Did the hon. and learned Member wish that trials should take place in the localities where they would have upon them persons who were political partizans on the one side or the other? His hon. Friend proposed the words "if the Court thought fit;" and sooner than have a heated discussion upon the matter, and in order to arrive at an understanding, he (the Attorney General) would accept a modification of the clause, and agree to the words "if he thinks fit." That would be a concession he should be prepared to make; but if the Committee thought that the Attorney General would have an arbitrary power he would disabuse their minds. The Attorney General would have no desire to exercise arbitrary power.

Mr. GORST wished to ask the Attorney General a question—namely, whether, if this Amendment were accepted, there would be any use whatever in adhering to the clause? With the proposed Amendment the clause seemed to be simply declaring what was the existing law.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he had reason to know that it would go somewhat beyond the existing law.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General would find that 19 & 20 Vict. c. 16, was almost in the same terms as the clause as amended.

Mr. CALLAN remarked, that the Bill seemed to have been framed for England, and that Ireland had only been included as an afterthought. In the last paragraph of the 66th clause he found—

> "The provision with respect to the removal of cases to the Central Criminal Court shall not apply to Ireland."

He would ask the Attorney General how he proposed to deal with Ireland in similar cases?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he should propose in this matter to leave Ireland exactly where she was.

Mr. CALLAN asked whether the hon. and learned Gentleman would tell him what was the course of procedure in Ireland? The Attorney General had said he would leave Ireland as she was; but he did not tell them the position of Ireland with respect to these trials.

[No reply was given to the hon. Member.]

Mr. CALLAN said, he insisted upon having an answer before being called upon to vote for this clause. They had adopted an Amendment, at the instance of the hon. and leaned Gentleman, which was wholly inapplicable to Ireland. He wished to know what the course of procedure in Ireland was to be in cases where it was considered that they could not obtain a fair trial? Did the hon. and learned Gentleman in this respect intend to leave Ireland out of the Act, or did he intend to propose any machinery for this change of venue?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) replied, that the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Porter) was not present, and in his absence he preferred to postpone answering the question.

Mr. GIBSON pointed out that the matter should be discussed on the 66th clause, which related to Ireland. Upon that clause the question would arise whether the section, and any utility there might be in it, should be applied to Ireland. The question could be dealt with by saying the provisions in Clause 46 should be so and so.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Yes; I will deal with the matter on Clause 66.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendmen proposed, in page 31, line 14, after the second "the," insert "if he thinks fit."—(*The Attorney General.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 31, line 15, leave out from "tried" to end of Clause.—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 48 (Limitation of time for prosecution of offence).

Mr. RAIKES said, he had to propose, in page 31, line 20, to leave out "two years," and insert "one year." He did not know whether the Attorney General was prepared to make a concession on this point. The clause as it stood stated that a proceeding against a person in respect of an offence of a corrupt or illegal practice, or any other offence under the Corrupt Practices Prevention Acts, or this Act, should be commenced within two years after the offence was committed, and his (Mr. Raikes') proposal was to reduce that term to one year. It seemed to him very undesirable to keep open the door to these prosecutions for too long a time; and that appeared to him to be the intention of the law as it at present existed. He was not aware that there had been any failure of justice in the matter. They had provided that the candidate should be free from the terrors of the law within some 28 days of the time he had taken his seat, or within a certified specified time; and it seemed to him, therefore, not unreasonable to say that proceedings against a person in respect of corrupt or illegal practices should be commenced within a year after the offence was committed. The clause which referred to the sending down of an Election Commissioner within six months after the sending down of a Special Commissioner to inquire into corrupt and illegal practices had been struck out; and, having abandoned that provision, it seemed very strange that they should adhere to so long a period as two years for the trial of these offences. It appeared to him that it would be in harmony with the decision taken the other day if they accepted this Amendment, and inserted "one year," instead of "two years."

Amendment proposed, in page 31, line 20, leave out "two years," and insert "one year."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would not, unless it were necessary, have too long a period in which a prosecution should take place, and all these prosecutions for corrupt practices should follow the Report of the Commissioners. When the Commissioners reported it should be the duty of the Attorney General to prosecute all persons charged with grave offences, unless they had certificates of indemnity, and he (the Attorney General) knew of no prosecution which would take place unless founded upon the Report of the Commissioners. But this practical difficulty would arise. It would take a long time for the House to move for a Royal Commission, to begin with. In the elections which took place in March, 1880, it was found impossible to move for a Royal Commission until late in the Session, and nearly 12 months elapsed before the Commissioners could be appointed. The result would be, if this Amendment were accepted, in such cases that there might be no opportunity of knowing who were the persons to be prosecuted. The Commissioners, after the last Election, had to hurry through their work, and to curtail it, in order to give the Attorney General time to see whether the persons guilty of offences should be prosecuted or not. That was a state of things which would occur again and again if prosecutions had to take place exactly within 12 months. Many people might escape who ought to be prosecuted, on account of the Commissioners not having sufficient time to report their offences. He only wished sufficient time after the Commissioners had reported to enable the prosecution to be instituted. He should be glad to agree to an Amendment of this kind, if it would meet the views of the Committee—namely, that a prosecution should take place within one year of the commission of the offence, or within three months after the Commissioners had made their Report.

Mr. RAIKES said, he should be very happy to accept the compromise suggested. The Attorney General would, no doubt, accept his Amendment, and after the word "committed" insert "and three months after the Report of the Election Commissioners."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that was the substance of his proposal. He did not pretend that the words were absolutely correct.

Mr. GIBSON said, it would be as well to put in a maximum period, so that in no case should the time exceed two years.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that was his intention. He was willing to accept two years as a maximum.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of the ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 31, line 20, after the word "year," by inserting "and not exceeding two years;" in page 31, line 20, after the word "committed," by inserting "or within three months after the Report of the Election Commissioners."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 49 (Persons charged with corrupt practice may be found guilty of illegal practice).

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he should like to ask a question upon this clause. It appeared to him to involve some difficulty with regard to drafting. As he understood it, any person might be indicted for corrupt practices; but illegal practices might be punished by summary conviction. The proposal here was that any person charged with corrupt practice might, if circumstances warranted such finding, be found guilty of an illegal practice, which offence, for that purpose, would be an indictable offence. That was very curious. It was to the effect that they would be entitled to punish a person on indictment for an illegal practice, provided they did not charge him with the offence of which they convicted him. That was to say they might charge a man with an offence he had not committed, that was, a corrupt practice which was an indictable offence in order that they might punish him for an illegal practice, which was an indictable offence. It seemed to him that the first part of this clause ought not to be in the Bill at all.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this was a principle known in a great many cases. For instance, they charged a person with murder and frequently found him guilty of manslaughter. It was better to leave the case as it was than that a person should be twice vexed with the same matter. It would be found that frequently this clause would save a man a second trial.

Clause *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 50 (Application of enactments of 17 & 18 Vict. c. 102, and 26 & 27 Vict. c. 29, relating to prosecutions for bribery) *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 51 (Prosecution on summary conviction, and appeal to Quarter Sessions) *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 52 (Application of Summary Jurisdiction and Indictable Offences Acts to proceedings before Election Courts and Special Commissioner) *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 53 (Exercise of jurisdiction of High Court and making of rules of Court) *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 54 (Director of Public Prosecutions and expenses of prosecutions) *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 55 (Recovery of costs payable by county or borough or by person) *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Supplemental Provisions, Definitions, Savings, and Repeal.

Clause 56 (Obligation of witness to answer, and certificate of indemnity).

Amendment proposed, in page 35, line 7, to leave out sub-section 3.—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the Amendment would not be pressed, for he thought there ought to be a distinction drawn between criminal prosecutions and absolute absolution.

MR. GORST said the Committee had already discussed this point at some length, and had decided that a certificate should not carry entire exoneration.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. GREGORY said, it was well known that Gentlemen, who were attacked by Election Petitions, sent down a solicitor or other person to the place to investigate the case against them, and to collect the means of defence. He was told, however, that gentlemen so sent down were liable to be examined, and to be bound to disclose evidence. It was a well-known principle of law that as between solicitor and client, the client was protected against disclosure by the solicitor. The Election Commissioners had held that that did not apply in regard to Election Petitions, and so a solicitor was liable to be required to disclose the information he had collected for his client. A gentleman sent down in that way had to make the most searching and confidential inquiries in order to be able to advise his client as to the exact position of the case, and to meet the allegations. To do that he must see all the witnesses he could, take their evidence in the most minute manner possible, and make himself thoroughly acquainted with all the facts. His proposal was that a solicitor sent down for that purpose should not be liable to examination. He did not propose to extend that privilege to anyone connected with the election; but he thought it might fairly be extended to the solicitor acting for the Member attacked. Otherwise, persons whom he had seen and obtained information for might be convicted out of his mouth, and the client would be deprived of the assistance of the solicitor.

Amendment proposed,

In page 35, after sub-section 4, insert,—"(5.) Election Commissioners shall not be entitled to summon or examine a Solicitor or Parliamentary Agent who was concerned only in or in relation to an Election Petition, who took no part and was not concerned in the election, to be enquired into by the Commissioners, and who was not resident in the constituency in question."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would accept the principle of this proposal, and if the Amendment were withdrawn he would bring up a new clause on the subject.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to*, and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 57 (Submission of report of election court or commissioners to Attorney General) *agreed to.*

Clause 58 (Breach of duty by officer) *agreed to.*

Clause 59 (Publication and service of notice) *agreed to.*

Clause 60 (Definition of candidate, and saving for person nominated without consent).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS moved to omit the words "at an election," in order to raise the question of when the expenses which could be brought against a candidate should begin and end.

Amendment proposed, in page 36, line 15, to omit the words "at an election."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. WARTON said, he thought the Attorney General ought to seriously consider this matter, and, therefore, he (Mr. Warton) begged to move to report Progress. If the Attorney General would do him the honour to look at this extraordinary clause he would see the strangest inversion of time. In the first place, they had a person nominated as candidate; then they had what really came before that, a person declared a candidate; and then they had the writ for the election. He earnestly asked the Attorney General to consider what he could do to meet the objections raised by the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton), and to consider also carefully whether he could not put the different events of a candidature in a proper and orderly way. Let them know where a candidature commenced and where it ended. In order to enable the Attorney General to arrange this clause in a proper sort of way, he begged to move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was sure the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was not serious in the Motion he now made.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS hoped they would be able to finish this clause.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL proposed, in page 36, line 19, to leave out from "on or after" to "being issued," in line 21, both inclusive. He hoped that without any remarks from him the Attorney General would be able to see his way to accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 36, line 19, leave out from "on or after," to "being issued," in line 21, both inclusive.—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, as at present advised he would prefer the words to remain; but he would be prepared to consider the matter between this and Report.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he considered that this was a most unsatisfactory way of dealing with the matter. He, however, could not help remembering that on every day the Committee had sat, the Attorney General had been on the Treasury Bench, and therefore he had had very little time to turn his attention to the subject. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would be quite willing, therefore, that the matter should be left till the Report. The difficulty was a great one, and he did not think the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) solved it at all.

MR. WARTON said, that if the words—

> "On and after the day of the issue of the writ for such election, or after the dissolution or vacancy in consequence of which such writ has been issued,"

were struck out, the clause would be even more absurd than it was at present.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked leave to withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that something would be done on Report.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 36, line 22, after "candidate," by inserting "at an election."

MR. LEWIS suggested to the Attorney General that after the word "may," in line 31, the words "if he thinks fit," should be inserted, because they knew that, as a rule, the word "may," in Acts of Parliament, was interpreted as "shall." He thought it ought to be made clear that the word was really "may," and not "shall."

Amendment proposed, in page 36, line 31, after "may," insert "if he thinks fit."—(*Mr. Lewis.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. LEWIS said, they were now dealing with the case, presumably, of a person who had been nominated without his knowledge or consent. He did not understand how, under such circumstances, agents were to be appointed at all. Clause 18 provided that an election agent was to be nominated on or before the day of nomination as the agent for such election. Now, if a man was nominated as a candidate without his knowledge or consent, it was out of the question that he could nominate an agent. There was no provision made in such an event. There ought to be no mistake about this, because it was rather a serious question who was a properly appointed election agent.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that his view of such a matter was that the persons who nominated a candidate, in his absence, would represent the candidate. It was necessary that an election agent must be properly nominated, because, if he was not, the whole thing would come to an end. He thought it would be a question whether those who put a candidate forward were not the proper persons to conduct an election

MR. LEWIS said, he did not wish to take up the time of the Committee; but supposing the persons who nominated a man as candidate did not appoint an election agent, what then? There was nothing in any part of the Bill which required them to do it. If an election agent were not appointed, would it be understood that the candidate would be the sufferer?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, clearly that must be so, because no contract would have been made, inasmuch as there was no machinery for the election provided.

MR. LEWIS said, he was quite content to leave it to the Attorney General to consider whether he would not, by the introduction of a few words on Report in Clause 18, make that clear which, at present, seemed in doubt.

MR. WARTON said, he thought the difficulty might be met by the insertion of the word "if any," after the word "election," in line 33.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) could not accept the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). His hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had been good enough to direct his attention to the question. There must be an election agent appointed, either by the candidate, or by someone on his behalf. It was clear that if there was no election agent there would be no machinery for an election.

Mr. LEWIS said, he trusted the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) would not persevere in his suggestion. He (Mr. Lewis) had no wish to make an absurdity of any part of the Bill.

Mr. SHEIL asked if it was the intention of the Government to proceed further with the Bill to-night?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was in the hands of the Committee. There were only some half-dozen other Amendments to the clauses of the Bill; and, therefore, he hoped the Committee would think it right to dispose of the clauses at this Sitting. If they did that, there would only remain for consideration the new clauses and the Schedule.

Mr. SHEIL said, that the answer of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was most remarkable. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to imagine that, because there were only six Amendments on the Notice Paper to the remaining clauses, none others would be moved. The experience of the Committee must be that many Amendments were proposed which were not printed. He, himself, knew that there were several Amendments, not on the Paper, but of considerable importance, which were to be proposed to the remaining clauses. At this hour of the night he considered it his duty to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sheil.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that surely the Committee might be allowed to finish this clause.

Mr. SHEIL said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) seemed to forget the question he had put to the Attorney General. He (Mr. Sheil) had asked the hon. and learned Gentleman if he would agree to report Progress after this clause, and he (the Attorney General) declined to answer the question.

The Attorney General

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had simply expressed a hope that the Committee would proceed a little further with the Bill. He was, however, in the hands of the Committee.

Mr. WARTON said, he always obeyed his Leaders, and as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had expressed a wish to finish the clause to-night, he (Mr. Warton) would offer no opposition. He certainly agreed, however, with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Meath (Mr. Sheil) that they ought not to go beyond this clause. He (Mr. Warton) had several Amendments to propose to the remaining clauses; and he altogether objected to rattling off Business as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General seemed to desire.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, he thought it was not unreasonable for the Attorney General to desire to take this clause to-night. There were, besides, a great number of technical objections to be taken to the Interpretation Clauses, which it would be impossible to consider to-night.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS thought they might be allowed to take this clause, and then report Progress.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Mr. GORST suggested that those Members who had Amendments to the remaining clauses should place them on the Paper.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS suggested that, so far as they had gone, the Bill might be printed.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

BANKRUPTCY BILL.—[Bill 243.]

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. John Holms.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN moved that the Bill be re-committed in respect of the six clauses relating to the abolition of offices and the compensation to existing officers. This was a formal Motion made in consequence of the pledge which he gave to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), whom he was sorry not to see in his place. He had only to point out to the House that as soon as the Committee had reported upon these clauses, which alone would be re-committed to the Committee of the Whole House, the whole Bill would stand for reconsideration, as amended; and, of course, that would be the time when the Amendments of the hon. Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) and the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) could properly be considered. Of course, he did not propose to take the next stage until the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill had been concluded.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of six clauses relating to the abolition of offices and compensation to existing officers,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* 23rd July.

POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

[BILL 154.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, he had given Notice of opposition to this Bill, because he considered that it had been brought forward in an irregular and improper manner. Had it been, as its title implied, a Bill purely for the relief of the poor in Ireland, he would have been the last person in that House to oppose it. They all knew there was a great deal of distress in Ireland since the last harvest; and he was sure that it was the desire of every hon. Member that that distress should be relieved. But the House was simply being played with so far as this Bill was concerned. The heading of the Bill said it was "to make temporary provision for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland." That was saying distinctly that it was to make provision for the destitute poor; but when he looked at the last clause he found that the Act might be cited as the Distressed Unions (Ireland) Act; so that, after being told that it was for the relief of the distressed poor, they found it was only for the relief of distressed Unions. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had allowed that some portion of the money was to go for the debts of Unions; but he had been unable to get from him any statement as to the amount which was to go to the relief of actual existing distress in Ireland. The 1st clause of the Bill said that money might be granted under it to a Union, having regard to the financial condition of such Union, and the pressure of distress within its limits, to aid in providing for relief at the present time; therefore, in the very Preamble of the Bill the House was made to believe it was to relieve existing distress. The 3rd clause provided that the Boards of Guardians might, with the consent of the Local Government Board, for the purpose of defraying any expense to be incurred by them, borrow under this Act; but it did not at all imply that this was to pay for old debts incurred by the Union without the sanction or knowledge of the House of Commons. Clause 4 provided that whereas before the passing of this Act the Boards of Guardians in certain Unions where the funds were inadequate for providing for the relief of the destitute poor in such Unions had borrowed money and were now in debt, all such loans were confirmed by the Act. That, again, referred to the borrowing which took place before the Act passed, and did not imply that any part of this money was to be held for the purpose of repaying the loans in question. It simply said, with regard to any loans sanctioned by the Local Government Board, that they were confirmed, and that an indemnity was given to those persons who raised them. He thought it was a breach of Privilege of the House to bring in a Money Bill, even for so small a sum as £50,000, with the implied statement that it was for the relief of the temporary distress now existing in Ireland, when there was no other intention than the paying off of debts incurred before the passing of the Act, not one word being said as to the way in which the money had been spent. When the money was voted he believed the House would want to know for what purpose the money had been spent, and by whom. In the meantime, believing that the Bill was vicious in principle and contrary to the intentions as well as the practice of the House, he begged to move that it be read that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Captain Aylmer.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. O'BRIEN said, they were asked to vote £50,000 of Irish money to make temporary provision for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland. Now, Irish Members on those Benches pointed to the districts of the country in which there was admittedly distress verging on starvation, and in which, at the lowest calculation, there were 10,000 persons dependent on what crumbs of charity the priests could collect; and said that not a single pound of this £50,000 would reach those famished creatures—that was to say, as they were justified in saying, that from beginning to end the Bill was a falsification of its title; and although it gave a sort of solace to the English conscience and a sort of idea that something was being done to assuage Irish distress where it was keenest and most frightful, he said that the distressed people would not benefit by it to the extent of a cup of cold water. They had their own special opinion with regard to that cast-iron scheme of the Government—emigration, and the right hon. Gentleman had admitted that the Unions which benefited would be those which contributed most to that scheme. The right hon. Gentleman said that this money was to be devoted to paying off the liabilities incurred in meeting distress in districts where the Guardians had given as much outdoor relief as they had it in their power to give. But in one Union not a single pound had been spent in outdoor relief, although the people were actually decreed for the amount of the seed-rate at the moment when their children were dying of hunger. The Unions were of a wretchedly low valuation—£10,000 in one case and £14,000 in the other—and they were in consequence utterly unable to meet the distress which existed there. They were, moreover, controlled by landlord Guardians; and, having been cautioned that they had nothing to expect, and that they would have to pay everything out of their own pockets by-and-bye, they stuck to the workhouse-test, well knowing that the people would cut off their right hands rather than go to the workhouses; and although they saw, as he had seen, children dying of fever for the want of a cup of milk, yet they were protected and sheltered by the Government in acting as they had. Everything was to go to those Unions where outdoor relief had been distributed; to districts in which the potatoes were nearly ready for digging; but not one penny was to go to districts were the distress was most frightful, on the ground that because nothing had been done for them up to the present nothing was to be done for them now. Many of the people in those districts had decrees against them for rent only due a few weeks ago; they were undergoing deprivation and suffering of the severest kind; but for them not one penny was given under this Bill, although they were the most wretched and abandoned creatures on God's earth. The people of Ireland had no love for outdoor relief; they hated mendicancy in every form. Irish Members had pointed out endless opportunities of making good land out of the millions of acres lying useless in Ireland, which, sooner or later, the Government would have to reclaim. There would be tens of thousands of people destitute during the next six weeks, and the question they had to face was what should be done with them. This Bill passed them by on the other side of the road, and its enactment to them would be positive cruelty. There were £50,000 passing under their very eyes and they were not to have so much as a cup of cold water. He made no factious opposition to the Bill; he was simply impressing on the Government the absolute necessity of doing something to tide these people over till the next harvest. They wanted no Party triumph in the matter; everyone knew that the position of these poor people was altogether beyond Party politics. All they wanted was some assurance or hint of the right sort from the President of the Local Government Board, that the Boards of Guardians, having neglected their duty, should be forced to do it even at the eleventh hour, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would have some such assurance to give.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that a Bill was brought in last year very similar to this in character to which he had given his support, although many other Irish Members did not do so. That Bill provided £100,000 from the Imperial Treasury, and although he did not altogether approve the scheme he regarded it as a liberal application of money on the part of Her Majesty's Government. But in the present Bill the Government were dealing with £50,000, which came not out of the Imperial Treasury, but out of the Irish Church Fund; and this money, instead of being devoted to Irish harbours, which would supply work to a great number of workmen, was to be devoted to emigration. He said that when it was proposed to take Irish money and spend it upon something that was considered objectionable, the matter was one which Irish Members should decide. As he understood that the sum named was to come out of the Irish Church Fund he should vote against the Bill; whereas if it came out of the Imperial Exchequer he should vote for it.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer) complained that this Bill, which professed to be for the relief of the poor in Ireland, turned out to be only for the relief of embarrassed Unions. He would like to know on what, in the mind of the hon. and gallant Member, this money had been spent? The hon. and gallant Member could hardly imagine that the Unions had become embarrassed by the Guardians applying the rates to their own private advantage and amusements. He could assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that every penny of the money had been spent in food and clothing for the poor. The Unions at the time of the distress were actually in debt to the potato merchant for the supply of food necessary for outdoor relief, in some cases to the extent of £500 or £1,000. Now, how were the Government to assist those Unions, and enable them to do what the Bill professed to do—namely, to relieve the distressed poor in Ireland? There was no public money provided for the purpose, and the only way in which the Unions which required assistance for the relief of the poor could be assisted was to allow them to borrow money, and then, if necessary, to re-imburse them the money borrowed. It was because they were not able by law to borrow money, and because the Government were not able to re-imburse them without the consent of Parliament, that this Bill was introduced. The Government provided for the poor by telling the Unions that they might borrow. [Captain AYLMER dissented.] The hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone shook his head; but it was impossible to found any argument upon that. [Captain AYLMER: The Bill is retrospective.] The Bill was retrospective then; but at the time of its introduction it was prospective, and, for the purpose of the relief of the poor, it mattered not whether it was passed in February last or in the present month of July. The object of the Bill was to carry out what he had informed the House at the end of the Autumn Session was the intention of the Government. In answer to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he said on the 20th of November last year—

> "The permanent officials of the Local Government Board have reported that at present the information before them respecting the anticipated distress in certain districts in the West of Ireland, where it is most apprehended, is not of such a character as would lead them to believe that the relief which may be afforded under the existing Poor Law Acts will be found insufficient to provide for the wants of the destitute poor in the coming winter. They have already issued a Circular to the Unions in the West of Ireland—that is, to all the Unions in Connaught, and to the Unions in the counties of Donegal, Clare, Kerry, and West Cork, calling their attention to the necessity of making every provision both for indoor and outdoor relief, and especially to see that the relieving officers' districts are not too large, and that the relieving officers are within easy reach of the poor persons residing in every part thereof. The Local Government Board will also call upon their Inspectors to report as to the sufficiency of the arrangements in this respect made by the Guardians in each Union in their charge. In short, the Government have given every care to see that the normal machinery for the relief of distress is in proper order; and they expect to be able to meet the distress with the aid of that machinery. If exceptional pressure comes, it will be their duty to see that the administration of the required relief is not interfered with from the want of sufficient funds. I

may say that this is a subject which, of all others, is most engaging the attention of the Government."—(3 *Hansard*, [274] 1711.)

Well, the administration of relief was interfered with for want of sufficient funds, and the Government took the only course which would properly relieve the pressure; they allowed the Unions to borrow on their own authority, taking it for granted that Parliament would afterwards indemnify them. The noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) asked, on the occasion he referred to, from what source the additional funds would be supplied? And he (Mr. Trevelyan) answered, that matters of that kind had always been the subjects of special treatment by the Government, and that, adopting the example of preceding Governments, they would provide funds to keep the people from starvation, trusting to Parliament to support them afterwards. Well, there were a few Unions embarrassed and unable to supply relief, except to a very small extent. Under those circumstances, the Government permitted those Unions to borrow from their Treasury, which he believed in all cases was the National Bank, and took measures to re-imburse them the amount so borrowed. The sum of £50,000 was named, because the Bill was brought in when it was uncertain how great the distress would be; and it was still uncertain whether it would be necessary, for the public interest, to assist certain other Unions which had embarrassed themselves during the past winter. With reference to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), he could assure the House that not one penny of this money had been employed, directly or indirectly, for the purpose of emigration. He did not propose to enter at length into the arguments of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). Although he had no hope of convincing that hon. Member, he had taken great pains to convince himself whether or not the action of the Government had been justified by the event, and whether it was such action as they could continue. Two interesting Reports had recently come to hand, in the first of which the Inspector said that in no locality in Donegal was there anything more than the ordinary pressure which usually existed between the old and the new crop of potatoes. The second Report was to the same effect. He was bound to say that the experience of the charitable relief now being given was not at all such as to make the Government regret the course they had taken. Many people who were in receipt of that special charitable relief were unwilling to get work, because they did not wish to disentitle themselves from obtaining the charitable relief offered them. It was only in districts where special relief was given that they now heard anything of continued distress; and it was only in those districts that labour offered its temptations to people unwilling to accept them. He did not wish to say anything derogatory of those benevolent men who had been employed in providing charity to a large extent in the same manner as that agency was employed, probably, in every Union in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The Bill was so arranged that it would not discourage private charity, which, in the opinion of many people, had much more discernment than outdoor poor relief indiscriminately given. He must say he thought it was only in those Unions where this private charitable relief was being given that the appearance of exceptional distress and want of employment were at all prominent. He could not help thinking that he had answered the objections to the Bill. Before sitting down, he, perhaps, had better give the best answer he could to the hon. and gallant Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan). The hon. and gallant Member asked why the money should come from the Irish Church Fund?

Colonel NOLAN: Yes; why does it not come from the National Exchequer?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he had very little voice in regard to the source from whence the money was taken. This was an Irish purpose, and this Church Fund was, of course, an Irish Fund; and the hon. and gallant Member, he thought, might well be content. He would repeat again his assurance that not one single penny of this money would be spent upon emigration.

Mr. LEA asked whether the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) intended to print the Reports of Mr. Macfarlane and the other Gentlemen who had been engaged in inquiring into the distress? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would be able to make some statement about this later on. As to what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan), he perfectly agreed that this money ought not to come out of the Irish Church Fund, the circumstances being such as to require that all assistance given should come from Imperial sources. It should be understood that the Harbours Bill, when it came into Committee, should not be affected in any way by the grant which was now proposed—that was to say, that the £50,000 which were to be given by this Bill should not be deducted from the £250,000 which were so much required for harbours. This was not a good time at which to go into the question of general distress; but he might just observe that distress of this kind would always be recurrent in Ireland until the Government made up its mind to bring in a substantial scheme for opening up communication in that country. Last Easter he had been discussing with two Donegal farmers the condition of the country; and, in spite of the distressful character of some districts, these persons had assured him that, beyond their own labourers, when they required additional assistance it was absolutely impossible to get the men. This was an extraordinary fact, when so near to them there were labourers absolutely starving through want of work, and this sort of thing was sure to continue until some money was expended upon the extension of communication in Ireland. Money expended upon an object of that kind would do far more good, and be far more useful, than an expenditure of the kind contemplated by this Bill.

MR. LEAMY said, he hoped, if the Chief Secretary did have the Reports of Mr. Macfarlane and the other Gentlemen printed, he would do the same with the evidence which had been given by Father Gallagher before the Sub-Commission at Carrick, Glencolumbkill. The rev. gentleman had stated that at Glencolumbkill between £4,000 and £5,000 had been expended by him on various kinds of relief. He said that in the beginning of October last it was apparent to all in the parishes that the potatoes were gone, and that starvation was impending. Not only this, but the storms had swept away most of the oats, and even the hay, and had actually stripped the roofs off the poor people's houses. He said that with the aid of two or three of the more well-to-do in each townland he had instituted a house-to-house inquiry, and it was found that many families had no live stock at all, and that the bulk of them had only a cow or two of inferior quality. Parting with this poor animal practically doomed the family to a black and milkless diet. Father Gallagher, in the course of his cross-examination, gave it as his fixed opinion that poor people during the past year in these parishes had absolutely died through want of food, and that, beyond doubt, many hundreds would have starved but for the assistance sent them, while many more would have died from diseases superinduced by famine; and he added that Mr. Hamilton, Poor Law Inspector, told him, as early as last November, that he might expect disease such as fever. Father Gallagher gave some evidence regarding seaweed as diet, which was worthy of recording for the benefit of the millions who knew not how their fellow-creatures lived. He explained that there were three kinds of seaweed of which the people made use. One was called dillisk, another sloke, and a third duleinan, a coarse box-wrack. Even in times of so-called plenty the poor people used dillisk and sloke; but the third kind was not only unpalatable, but unhealthy and unnatural, and was never used except at starvation point. In the early part of the present year, so great was the demand for the better kinds of seaweed for food that the supply was soon exhausted, and then, through sheer want, the people were obliged to use the box-wrack. These statements referred to a district where the right hon. Gentleman told them that exceptional distress existed; and, oddly enough, he would have them to believe that the distress was there prevalent because a charitable people exerted themselves to supply the miserable poor with food. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the ordinary machinery of the Poor Law in Ireland was sufficient to meet the distress. Would the right hon. Gentleman really consider what was the condition of the Poor Law? Here was a section of an Irish Act of Parliament. It said—

> "Any person in the occupation of more than a quarter of an acre of land, if requiring relief, shall be relieved in the workhouse, and not otherwise."

How did the ordinary machinery of the Poor Law of Ireland for relief meet the position of these miserable cottier farmers in Donegal? Why, the Poor Law Guardians had no power to relieve them, unless they gave up their land and went into the workhouse; and the right hon. Gentleman surely had sufficient knowledge of the Irish people and the Irish character to know that that was about the last thing they would ever think of doing. The right hon. Gentleman had stated his policy at the beginning of the year; he had stated that he knew the Irish people had a disinclination to go into the workhouse; but he had said—"Let them feel the pinch of hunger, and then they will come in." The right hon. Gentleman desired that the Irish peasantry should feel the pinch of hunger before they were relieved. He wished them to be driven to madness, for it was to madness that the Irish people were forced, when they were compelled, themselves and their children, to associate with the infamous characters which were usually found in the workhouse. No wonder the poor people cried out—"For God's sake, send us to America. Send us anywhere out of this." The right hon. Gentleman said this money was required in order to relieve Unions which had contracted indebtedness in their endeavour to cope with the existing distress. The right hon. Gentleman was asking for £50,000. The Chief Secretary had stated the other night, when they had what they were pleased to call "an entertainment," that these Unions were indebted only to the amount of some £3,000. What, then, did he want with the extra £47,000? Was it too much to ask that some portion of it—seeing that it all came out of an Irish fund — should be devoted to meeting the distress which these people in some of the districts of Donegal were suffering at the present moment—for the purpose of meeting the distress not over any long period, but only during the next few weeks, while they were waiting for the harvest to ripen? Surely this was not too much to ask. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly free to get up in that House and make a statement such as he had made, knowing very well that no Englishman knew anything at all about the terrible condition of Ireland, and could know nothing about it, and that they naturally were satisfied when he was taking this money from the National Exchequer. They would hear more about it, for hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House would require full information as to how it was to be expended. Under the circumstances the right hon. Gentleman was sure of carrying his Bill, as the Irish Members who were opposed to it were only a small number, and could not hope to do more than raise an earnest protest against the system it contemplated. He (Mr. Leamy) could only hope that what had occurred within the last few days might possibly open the right hon. Gentleman's eyes to the fact that the Irish people were beginning to be determined that some means should be taken for meeting the distress in their country other than those which the English Liberal Government had adopted. He would recommend to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the declarations of the Irish Bishops, which were published in the English papers today, and which had been published in the Irish papers on Tuesday last. And, so far as those Bishops themselves were concerned, he (Mr. Leamy) would advise them, if they wanted to bring the English Government to their senses, to give up coquetting with it, either here or in Rome, and not to confine themselves to passing resolutions and sending them to *The Freeman's Journal*, but to join with the people of their country in opposing one of the most monstrous measures they had ever had.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he had had an opportunity lately of speaking to some of these Bishops, and he could assure his hon. Friend (Mr. Leamy) that it might be said with perfect certainty that they would not confine themselves to merely passing resolutions on this question, but that they had made up their minds to take definite and strong action to bring home to the Government the real aspects of this question. The most extraordinary thing about the relief question proposed in that House was the nomenclature of these measures. The first Relief Bill they had in this Parliament was called "Relief of Distress Bill." That measure was supposed to be for the purpose of relieving distressed tenants, and it seemed that the method which had suggested itself to the Imperial Legislature for relieving distressed tenants in Ireland was by giving money to distressed landlords? What was the result of that measure? Why, it was that which had been foretold, over and over again, by the Irish Members—they had foretold that the money which was given nominally for the purpose of giving the tenants employment, so as to save them from starvation, would be taken back by the landlords in the shape of arrears of rent, and that had turned out to be true. Within a very few months after these prophecies had been derided, the right hon. Gentleman the then Chief Secretary had to get up in the House and announce that the money given for the relief of distress had been confiscated by the landlords. The Bill now before them was entitled—"A Bill to make temporary provision for the Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland;" but on examination of the Bill, in concert with the declaration of the Chief Secretary, they found that it was really a Bill for the relief of those who were precisely the least destitute in Ireland. He was sorry to find that the right hon. Gentleman still stuck so consistently to his statement with regard to Donegal. He ought to be very careful, looking at what had followed on the action of his Predecessors, before making official statements of that kind. There was not a single official statement made upon this subject which was not confuted and disproved by the statements of gentlemen on the spot, who had no interest whatever in making false assertions. The right hon. Gentleman told them, on the strength of the official Reports, that no exceptional distress existed in those localities of Donegal to which reference had been made. Well, in order to accept those official Reports, what had they to force their minds to acknowledge? Why, if there were no distress in these districts, the veracity of Father M'Fadden—and, he might add, the Bishop of the diocese—was discredited, and they must believe that these gentlemen were appealing to the charity of the world, on what were neither more nor less than false statements. Either Father M'Fadden, Father Gallagher, and the Bishop of Raphoe, were convicted liars, or there was terrible distress existing in these districts at the present moment. If they believed that these ecclesiastics were not telling the truth, they must be prepared to believe that a dietary of diversified kinds of seaweed was voluntarily accepted by the people in place of proper food; they must be ready to believe the statement, on which the Chief Secretary relied, that the fathers and mothers in these districts were feeding their children upon a couple of biscuits a-day in order that they might parade their destitution before the world, for such were the statements made by trustworthy representatives of English newspapers in Ireland. Since the right hon. Gentleman had given such a high character to the Boards of Guardians, they had had some of the gentlemen composing those Boards before the Law Courts of the country. Was it not a fact that one of these gentlemen had applied to a Court to compel payment of a year and a-half's rent, and had only been allowed half a-year, and had been told, in addition, that proceedings must be stayed until the 30th of October? Had not the presiding Judge said—"I admit these people are in a very poor condition?" He would put the testimony of Father M'Fadden, Dr. Logue, Father Gallagher, and the decree of the County Court Judge against the statements of Mr. Macfarlane and other gentlemen upon whom the right hon. Gentleman relied; and he had no hesitation in saying that more credence was to be placed on the ecclesiastics and the Judge than upon the evidence of these officials. The right hon. Gentleman had been rash enough to recapitulate to the House the promise which he had made last year with regard to these districts. He (Mr. O'Connor) asked the House whether there was a single one of these pledges which had not been broken in the spirit, if not in the letter? The right hon. Gentleman had told them that none of the Irish peasantry were to be allowed to starve; but would not the people have had to starve, so far as the authorities were concerned, if it had not been for private effort—nay, had not the people actually died of starvation? So far as the Government were concerned had not the people been allowed to sink into the lowest depth of destitution; and if a great many of them had not starved, was it not due to private charity, and not to any action on the part of the Government? The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned something about outdoor relief in his statement in reply to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr.

Parnell); and the impression left upon that hon. Member's mind, and upon his (Mr. O'Connor's) mind, and upon the minds of many hon. Members on that side of the House, was this—that the right hon. Gentleman meant to convey that if outdoor relief was required it would be given. Yet, had there been any outdoor relief distributed? Another point to which he wished to allude was this—the right hon. Gentleman had again committed himself to the extraordinary statement that Father M'Fadden was keeping the people from going to work. Well, he had a letter in his hand addressed by Father M'Fadden to *The Belfast Morning News*, and in that letter the rev. gentleman said that he had publicly from the altar impressed upon his people the necessity of seeking work wherever it could be obtained in order to tide over the distressful season coming upon them. He also stated that crowds were going off to Scotland every day, despite the unfavourable reports which reached them of the condition of things in that country. The statement of the Chief Secretary was that these people would not work; but the statement of Father M'Fadden, who knew the secrets of almost every household amongst these people, was that they were actually going to Scotland seeking work. The rev. gentleman stated that he had initiated an extensive system of work, and he declared that he had seen women as well as men at work—that he had seen a woman carrying gravel from a pit whilst her husband was digging it. On the whole, he (Mr. O'Connor) found the policy of the Government, as represented by this Bill, a complete and consistent whole. He looked to the real source of the Government policy, and not to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to this Bill—he looked to the statements of other officials connected with the Irish Government. More than that, he looked to the statement of Lord Derby with regard to the policy of the Government, as shown in this and other Bills brought forward by them. Lord Derby, and, no doubt, the rest of the Government, thought a few millions spent on emigration would pay them well. He (Mr. O'Connor) had recently been in Ireland, and had been shocked to find the deplorable completeness with which this system of enforced emigration was taking place every day. The Government were not merely satisfied with emigrating persons accused of crime—he did not complain of their taking any measures they might think desirable to put down crime—but they were emigrating the young people of the country. But that was not the only policy pursued. They went to districts where the Land League had existed, and they found there some person who had been recently in revolt against the originators of the misgovernment to which the country had been subject. They found him a person whom they knew to be incapable of taking part in any crime; they entered his house in the middle of the night; they knocked at the door, and entered the apartments, it might be, of his aged mother, perhaps of his wife and sisters, and the man, if he were weak-minded, and certainly the women, were terrified. The effect of this action was that this man abandoned all polical activity whatever, and fled to America, where at least he would be free from nocturnal visitations on the part of the police. In the more distressed districts the Government said to a man—"Go into the workhouse, and, if you will not do that, go to America." The policy of Lord Spencer was the policy of making intolerable the homes of as many people as possible, so that when they could no longer live in the districts in which they were born they should cross the Atlantic. The Irish Members did not agree with Her Majesty's Government in their endeavour to fill the emigrant ships with the Irish peasantry. He would tell the right hon. Gentleman that the Government had no idea of the depth of the feeling which existed in Ireland on this question of emigration; and he would also tell the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) that if he had had such conversations with the leaders of the people in Ireland as he (Mr. O'Connor) had had, he would have found that there was hardly likely to be lukewarmness on their part in this matter. The Bishops were now saying—"Are we to be the Bishops of our people at home, or are people abroad? All our people are leaving us." One Bishop had said—

> "I have 1,400 families in my parish; but within the last 12 months there have been only 20 marriages—all the young people have gone ont of the country."

There could be no marriages, because there were no people to marry. The feeling against emigration in Ireland was becoming deeper and more intense every day; and the people regarded more and more every day the policy of Her Majesty's Government as akin to that of the Roman Consuls, whose endeavour was to "make a solitude and call it peace." The policy of the Irish Representatives was to band together all the national forces of Ireland, and compel the Government to abandon a policy of filling the emigration ships, in their endeavour to bring the Irish people to a state of contentment in their misgovernment.

Mr. O'SHEA said, the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Galway (Colonel Nolan) had touched upon a very important subject — namely, the fund from which they were to take this £50,000. The Chief Secretary had said that it was not in his Department, and that it was a matter altogether for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to decide. He (Mr. O'Shea) was sorry to see the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not in his place, and though the Secretary to the Treasury was present he did not seem inclined to give them any opinion as to the view of that Department on the subject. It was clear that if distress, such as now existed in some parts of Ireland, existed in England, the money for relieving it would have been provided, not out of any essentially English fund, but out of the National Exchequer. It was manifest to everybody that there was a divergence of view between the officials and Bishops and clergy of the district; but, even if that were so, there was independent evidence of the exceptional distress in Donegal, such as that of Mr. Ernest Hart. No one could suppose that that gentleman had any object in making statements which were absolutely opposed to those of official Inspectors. Under these circumstances—first, because these Reports had not been printed; and, secondly, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not present to hear the arguments against this money being taken from the Irish Church Fund instead of from the Imperial Exchequer, which seemed to him to be the proper and the just source—it would be much better not to pass this Bill without the House having full information and full opportunity of impressing on the Chancellor of the Exchequer the justice of the demand that this money should be taken from the Imperial Exchequer. He thought the debate had better be adjourned, and he should therefore move its adjournment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. O'Shea.*)

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Motion. He had listened to all the arguments, and he gathered that hon. Members were rather against something which was not done by this Bill than against that which the Bill proposed to do. He gathered that the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) objected to what the Unions had done, and held that other things should have been done to meet the distress. That argument was very good as bringing the attention of the Government to other measures; but it was surely no argument against this Bill, which provided a sum of money for Unions who had done what they could do, and ought to have done, to relieve the distress. He could quite understand the character of the argument addressed to the Government by hon. Members outside the Bill; but they did not go against the Bill because the money had been spent, or would be spent, by the Unions for the relief of the poor in their districts. Under these circumstances, he thought the House would see the justice of passing this Bill to provide money which would probably, under similar circumstances, be spent for these purposes. He hoped the Motion would not be pressed.

Mr. O'SHEA said, he would withdraw his Motion.

Mr. DALY said, he thought the Home Secretary laboured under some misconception as to the argument of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). The hon. Member's objection was to £50,000 being drawn from Irish sources, and allocated in a manner distasteful to Irish Members. On the allocation of Irish funds surely Irish Members had a right to express their opinion.

Mr. SPEAKER: A Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate having been made, and not withdrawn, the observations of the hon. Member are not in Order.

Mr. DALY said, he was addressing himself to the observations of the Home Secretary, who objected to the Adjournment, and he was showing that the right hon. and learned Gentleman's argument was based on an entire misconception. The Irish Members wished for an adjournment because they thought English Members were not aware of the circumstances. They wanted to have this £50,000 applied to the relief of starving people in Donegal, whom the Unions had tried to drive into the workhouse.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate not having been withdrawn the hon. Member is not in Order.

Mr. DALY said, he would reserve his remarks until the Motion had been withdrawn.

Mr. LEAMY said, it was true that the Irish Members did not object to what the Unions had done, or to their being indemnified; but what they did object to was that the Unions had only spent £3,000 in relief, and to the House not being told what was to be done with the remaining £47,000. If the Chief Secretary could not now explain that, the debate had better be adjourned, so that the Government might have time to consider when that information could be given.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was sorry that he had been so dull in his explanation. The sum of £50,000 was originally named in order to cover demands that might be made on the public funds to meet the distress in Ireland. The sums expended would be repaid; how much more would be applied for the purpose under the Bill he did not know yet; but he thought it extremely unlikely that £50,000, or anything like that amount, would be consumed. It was necessary to mention that sum when the Bill was introduced; but if hon. Members should propose to reduce that amount the Government might possibly consider the matter. They intended to confine their operations to the exact lines laid down in the Bill, and if those operations required less than £50,000 they would be very much pleased.

Colonel NOLAN said, the reason why he wished the debate to be adjourned was that the matter might be brought before the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would be fair and honourable to take this money from the Imperial Exchequer; and, whether the object was good or bad, it was contrary to Parliamentary principles to do what was now proposed.

Mr. CALLAN said, he thought the debate should be adjourned, in order that the matter might be brought before the Prime Minister.

The House proceeded to a Division:—

Mr. Speaker stated he thought the Noes had it; and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Ayes to stand up in their places, and Thirteen Members only having stood up, Mr. Speaker declared the Noes had it.

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. DALY said, he would now renew his remarks. The contention about this matter was that many of the debts incurred by these Unions had arisen from their having expended money in promoting emigration to America; and they protested against that, and against the policy of the Government, which had severed these poor people from their homes and compelled them to become paupers. It was extremely unfair of the Government to press this Bill forward at an hour when there was no opportunity of showing how strongly the Irish people felt upon this matter; and he would gladly remain up to oppose the Bill being taken now.

Dr. LYONS said, he wished to draw attention to one point, and that was the disposal of the surplus funds under this Bill. With regard to Donegal, he was led to believe, on authority which he could not doubt, that in some instances the recovery of the seed loans had been enforced under circumstances which bore very harshly and unjustly on those who were supposed to have the benefit of the seed. The imperial regents, a variety of potato which were recommended on the authority of the Government, were a complete failure; and, in many cases, there was no return from the seeds at all. Under these circumstances, it seemed extremely harsh to prosecute the unfortunate individuals who had been induced to purchase the seed. Under this Bill provision was made for the relief of the Unions which, rightly or wrongly, had acted in the distress and got themselves into debt; and he would ask hon. Members opposite to bear in mind that these Unions must, in some way or other, get themselves out of their financial embarrassments, either by imposing an additional rate, which would bear hardly and injuriously on people already in extreme distress, or by the means now proposed by this Bill. He thought a great deal might have been said earlier as to the propriety of taking this money from the Irish Church Fund; but, the Bill having been allowed to pass the second reading, it was now too late to challenge that proposal. He was strongly of opinion that the money should not be drawn from that Fund, which he had always regarded as being held in trust by the State for the purpose of works of a reproductive character; but it was quite evident that, in one or other of these two ways, these Unions were in an unfortunate financial position, and they must find relief in some way; and, on the whole, he thought the proposal in the Bill was the more merciful method. As he understood, these four Unions had not been materially concerned in promoting emigration. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, if he found that this money was more than he required for the relief of those Unions, he would look into the question of the seed rate, for which so many people had been so harshly pursued?

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 79; Noes 12: Majority 67.—(Div. List, No. 188.)

Main Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 80; Noes 10: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 189.)

Bill *passed*.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.—[BILL 254.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

MR. FIRTH said, he would have been glad if this Bill could have been taken at an hour when it could have been properly discussed. Millions upon millions of money was levied on the people of London, and they knew nothing about the matter at all. In fact, there were not 100 people in London who knew anything of the proposal which the House was now asked to pass. He ventured to say that, from the beginning to the end of the year, there was no more monstrous farce—a farce to which the Secretary to the Treasury lent his sanction—than the passing of this Bill. The Bill proposed that the Board of Works, which was a body which did not represent the ratepayers of the Metropolis, and over which Parliament had no sort of control—this Bill proposed that the Board of Works should have authority to borrow £4,000,000, to spend as they themselves thought proper. No explanation was afforded of the Bill; indeed, the only thing that they would be told was that the Bill had been carefully examined by the Treasury. Certainly, he did not consider the inquiry of the Treasury was worthy of the name. The provisions of this Bill ought to have been examined by those who had to find the money. The people of the Metropolis had to find the money, and upon them the duty of investigating ought to be laid.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he did not wish to take up the time of the House at that hour of the night (2.55.) He need only point out that the greater part of the money voted in this Bill had been voted for eight years in succession. The Bill had been before the House from time to time, and the only other matter which this Bill contained related to three artizan schemes, and a scheme for street improvement, which was now before the House of Lords, and which would very soon pass into law. It did seem an anomaly that hon. Gentlemen should get up in their places and question the representative character of the Board of Works. He maintained that the Metropolitan Board of Works did represent the ratepayers of the Metropolis; and he maintained, moreover, that the matters dealt with by that Bill had been gone into most carefully by the Board, and had passed the ordeal of Committees of the House, and had passed the House itself. Surely, when these ordeals had been gone through, the hon. Member for Chelsea had no reason to grumble. Three o'clock in the morning he did not consider a proper time to go into figures, which had been carefully gone into by the Treasury, and received their approval. Every figure contained in the Bill had been laid before the Secretary to the Treasury by the Metropolitan Board of Works; and if the hon. Gentleman the Member for Chelsea had himself examined the figures he would not have delivered the speech he had just made.

Mr. MONK said, that 3 o'clock in the morning was not a proper time to consider a Bill which imposed taxation on the ratepayers of the Metropolis to the extent of £4,100,000. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) had said that those figures had been considered often enough by the Treasury and by himself——

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: And by the House of Commons.

Mr. MONK: And, no doubt, by the Board over which he presided. That was not sufficient for the House of Commons. When Estimates were brought before the House it was the intention of Parliament that the House should consider them in detail. It was unreasonable that a lump sum, amounting to £4,000,000, should be passed at that time of the morning. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Truro had also said Committees of this House had sanctioned that expenditure; but he (Mr. Monk) disputed that that was so. It was said, too, that the Metropolitan Board of Works had carefully gone into the sums of money now asked for; but the House had no confidence in the Metropolitan Board of Works. This expenditure was becoming fabulous, and year after year the taxation of the Metropolis was increasing. What on earth was meant by an expenditure of £100,000 upon lamp standards? If the Board thought fit to spend so much money on lamp standards, the House of Commons ought to know something about the matter. He would not move that the debate be adjourned; he would be sorry to do so if they were to have a discussion in Committee.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he thought the hon. Gentleman who opened the debate (Mr. Firth) would not expect him to enter upon a discussion concerning the constitution of the Metropolitan Board of Works. This was simply a Bill to continue the borrowing powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the several claims made and received had been considered and approved by the Treasury. It was not a new Bill at all. The question which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) had raised had not now been raised by him for the first time; and therefore he (Mr. Courtney) did not propose, unless the Committee desired it, to prolong the debate.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

SALE OF LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 130.]

(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Second Reading [11th June] read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Monday 23rd July."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

Mr. CALLAN said, the Prime Minister had stated that the Order for this Bill would be discharged. It was rather incomprehensible, unless there was something beneath the surface which hon. Members could not understand, why the Order had not been discharged. He knew it was said it was necessary to keep the Order on the Paper for the purpose of putting the Act in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill. That argument, however, was absurd, because the Act was now in force, and could be included in the Continuance Bill without the Order remaining on the Paper. He thought that the Order ought to be discharged, as long as the Government had given a public pledge in the House to that effect.

Motion *agreed to*.

Adjourned Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* 23rd July.

SEA FISHERIES BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 257.]

(*Mr. John Holms.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. John Holms.*)

MR. A. PEASE said, he hoped that it was not intended to take the Committee stage at once.

MR. BIRKBECK trusted the House would agree to the second reading, because the Bill dealt with the very important question of putting a stop to the outrages by foreign on English fishermen, and ought not to be delayed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT (1874) AMENDMENT (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 39.]

(*Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Kelly, Dr. Commins, Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. O'Kelly.*)

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that this Bill, as re-committed, had not been laid before the House, and the original Bill was brought in in exactly the same way. He objected to the Bill being taken at that hour of the morning, and under the conditions he had mentioned. He therefore moved that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

MR. BLAKE said, that the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly) had been a long time before the House. Its provisions were perfectly understood; and in the opinion of everyone, save and except the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel King-Harman), the Bill was a most useful one. As his hon. Friend would have so few opportunities, considering the very heavy state of the Notice Paper, of bringing the measure forward during the entire Session, he (Mr. Blake) trusted he would persevere to get the Bill into Committee to-night.

MR. SHEIL said, he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) would not press his Motion. Certainly, the House was entitled to hear some reason why the Motion should be made. At present he had only heard that the hour was somewhat advanced, and that the Bill was not circulated. He did not think the hon. and gallant Gentleman himself would deny that the Bill was a useful one, for its object was simply the distribution of small sums of money, under very necessary circumstances. The reason given for an adjournment was so small that he ventured to hope the hon. and gallant Gentleman would not persist in his opposition.

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not think that the opposition was quite so unreasonable as had been suggested. The Bill had been re-committed in order to receive numerous Amendments, and to be re-printed. It had not yet been re-printed, so that the form in which it was to be considered in Committee was not known. He would, however, suggest this compromise — that the Speaker should be allowed to leave the Chair, and that, immediately afterwards, Progress should be reported, on the understanding that the Committee stage should not be taken until the Bill had been re-printed.

MR. O'KELLY said, he was quite prepared to accept the compromise proposed by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney).

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he had Amendments on the Paper, which had been taken off, and he had no means of knowing at present whether those Amendments ought to be again put on the Paper. Upon the understanding, however, that the Committee stage would not be taken until the Bill had been reprinted, he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 10th July, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—*Report*—Channel Tunnel.

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Poor Relief (Ireland) * (140); Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) * (142).

Committee—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) * (39); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) (111).

Report—Pawnbrokers (136-141).

Third Reading—Tramways Provisional Orders * (110), and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—STANDING COMMITTEES.

NOTICE OF QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, that seeing the manner in which Public Business was going on in the other House, as evidenced by the speech of the Prime Minister "elsewhere," and thinking that some measures which the Government were anxious to pass would not come up to their Lordships' House in time to be properly considered, he wished to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether some of those Bills which had been before the Grand Committees could not be brought before their Lordships' House at once, in order that they might have some attention given to them—he referred to the Bankruptcy Bill, the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, and the Patents Bill? If it was possible to do as he suggested, a great deal of time would be saved; the measures would be more fairly considered, and both Houses would be kept employed. If the noble Earl preferred it, he would give Notice that, that day week, he would ask him whether there was any intention on the part of the Government that those Bills which had passed through the Grand Committees should be introduced into their Lordships' House at once? The Bills referred to had already received the sanction of an important Committee of the other House, and they would go down to the other House with an additional weight if they had also the approval of their Lordships.

Earl GRANVILLE said, he was much obliged to his noble Friend (the Earl of Redesdale) for giving him timely Notice of his Question, and he would confer with his Colleagues to see whether anything could be done, though he did not see how Bills which were passing through the other House could be brought before their Lordships at present. He should, therefore, like to know whether the noble Earl meant to withdraw the Bills from the Lower House in order to introduce them into their Lordships' House?

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees) said, he did not propose to withdraw them from the other House. They were Bills which had passed a most important Committee; but they would, of course, be introduced into their Lordships' House as new Bills.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, that, no doubt, it would be a great advantage if it could be done; but he must confess that he could not see how his noble Friend's (the Earl of Redesdale's) suggestion could be complied with. Did his noble Friend propose that these Bills should be introduced into their Lordships' House as they had left the Grand Committees?

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees): The Government should introduce the Bills in this House.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON: In the shape the Bills came from the Grand Committees?

The Earl of REDESDALE (Chairman of Committees): Yes.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON: But the Bills might be very much altered by the House of Commons on Report, after they had come from the Committees; and, in that case, their Lordships would have to consider the same Bills twice. Therefore, he was afraid the proposal was not one likely to meet the object his noble Friend had in view.

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 3) BILL.—(No. 111.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

COMMITTEE.

House again in Committee (according to Order.)

Lord SUDELEY, in moving, as an Amendment, to strike out of the Bill a tramway in the East of London, said, he did so on the ground that the assent of the Metropolitan Board of Works as the "Local Authority" had not been obtained to the application to the Board of Trade for the Provisional Oorder] as required by the Tramways Act, 1870.

Amendment *moved*, in pages 104 to 110, to leave out the whole of the Order relating to Woolwich and South-East London Tramways.—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he felt bound to oppose the Amendment, as he thought it a great hardship on the Company. The Board of Trade should have taken the trouble to ascertain whether the requirements of the law had been complied with before granting the Provisional Order. The solicitors who had obtained the Order had acted in perfect good faith.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he would point out to the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) the impropriety of allowing this part of the Bill to proceed, when the requirements of the Tramways Act, 1870, had not been complied with. The Law Officers of the Crown had, moreover, advised that the assent required by law had not been obtained. He had himself loooked into the questions which had been raised, and he entirely concurred in the opinion of the Law Officers. He hoped, therefore, the opposition to the Amendment would be withdrawn.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that after the statement of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack he would not press his opposition to the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

House *resumed.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next.

PAWNBROKERS' BILL.—(No. 136.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

REPORT.

Order of the Day for the Report of the Amendments to be received read.

Moved, "That the Report of the Amendments to the Bill be now received."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he wished to ask the Government whether, after the general announcement made last night in "another place" of a general massacre of Bills, some of them being of great importance, there was the slightest chance of the present measure being passed this year? If there was no likelihood of the Bill passing, was there any use in making their Lordships go through this performance of a species of Parliamentary goose step?

EARL GRANVILLE said, the noble Marquess had given him no Notice of the question.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he only wished to know, would the Bill be pressed forward in the House of Commons; if not, what would be the use of that House passing it?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, it was very difficult to answer a question of the nature of this one, put to him by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury); he might, however, state that the Government were very anxious to pass the Bill, and when it came before the other House they would have the means of forming an opinion as to the time which the measure would be likely to occupy, if it were persevered with. If it were to be taken for granted that Bills introduced into their Lordships' House could not pass in "another place," their Lordships would be discouraged from passing any Bills at all. He hoped, now that their Lordships had gone so far with it, they would go through with the Bill to the end, and deal with it with that fairness and candour which had hitherto been exhibited in its consideration. If it was not likely to occupy a great deal of time there was a fair prospect of its being passed into law this Session.

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendments *reported* accordingly.

Clause 3 (Assistance in the recovery of stolen articles to be given by pawnbrokers).

On the Motion of The LORD CHANCELLOR, the following Amendment made:—In page 1, lines 9 and 10, leave out ("given to") and insert ("left with.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Duty of pawnbrokers to answer police inquiries respecting stolen articles).

On the Motion of The LORD CHANCELLOR, the following Amendment made:

In page 2, line 7, after ("possession") insert ("received after the date stated to be the date of the robbery").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Pawnbrokers to enter in pledge book distinctive marks on pledges).

LORD HENNIKER, in moving an Amendment, to the effect that a pawnbroker should not be compelled to enter in his pledge-book as distinctive marks any inscription, mark, initial, monogram, or crest, or, in case of jewellery, any peculiarity of setting, and should otherwise so describe such articles as the more readily to secure their identification, said, he had mistaken the scope of the clause on a former occasion, as he thought pawnbrokers would come under it, whether articles were pawned or not. This fact, and the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, made the clause much better than it was at first; but he must remark that he could not accept the clause as it now stood in the Bill, as the latter part of the clause would make it almost unworkable. Everyone knew how difficult it was to describe the marks on plate, jewellery, and other similar articles accurately; and if a pawnbroker and his assistants were required to make entries of such marks as were mentioned in the Bill, he felt certain the work would not be performed in an efficient manner. It was also difficult to decipher the monograms and crests on rings and watches—perhaps their Lordships would examine their own watches and rings—because persons in the trade were always anxious to bring out something new, and it was scarcely to be expected that pawnbrokers would be able to decipher the peculiarities of certain kinds of letters, or know the meaning of various crests. Their Lordships, he felt sure, would appreciate the fact that the labour would be immense in describing carefully all the marks, monograms, crests, and so on, as prescribed by this clause. If they went to any of the large pawnbrokers' shops, they would find very extensive stocks of rings and other kinds of jewellery marked in the most extraordinary way; yet, by the clause, an entry of such marks was to be made in a book. It was necessary that the business of a pawnbroker should be done swiftly; therefore it would be almost impossible for him, or his assistants, to describe each article taken in pledge in the way prescribed. Then, again, he believed it was a fact that 75 per cent of the articles which were pledged went out again into the hands of those who pledged them within six months. Under these circumstances, he thought the clause would be quite strong enough without the words he proposed should be left out. It might be said that the Bill, stringent as it was, was intended to deal more with dishonest persons than upright, respectable pawnbrokers; but he thought he might venture to say that the pawnbrokers, generally, bore a high character, and the business was one which was conducted as honestly and straightforwardly as any in the country. If their Lordships looked at the clause carefully, they would see it did not matter whether the pawnbroker was honest, or the reverse—he would, all the same, have to carry on his business under the great difficulties he had mentioned. He was sure that if the clause were put into a workable state it would be carried out by all respectable pawnbrokers honestly, and to the letter. They would not expect the clause would be effective if passed in its present form; and he felt sure, if it went to the other House unaltered, it would destroy all chance of the Bill passing into law. He hoped, therefore, that their Lordships would agree to the Amendment he now moved.

Amendment *moved,* in page 2, line 29, to leave out from ("upwards") to the end of the clause.—(*The Lord Henniker.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he could not accept the Amendment. The clause had already been modified, and he did not think it desirable to make any further concession. It was very important to provide as well as they could for the identification of stolen articles. The proportion of discoveries was very small, when compared with the number of stolen articles which passed through the hands of pawnbrokers. The enumeration of the points to which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Henniker) objected would direct the attention of pawnbrokers to the kind of marks which would be most likely to lead to identification. He did not see what objection there could be to require the pawnbroker to enter any inscription, mark, or initial which might be on the article, and, in the case of articles of jewellery, any peculiarity of setting. He was sure that, in the latter case, the pawnbroker who did not recognize any peculiarity in the setting would not be liable to penalties. He hoped the House would adhere to the clause as it stood.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON said, the vast majority of those who would be affected by the Bill were upright and honest tradesmen; but, unfortunately, there were certain members of that body who were the reverse of this description. Unless the Bill were made clear, definite, and specific, short cuts would be found, and means devised by the latter class for evading its provisions and rendering them nugatory. Honest members of the trade suffered from the practices of the less scrupulous. Having gone carefully into the whole question, he was of opinion that nothing short of the Bill before the House would be effectual in meeting the requirements of the case they had in view. The Bill was the outcome of the deliberations of a Committee of their Lordships' House extending over two Sessions; and, since then, every argument that could be urged by the trade had been heard. It was an open secret that the Bill was of a less stringent character than it would have been, had it been presented immediately after the Report of the Committee last year. Under these circumstances, he looked with apprehension to any alterations in the Bill.

EARL FORTESCUE, in supporting the Amendment, said, he hoped their Lordships would not unnecessarily multiply the details which had to be inscribed in the books of the pawnbroker regarding the articles pledged with him during the year. If their Lordships imposed various duties on pawnbrokers beyond what they were accustomed to discharge, it would be as little in the interest of the poor, who were chiefly the pawners, as as of the pawnbrokers themselves.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 30; Not Contents 34: Majority 4.

CONTENTS.

Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Bedford, D.
Grafton, D.

Richmond, D.
Somerset, D.

Lansdowne, M.
Northampton, M.

Camperdown, E.
Derby, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Morley, E.
Northbrook, E.
Redesdale, E.
Spencer, E.
Sydney, E.

Alcester, L.
Ampthill, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)

Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Cottesloe, L.
Digby, L.
Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
Penrhyn, L.
Ribblesdale, L.
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Sudeley, L.
Truro, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Bath, M.
Hertford, M.
Salisbury, M.

Carnarvon, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Fortescue, E.
Lathom, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Ravensworth, E. [*Teller.*]
Selkirk, E.
Wharncliffe, E.

Gough, V.
Hawarden, V.
Sidmouth, V.

Amherst, L. (*V. Holmesdale.*)

Boston, L.
Brabourne, L.
Colchester, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Denman, L.
Egerton, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Hartismere, L. (*L. Henniker.*) [*Teller.*]
Hopetoun, L. (*E. Hopetoun.*)
Lamington, L.
Norton, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
Winmarleigh, L.

Resolved in the *negative.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Detention of persons offering stolen articles).

On the Motion of The Earl of LIMERICK, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 3, Sub-section (3), at commencement of sub-section, insert—("Where a Court of Summary Jurisdiction grants a certificate that there was reasonable cause for suspicion.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Power to search for stolen articles).

On the Motion of The LORD CHANCELLOR, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 10, leave out ("which appear to him to have been stolen").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Extension of the Pawnbrokers Act, 1872, to pledges of over ten pounds).

On the Motion of The LORD CHANCELLOR, the following Amendments made:—In page 5, line 15, after ("person") insert ("carrying on the business of a pawnbroker"), and after ("who") insert ("in the course of such business"); in line 16, leave out ("and shall") and in line 17, after ("advanced") insert ("and shall in respect thereof").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill to be read 3ª on *Thursday* next; and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 141).

NAVY — H.M.S. "TRIUMPH" — COURT MARTIAL ON LOUIS PRICE.

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in rising to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will lay on the Table the finding of the court martial in the case of Price, seaman of the "Triumph," in 1882; and to move for this and other Correspondence, said, that Louis Price was a boy on board Her Majesty's ship *Triumph* on the Pacific Station. He had a very good character, and the captain, who had special opportunities of knowing him, from his having been captain's messenger, thought him one of the most promising lads in the ship. While a boy he had committed two faults; one so trifling that the commander dealt with it summarily, without reporting it to the captain. When he was 16 he had been ashore near Valparaiso, and had come back on board rather fresh and noisy. The other, also trifling, consisted of some boyish impudence, and was punished with caning and black list. Few boys were so rarely in the defaulter's book. The character on his certificate was generally "very good," and never less than "good." In March, 1882, he reached the age of 18, and was rated an ordinary seaman, passing an excellent examination. Unfortunately, owing to the injudicious Admiralty Regulations, rum began to be served out to him. One day in April, probably hotter than the others, his allowance of rum put him into a heavy sleep; he came up, not drunk, but in a cross, dangerous state from being roused from sleep caused by drink; he was found fault with by the instructor, a gunner's mate, and struck him. For this, he was brought before a court martial. Price said he did not know what he had done, that he was very sorry, and pleaded guilty. The sentence was five years' penal servitude, which the Admiralty reduced to three. As the lad pleaded guilty, the statements of the gunner's mate were not proved; and the good character of the lad, and evidence which his captain would have given in his favour if he had been called, were not before the court martial. He was in the prison ship in the Pacific from April, 1882, to October, when he came home in the *Triumph*, was then sent to gaol, and had been in penal servitude at Chatham since February last. Mr. Clements Markham then applied to the Admiralty, asking them to be satisfied with two years' imprisonment. The reply he got gave two reasons for insisting on the penal servitude—1, That the offence was very cold-blooded; 2, that the boy had committed two offences before. As regarded the first, the captain had found at the time, on investigation, that young Price, though not drunk, had been roused from heavy sleep, the effect of the regulation allowance of rum. As regarded the second, if the Admiralty took those trivial offences into account, they were bound to call on the captain for a report as to the lad's character and general conduct. After Mr. Markham's failure, the parents of the lad, who were very respectable people in Chelsea, and about 60 constituents, sent a Petition to their Member, Sir Charles W. Dilke, entreating him to try and obtain a remission of the sentence. After some weeks, Sir Charles W. Dilke sent an answer. He said—

> "The case of young Price is, in my opinion, a hard one, and I have done all in my power in his behalf. I wish I could do more; but I fear the case is now finally closed."

He (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had a great regard for Sir Charles W. Dilke, and he feared that, at the next Election, he would find the case not "finally closed," as far as he was concerned, and that these 60 constituents, with a friend each, would remember that their Member could do nothing for them; and that it was he, and his section of the Liberal Party, who brought about such a frightful punishment as penal servitude and ruin for life, instead of four dozen, for an offence against discipline not involving moral turpitude, accompanied by extenuating circumstances. He would urge on the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty a consideration which, though it could not be pleaded before a court martial, should have weight with him and with their Lordships. Though he (Lord Stanley of Alderley) would admit that subordination to the petty officers must be upheld as much as in the case of the commissioned officers, yet a sailor who struck a petty officer, who but a short time ago was his comrade and equal, more easily committed such a fault than he would in the case of a lieutenant, whose lace and epaulets would remind him that he was in the presence of a superior officer. They already admitted this principle, since in India, if a policeman were struck, it was resistance to the law if he wore his badge, and only a common assault if he were without his badge. The sentence on Louis Price appeared to be yet more unjust, unequal, and capricious, when compared with another reported in the newspapers of June 30. On board Her Majesty's Ship *Victory*, T. J. Thorpe, of Her Majesty's Ship *Asia*, was tried for striking a ship's corporal, his superior officer, twice in the face, and for using insulting language to the first lieutenant. Sentence: two years' imprisonment. This man was a carpenter of mature age, and aggravated his offence by insulting the first lieutenant. It was, he thought, evident that the sentence in this case was too light, or that upon Price too heavy. He (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had a friend who was in Holland a few days ago, and spoke to a Dutch Commodore and Councillor of State on the subject of naval punishments. Some years ago, flogging was abolished in the Dutch Navy, and terms of imprisonment in a military prison substituted. But men who had committed mere military offences were never herded with ordinary criminals. Such a proceeding would be looked upon, not only as unjust, but as injurious to the State. That such things should be done here excited amazement. In this case, by this sentence of penal servitude, which involved herding with the worst criminals, disqualification for all civil and military service under the Crown, and ruin for life, a promising lad, who, up to the present, had borne a good character, was lost to the Navy, and perhaps a gaol bird let loose on society. The Naval Discipline Act was passed when flogging was in use, and it needed revision now that flogging was abolished. At present the punishments inflicted were more severe and inhuman than in the worst days of flogging. The noble Lord concluded by moving for the Papers of which he had given Notice.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House the finding of the court-martial in the case of Price, seaman of the "Triumph," in 1882; and correspondence relating thereto."—(*The Lord Stanley of Alderley.*)

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he would confine himself to answering the Question put by the noble Lord (Lord Stanley of Alderley), for he trusted their Lordships would not be induced to enter upon the general question of flogging in the Navy on this occasion, nor did he think, and he hoped their Lordships would hardly do so, that that House was the place to review the decisions of courts martial. He could deal only with the official Report of the case, from which it appeared that Price, who, while at drill on the quarter deck, was corrected by the instructor for some mistake, threw away his rifle, used insubordinate and obscene language, knocked down the instructor, and struck him in the face when he was trying to get up. The noble Lord stated that Price was drunk, or stupified, from the effects of drink at the time; but the "circumstantial letter," written by Captain Markham, the captain of the *Triumph*, who sent Price for trial, stated that "the evidence goes to prove that he was quite sober, and accountable for his actions." Captain Markham considered that he ought to be tried by court martial; he pleaded guilty, and the court sentenced him to five years' penal servitude. Although the case was a very bad one, it was decided by the Board of Admiralty, on account of Price's youth and his former good conduct, that some remission might be given; and it was settled that when he had served three years of the sentence the case should be brought up for reconsideration. This was done before the receipt of a petition from his family, supported by other persons; and, in reply to the petition, the petitioners were informed that the case had been so decided. If Price behaved himself well, and got the number of good marks that it was possible for him to obtain, the three years would be reduced to about two years and six months. For the sake of discipline it was necessary that an example should be made in such a case; and their Lordships would see that the manner in which the case had been dealt with did not indicate any desire to visit this heinous offence with excessive punishment; and he could not hold out any hope that the case would be further reconsidered. There were no documents except the finding of the court martial and the petition of the family, and the precedents were entirely against laying them on the Table. It had not been done in any case for the last 50 years. In the interests of discipline, he hoped the Motion of the noble Lord would not receive the support of the House.

Viscount SIDMOUTH said, that, contrary to what had been expressed by the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook), he (Viscount Sidmouth) was of opinion that their Lordships ought not to be deterred from discussing a matter so recently before the House. He thought the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had done right in bringing it before the House, because it showed the great amount of loss and injury done to the Navy by the abolition of corporal punishment. The case before them went far to confirm the adverse opinions expressed on the Bill lately under discussion abolishing corporal punishment, and more than ever justified his conviction, that the abolition of corporal punishment in the Navy was a mistake. This was just one of the cases in which flogging would have been a much more appropriate sentence; and it would have had this advantage—that if this man, or rather boy, whose antecedents were good, could have received a punishment which was not at all uncommon in social life he might have retained his good character, which was now gone so far as the Navy was concerned, and he would not have been prevented from trying afterwards to become a useful member of the Navy. Price was only 18 years; and, at a similar age, many of their Lordships, including the occupants of the right rev. Bench, had been subjected to the same kind of discipline in the public schools.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

The Earl of Northbrook

NAVY—THE REGULATIONS—WARRANT OFFICERS.—QUESTION.

Viscount SIDMOUTH asked the Second Naval Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he will state what the rules and regulations of the Service are in accordance with which warrant officers are permitted to make reasonable representations as to their condition, rank, and on other matters connected with their profession, to the Board of Admiralty?

Lord ALCESTER: My Lords, I shall have great pleasure in answering the noble Viscount's Question, and I will do so by reading the following extract from the Queen's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions:—

> "Every person is authorized individually to make known to his superior any just cause of complaint."

In the event, therefore, of any warrant officer on board the Fleet conceiving himself injured by the working of Regulations at present in force, he has only to represent the same to his commanding officer, and the case will be forwarded through the flag officer in command of the squadron in which he may be serving for the decision of the Admiralty. No difficulty has occurred respecting the forwarding of such information.

DEFENCE OF THE COLONIES—COLONIAL NAVAL FORCES.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Viscount SIDMOUTH, in rising to call attention to the necessity of forming Colonial Naval Forces; and to move an humble Address to Her Majesty for Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Australasian or other Colonies, with reference to their formation, said, that those who were interested in the Navy had, several times, complained in both Houses of Parliament of the ineffective character of the naval defences of this country. The attention of naval officers had naturally been more directed than that of other persons, at the present moment, to the position of the Colonies, and their defenceless condition, especially in Australasia; and as the subject was attracting some attention, he thought he was justified in laying some facts respecting it before their Lordships. Those Colonies were daily increasing in value and importance. Very recently, he made inquiries into the character and the amount of the navigation in those seas, and it might give the House some indication of it, when he mentioned that he received the astounding official statement that the amount of shipping in one of these harbours alone—the harbour of Sydney—was in excess of the tonnage of the Port of London at the time of Her Majesty's accession to the Throne. The shipping in the Australian ports was in great danger from any sudden act of war on the part of a European Power. Sometimes it was stated the commerce concerned the Colonies alone; but that was not really the case, as, from its very nature, it was of immense importance not only to the Colonies, but also to the United Kingdom, that it should be protected. Indeed, £20,000,000 of that commerce in the past year was actually on its way to this country. From such instances as these, their Lordships would perceive that this was not merely a Colonial question, but also an Imperial question, and an Imperial question of the very highest order, for it was an affair in which the interests of the United Kingdom were very much implicated. At present that commerce was protected only by a small Fleet of the Imperial Navy. He did not wish to review, or even refer to, the action of other Powers in reference to Colonial matters; but he thought it would be apparent to their Lordships that, unless something were done by the united action of the Imperial Government and the Colonies, the shipping and harbours, and, indeed, the whole of the coasts of our Australian Possessions, would be liable, in the event of hostilities breaking out between this country and any other Power, to be attacked by cruisers and privateers; and he left it to their Lordships to imagine the amount of damage that might be done by a few vessels of the stamp of the *Alabama*. When this question was before their Lordships the other night, in connection with the reported annexation of New Guinea by Queensland, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) said he did not share in the alarm of the Colonists, as to the probable seizure of that country by any other Power; and, at the same time, added that its seizure would be regarded as an unfriendly act. He (Viscount Sidmouth) begged to remind their Lordships, however, that prior to the annexation of New Caledonia by France—he thought it was in the year 1853—the Colonial Governments, by the hands of Sir George Grey, addressed similar warnings to the Imperial Government as to the designs of other Powers; and the answer of the Imperial Government then was very much what it was now; and yet, the very next year or so, France came down with a man-of-war and a small force, the French flag was hoisted, and ever since New Caledonia had been a French settlement. New Caledonia might not be the most important station for a hostile Power; but our Colonies were surrounded with islands which would be of the very greatest use to an enemy, and one of them contained one of the very best harbours in these seas, capable of accommodating a Fleet of the largest size. Her Majesty's Government set themselves against annexation. Other Powers might not be so thin-skinned; and when it was too late, we might discover that we had allowed an enemy to plant himself at the very doors of our Colonies. The Colonies themselves were doing their very best. In this country there was indifference, or rather ignorance; but the Colonies were thoroughly alive to the necessity of preparing to defend themselves. They were making efforts to provide themselves with gunboats and torpedo boats; New Zealand had ordered two new gunboats and several torpedo boats; Victoria had two gunboats and three torpedo boats; Queensland had one gunboat and four torpedo boats; South Australia had agreed to procure a war vessel at a cost of £80,000; and Tasmania had one torpedo boat. The suggestion he ventured to make was, that some assistance should be given to those who were so very ready to help themselves. Many gallant officers of our Navy, now on half-pay, would be only too glad to serve the country by serving in the Colonies, provided that their pay was continued to them, and that they retained their rank and chances of promotion. If that were allowed by the Admiralty, there would be no difficulty in getting properly trained and competent naval officers to take charge of the vessels belonging to the Colonies, which, in a short time, would have a sufficient force for the defence of these most valuable defences of the Empire. The Colonists were afraid that in the event of war a case like that of the *Alabama* might arise. A vessel of the *Alabama* class might steam into Sydney, which had one of the most magnificent harbours in the world, and might exact contributions from the inhabitants to an enormous amount, or take possession of the coalfields in the Colony. In reference to the question of extending our Colonies, he did not at all agree with his noble Friend (Lord Lamington), who had lately called attention to this subject. On the contrary, he thought it would be one of the greatest possible blessings, and very much to the advantage of the Natives of New Guinea and the other islands in these seas, that they should be annexed to a civilized Power, and that that civilized Power should be this country. He did not want to find any fault with France, who had her own interests to look to; but it was to be remembered that she had taken New Caledonia; and he believed that there were projects before the French Legislature with the view of creating another Penal Settlement out there, the result of which would be very prejudicial to the interests of our Colonies. These islands, moreover, were full of European adventurers, who were subject to no kind of magisterial jurisdiction except that of the High Commissioner, who had also to look after the maintenance of the law in Fiji—a large group of islands, where Englishmen were supposed to be—but he had not proper power by law to punish crime. Therefore, notwithstanding what had been said the other day by his noble Friend, all these things furnished strong arguments in favour of such an annexation as he was sorry to see the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) entirely repudiate on the part of the Colony of Queensland. The unprotected state of our shores in these seas must lead in course of time to one of two things—either they would be attacked by an enemy of this country, or the Colonies would require to say—"We must see what we can do for ourselves." That was a future which everyone must look forward to with the utmost dread. A warning ought to be taken from what had happened elsewhere. He could not refrain from alluding to one Colony, which, under proper management, might have been one of our finest Colonies, and possessed of one of the finest seaboards, instead of being the straggling Colony it now was, without a single good harbour—he meant the Cape of Good Hope, which was full of every natural resource which could bring out the energies of Englishmen; but the unfortunate mismanagement with regard to the affairs of the Transvaal, and also in reference to Delagoa Bay, had been most injurious to our interests in South Africa. He was not well acquainted with the state of things in Canada; but he was informed that the Canadians were ready to establish Naval Forces of their own; and he knew that they were ready, in the event of this country being involved in a general war, to send over at least 10,000 good soldiers to fight her battles. He only trusted that the period would never arrive when the acts of the Government at home would shake the friendly feelings of the Colonists towards the Mother Country; and he believed that nothing could better tend to strengthen those friendly feelings than if Her Majesty's Government would meet the Colonists half-way by enabling them to defend their own shores. The noble Viscount concluded by moving for the Correspondence.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Australasian or other Colonies with reference to the formation of colonial naval forces."—(*The Viscount Sidmouth.*)

Lord LAMINGTON said, he had been very much misunderstood by his noble Friend (Viscount Sidmouth) in the remarks he had made on a previous occasion. What he (Lord Lamington) had condemned was the practice of Colonists sending out ships, and hoisting flags without consulting the Imperial Government. He fully concurred in all that his noble Friend had said as to the necessity of the Government doing everything in its power to give protection to the Colonies. If it were true, as stated in the French papers, that it was the intention of the French Government to send all their convicts to the islands in the Pacific, that changed the position of matters entirely. But he understood the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) to say the other evening that there was a distinct understanding with the French Government that neither France nor England was to annex the New Hebrides. Was it so? The case, however, would be very different, and the whole position would be changed, if other countries were going to annex these islands. The Government should, in his opinion, do everything they could to strengthen the Colonies, and they could not do that better than by enabling them to obtain proper naval protection.

After an interval,

The Earl of DERBY said, he had waited to see whether any noble Lord would rise to add one more to the many topics which had been introduced to their notice—subjects all of them of the greatest importance; but subjects in regard to which he hardly knew that it would be their Lordships' wish that he should follow the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Sidmouth) and the noble Lord who succeeded him. More particularly, he doubted whether any good purpose would be served in dicussing the question whether they ought or ought not to have given up Delagoa Bay. They had given it up, not because it was not valuable, but because the authority to which the question was referred decided that it did not belong to us. The question as to its being a good harbour was not raised; but, even if it had been, he did not think the fact that a harbour was, in itself, desirable constituted a right on our part to take possession of that harbour.

Viscount SIDMOUTH explained that he had referred to the fact that the question was referred to arbitration, and that it should not have been so referred, as it was the case of a bay that was always held to belong to us.

The Earl of DERBY said, he thought there were two opinions on that subject; but the question was disposed of so long ago that there was no advantage in entering into it now. The noble Lord who spoke last (Lord Lamington) had alluded to a proposal for the annexation of the New Hebrides, and asked whether there was not an understanding between our Government and that of France that neither Government should take possession of the New Hebrides? His (the Earl of Derby's) answer to that question was, there was such an understanding. It existed definitely five years ago; and he did not understand that anything had since been done on either side to make it of no effect. The noble Viscount who had introduced the subject more immediately before their Lordships adverted to the importance of the Australian Colonies; and, in doing so, had drawn a picture, in no way untrue or exaggerated, of the great extent of our trade with them, and of the large quantity of property which we had exposed to the risk of enemies in those seas. On that point he apprehended that there were not two opinions. All he could say on the general question of defence was this—that he did not think they could possibly undertake to protect every part of the whole of our vastly-extended Colonial Empire, which might at any time be liable to attack. The resources of no country in the world would be sufficient for such a purpose; and if they were to undertake a system of defence founded on that principle, they would have to scatter their force over almost the whole face of the Globe, and would probably, in consequence, find themselves weaker at any given point than the enemy to whom they might be opposed. The true principle, he apprehended, was to defend only those points which were of vital importance, and, for the rest, to rely on the general superiority of their Naval Forces on the seas of the world, and to trust to their ability to concentrate a sufficient number of them on any point of danger. The noble Viscount had referred to the probability of the exploits of vessels of the *Alabama* type being repeated. He (the Earl of Derby) supposed that it was not possible altogether to guard against the mischief which might be done by piratical cruisers in the event of a naval war breaking out; and when their Lordships considered that in Australia they had, at least, from 3,000 to 4,000 miles extent of sea-coast to deal with, they would see that the attempt to defend every part of that coast would be almost a hopeless undertaking. Australia, however, it might be remembered, although insular, was not much exposed to attack by sea, because the great bulk of its wealth lay inland, and not along the coast; and it was not a country that was, to a great extent, vulnerable to naval attack. Sydney and Melbourne, which were open to such attack, were admitted to be both in a very fair state as regarded defence; and he was glad to say he had heard that opinion confirmed by the best authority very lately. With regard to Queensland, its capital, Brisbane, lay far up the river, and was not easily assailable from the sea. With regard to Adelaide, and some of the towns of the other Colonies, he did not know exactly how the case stood. He believed, however, that their state of defence was not so good; but, as regarded most of them, the population was small, and the towns were of such little importance that they held out little inducement to an enemy to attack them. The noble Viscount had suggested that some assistance should be given by the Imperial Government to the Colonies, in the way of placing at their disposal officers in Her Majesty's Service who were inclined to undertake service in the Colonies. That was a fair suggestion, to the principle of which he saw no objection; but, up to the present moment, no proposition of the kind had, to his knowledge, been made by the Colonial Governments. If, however, such requests were made he would be happy to consider them. The noble Viscount enumerated the various torpedo boats that were being made by the Australian Colonies, as increasing evidence that they were alive to the utility, and perhaps the necessity, of naval defences. That appeared to him (the Earl of Derby) to be a satisfactory state of things, and one with which they might be content. He could better understand the noble Viscount's complaint if any proposition for increasing their means of defence had been put forward by the Australasian Colonies and refused by us; but he was not aware of anything of the kind having occurred, and, therefore, he could only make the general statement, that he would consider any such proposition when made. He had made inquiries at the Colonial Office, but could find no Correspondence of late years, except certain Memoranda upon local questions of defence, which he thought it undesirable to make public. He did not think there was any Correspondence of a general character which it would be of the slightest advantage to lay on the Table.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, he would not go into the topic of the annexation of New Guinea; but he thought the House was under an obligation to the noble Viscount behind him (Viscount Sidmouth) for bringing under their notice the question of the formation of a Colonial Naval Force, which he (the Earl of Carnarvon) agreed with him was a subject of very great importance indeed. When his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Derby) said that there was no distinct proposal before him on the part of any of the Colonial authorities as regarded this subject, and that it was a question what was a fair proposal to be made, he thought his noble Friend would do well to remember that it was not always the function of Government to wait until a proposal of that nature was made; but that, when a question of Imperial importance arose in connection with the Colonies, it was for the Imperial Government themselves to meet it, or, at all events, to encourage the Colonies to do so. Some years ago, many of the questions raised to-night had been very carefully considered by the Colonial authorities, who had made a Report upon them, which, perhaps, his noble Friend had not seen. Upon the main question before the House he would like to say a few words. It seemed to him now, as it did then, that three points arose. In the first place, there was the question of the Australian trade; in the second place, there was the question of the defence of the coast and towns; and, in the third place, there was the question of the relations which Her Majesty's Navy bore to both those points. Now, when his noble Friend opposite said there was no danger to the towns on the coast, he was disposed to agree with him, with certain reservations. Melbourne and Sydney, thanks to the energy, courage, and patriotism of their inhabitants, had placed themselves in a condition of safety as regarded defence. Brisbane, on the other hand, was some distance up the river, and was, therefore, protected by nature, and needed no defence. But his point was, that it was not so much the towns as the Australian commerce which was afloat that was exposed to disaster. The commerce was of a very peculiar character. It was largely mixed up with the English trade, and he believed that what had been stated by his noble Friend was quite true—namely, that the amount of trade in the Port of Sydney was about the same as that of the trade in the Port of London at the time of the accession of the Queen. If so, that showed what a large stake Australia had in the matter.

More than that, he (the Earl of Carnarvon) believed there was a seafaring population, which was increasing largely, and which required protection. Then, as regarded the defences of the coast, there were important questions to be considered. There was the question of fortifications and armament; then there was the question of men, and then there was the question of floating defences. With regard to fortifications, and the whole system of Colonial protection, too much credit could not be given to the Australian Colonies, and he wished what had been done by this country would bear comparison with what had been done by them. The average expenditure in New South Wales and Victoria was close upon £80,000 a-year for naval defences. That of New Zealand was £40,000, and that of the other Colonies was of a proportionate amount. Besides that, New South Wales had a force of between 2,000 and 3,000 men; Victoria had rather more; Queensland upwards of 1,000; South Australia about 1,000; New Zealand had the large number of 8,000, and Tasmania had 10,000. These facts were all very creditable to the Colonies; but then came the question of floating defences. Whatever happened, and whatever was done with regard to land fortifications, the large Colonies required floating defences. Towns like Melbourne and Sydney were ready to incur any expenditure to obtain what was needed; and, in addition to that, New South Wales had a Naval Brigade of 4,000 or 5,000 men, some of whom were on a permanent establishment. As to Victoria, there was a Naval Brigade, part of which was permanent, and the Force was, he believed, very efficient. These were satisfactory arrangements so far as they went; but, as to further defences, the question was, what they should be. With regard to ships, their Lordships would remember that some years ago £100,000 was given by this country to Victoria, a service of ships, and a turret ship and cruisers were obtained. Since then great improvements had been made in their ships. Large sums had been spent on two ships; and there was a third, a steel ship, at Victoria. It was only right that the House should understand what these great Colonies were doing for themselves. Victoria was the first Colony that adopted the Naval Defence Act, which was passed 15 or 16 years ago, to enable the Colonies to provide ships, and to place crews under the Naval Discipline Acts and the Imperial Regulations. Their chief difficulty, however, was to get the officers and the men. He now came to the third point, which was one of real importance—namely, what were the relations which the Royal Navy held towards the Australian Colonies? There was, it was true, a very small squadron indeed in Colonial waters, which was confined to little more than the performance of police duty in those seas; but they undertook the general defence of the Australian Coasts and the Australian Colonies. On the other hand, Australia undertook to give shelter to those ships in time of war or difficulty; but there was no money payment asked for from the Colonies to maintain a Fleet, and the question was, whether any better arrangement could be substituted. He thought the present moment a very opportune one for the consideration of this subject. Any advance by the Government in this question would be as much for the interests of this country as for those of Australia. The idea which had found most favour was for something in the nature of a joint contribution. Then arose the question whether, and how far, it was possible for the Colonies to pay the money, and to leave the control of the administration in the hands of this country. That question was thought by some to involve difficulty; but, to his mind, the difficulty was more theoretical than real, and he believed that it could be satisfactorily arranged. The plan had been tried, and had succeeded in many cases. He would instance some. There was a Settlement in the North of Australia, called the Somerset Settlement, which was established for the relief of shipwrecked crews. This country paid so much money towards that Settlement, and the Australian Government undertook its administration. The Home Government, too, administered the Mint in Sydney, while the Colony paid for it. Again, when troops were maintained in the Australian Colonies, this country administered the affairs connected with them, while the Australians paid a heavy subsidy. Aden, also, was maintained by the Indian Government; but the administration and control was with this country. He saw, therefore, no practical difficulty in combining the two propositions—namely, a system of subventions or subsidies from the Colonies, with a system under which the administration of affairs would be carried on by the Mother Country. There ought to be no divided responsibility. An English Admiral, if on the spot, must have the whole control. On the other hand, he agreed with his noble Friend behind him (Viscount Sidmouth) that in the formation of any Navy, or the maintenance of ships of war in or by a Colony, if possible, all the officers should be Queen's officers, as they were the only persons with knowledge and skill sufficient for the position. He was glad to hear from his noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he considered the suggestion that officers should be lent by this country a reasonable one. He trusted the noble Earl would act upon the suggestion. There were two ways in which it would be possible to secure joint action between the Mother Country and the Colony. According to the first, and most preferable, a contribution of money would be made by the Colonies, and the ships would be the Queen's ships, under an English Admiral, who would have the power to move his ships to any part of his particular station, for the purpose of protecting Australian interests, he being the judge of those interests. The second way would be this—that the Colonies themselves should provide ships, which would be nominally placed under the control of the Admiral on the station, but which would really be attached to the Australian Coasts, and be the property of the Colonies. Either of these proposals would be possible; but the first would be the better. He did not think there would be any difficulty in arriving at a fair basis in regard to contributions of money by the Colonies, and as to how the ships should be managed, it being understood that they would be employed to protect the interests of the Colonies. If there had been any delay or difficulty in connection with the question of Colonial defence, the fault in recent years had not been with the Australian Colonies, for they had, on all occasions, shown themselves thoroughly alive to the necessities of the situation. That was evidenced by the fact that, three or four years ago, an important Inter-Colonial Commission sat at Sydney, and discussed the whole question of military defence with remarkable ability and thoroughness. Moreover, these questions had often been discussed in the Colonial Parliaments, and they had never been made a Party matter. The Colonies had spent large sums upon their Forces, which were considerable and generally well-disciplined; and they had been careful to procure the best articles and implements of war. So sagacious was the Victorian Government that, when it was a question of providing small arms for the use of its citizens, it determined to adopt the Imperial patent at considerable expense. What was really needed was action on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and he therefore wished they would make some suggestions on the matter. They alone were in a position to initiate satisfactory measures, for they spoke with an authority that none of the Colonies could speak with, and they could give effect to any proposals that might be made. It was not a question of the expenditure of money on the part of this country. What the Colonies wanted was the initiatory action and advice which were bound to be given by the Government, and he should deplore the wasting of the great opportunity which now offered for the solution of the question. In conclusion, he would say that he was convinced that if the position were only thoroughly understood, there would be no practical difficulty in agreeing upon a principle of joint action between this country and the Colonies on the important subject to which attention had been drawn. It was deplorable to see great opportunities wasted and difficulties arising through the fault of the English Government; and he was convinced it ought never to be made a Party question.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that a few nights ago he heard his noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby), on the part of Her Majesty's Government, say that he would not consent to the annexation of New Guinea. He (the Duke of Somerset) had sat for 30 years in the House of Commons, and had heard frequent declarations against annexation from successive Ministers. For instance, he had heard a similar statement made long ago in the other House with regard to New Zealand; yet we had since annexed that country, and there was, shortly after, a repetition of the same circumstances in the case of Fiji. More recently still, a British Company had obtained a footing in Borneo; and what had happened before would happen again; and he foresaw that the Government would find themselves obliged to annex New Guinea, or some portion of it, adjoining the Torres Straits. He was certain that the noble Earl, notwithstanding the present sincerity of his protestations, would, after a time, find himself, like the lady in *Don Juan*, who—

> "A little still she sighed, and much repented,
> And whispering, 'I will ne'er consent,' consented."

The nearness of New Guinea to the Australian Colonies, and the necessity for a police in those seas, in order to keep away rogues and filibusters, were powerful arguments with the Colonies in favour of this step. He believed the result would be that the Government would be driven at last to take the necessary measures for the protection of British interests in that part of the world, and that a Naval Force there would lead to annexations, whether they liked it or not.

LORD NORTON said, he was of opinion that the question of Colonial Naval Forces was an important one, and any further annexation would increase the importance of it. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) said we could not defend every point of the Colonial Empire, and he (Lord Norton) was glad of it, because the Colonists would not be worthy of their name if they required us to defend them. Happily, the necessities of the case had led to the renewed development of a system of self-defence on the part of the Colonies. In 1859, a Commission reported that the British Colonies might then be said to contribute neither men nor money for their own defence. Their defence was then undertaken by the Mother Country at a cost of £5,000,000 a-year. Since that period, however, the military defence of the Colonies had been much more undertaken by themselves, they having found local forces, and partly paid for ours in money, and they were making rapid strides towards a return to Naval Colonial self-defence. Very few English troops were now sent to the Colonies, and those that were sent were paid for at the rate of £40 per man, or nearly half the cost. The Colonies were, however, mainly to be defended from the sea. Under the Colonial Defence Act, a great deal had been done by the Australian Colonies towards more provision for their own protection, and a considerable number of them had now sufficient harbour defence. But, putting other Colonies out of the question, though the remark applied even with more force to Canada than to Australia, it was absolutely necessary that something like an adequate Naval Force should be established by the Australian Colonies in the seas around their coasts. In the last year of the Crimean War, a Russian Fleet was advancing from Alaska to make a descent on the Australian Colonies, and there was no force whatever to prevent it; but, fortunately, the war ceased before the descent was made. And so, in like manner, there would be great danger at this moment to Australia in the case of a great European war. The only defence against such a danger was a Naval Squadron on the spot. In the debate upon New Guinea he understood the noble Earl to say that though the Government were not prepared to undertake to annex the Island, yet he threw out a suggestion that the Colonies might combine for the security of their interests in it, and that he would be ready to consider anything requiring the sanction of the Crown that might be offered by the Colonists. That was an invitation to combine for secure government in New Guinea, supported by a Naval Force in its neighbourhood. There was no reason why British subjects in Australia should not make as good naval officers as British subjects at home. A Navy would be the power to protect and maintain order in the annexations of unoccupied territory, which, no doubt, would take place in the neighbourhood of those Colonies. A High Commissioner in Fiji, as now proposed to have authority, would be a very weak defence for British or Colonial interests in those seas. We had had High Commissioners in South Africa; but they were never successful. They involved this country in disputes which they could not decide, and which resulted in difficulties and war. He hoped the High Commissionership, to which the Secretary of State for the Colonies looked to deal with the questions now arising in Australia, would be only a temporary expedient until a Regular Force was established for the security of the rights both of our Settlers and Natives, and for the defence of our commerce in those seas. That commerce was now very great, and it must be defended, for both the Home and Colonial interests were concerned; and he believed that the Colonists were willing to take their share in both a Military and a Naval Force to protect their country, and would meet any proposal for combined action on the subject which might come from the Imperial Government.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I always listen to my noble Friend opposite (Lord Norton) with great pleasure and attention, particularly when he speaks on a question of this kind, because he has greatly contributed to the propagation of sound notions on Colonial policy, which were not adopted at the time he advocated them as they are adopted now. I do not intend to enter into the general debate which has been raised; but I wish only to refer to one point raised by my noble Friend who introduced the discussion (Viscount Sidmouth). I understood the noble Viscount, in referring to the New Hebrides the other night, to give Notice of his intention to ask me a Question—namely, whether it was true, as reported, that the French had planted their flag on those islands? Had my noble Friend put the Question at that time, I should have answered that we had received no information to that effect, and that I thought it extremely improbable, seeing that an agreement had been come to between Her Majesty's Government and the French Government pledging both of them to a policy of non-interference as regards those islands. But I am now in a position to say that I have received authoritative information that there is no truth whatever in the report as to the hoisting of the French flag, and that both Her Majesty's Government and the French Government acknowledge in full the obligation which that understanding imposes on both.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, it should be remembered that Australian commerce had been protected, not merely by the squadron on the Australian Station, but also by other squadrons on the China and other stations. If this question of a Navy for Australia was to be considered, the problem must be thought out more fully than had hitherto been done. In the first place, for what purpose was this additional Navy required? The Australian Colonies had already recognized that it was incumbent on them to provide vessels for defensive purposes, and, to a great extent, they had provided them. But if it was said that they required a Navy which would go to sea, we should further consider how far it was to be under the orders of Her Majesty's Admiral on the Station. The difficulty which the Australian Colonies had was not one of paying for ships or men, but of finding the men and the officers. The truth was, that the population of Australia was not sufficient for the peaceful pursuits of the Colonies; and how, then, could they be called upon to find men for a Navy? If the proposition came from the Colonies that they would find pay for men and officers, Her Majesty's Government might consider it. He held that it was impossible to praise the Colonies too much for the efforts they had made for their own defence; but when they came to the question of a larger provision in the shape of an additional Navy, it was like the question of Confederation, and ought not to be forced on too much. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, while they ought not to be deaf to any proposal which might come from the Colonies, ought not themselves to take the initiative in the matter.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, he was glad to be able to confirm what the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) had stated, as to the assistance which Her Majesty's Government could give the Australian Colonies. He did not think that the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Sidmouth) need have any fear of an *Alabama* entering into one of the Australian ports; and if such an attempt was made, he did not think the noble Viscount, or any of his Friends, would like to be on board her, and run the risks which would be incurred. Those ports were entirely protected against the depredations of such a vessel; and their position had been explained by his noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies so fully that he (the Earl of Northbrook) need not say anything more about them. What he would like to say was this—that the Admiralty had always been delighted to render any assistance in their power to the Australian Colonies in making preparations for their defence. They had given them very considerable assistance and advice with respect to torpedo and other floating defences, which had been and were now being organized. The Government, moreover, had lately made New South Wales a present of a ship, and Victoria had asked for the services of a naval officer; and, no doubt, the Admiralty would be able to send one who might be advantageously employed in organizing their naval defences. He was very glad to notice the popularity of the Navy in the Colonies, and the cordial reception that Her Majesty's ships always met with both in Australia and elsewhere; he believed, indeed, that the relations between the Navy and the Admiralty and the Australian Colonies could not be on a better footing than they now were. Opinions had been expressed by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon), and by other Members of the Commission on the Defences of the Colonies and the Commerce of the Empire, as to the possible formation of a Naval Force by the Australian Colonies —a project which, as his noble Friend behind him had observed, ought to originate with the Colonies themselves. But whatever proposals might be made, he would say at once that there would, in his (the Earl of Northbrook's) opinion, be the strongest objection to any arrangement that would tend to localize any part of our Naval Forces. It had always been a fundamental maxim of our Naval Administration that no steps whatever should be taken in that direction; and that consideration, therefore, would militate against the suggestion that the Colonial contribution to the Navy should take the form of money. At the same time, every proposal or scheme for the better defence of the Colonies would be most carefully considered. The whole question was, in every point of view, most interesting, on account of the constantly-changing conditions of naval warfare, and the defence of our commerce in time of war, and would tax to the utmost the energy and ability of any Minister. He could only say, at present, that great attention had been bestowed on the recommendations of the Commission, and that many of those recommendations either had been, or would be, adopted by the Government.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, in reply, that a very distinguished naval officer, with whom he had discussed the subject, had told him that, if adequate pay were given, many efficient officers would be glad to offer their services in the Colonies.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday in Cornwall—Was *presented* by The Earl of MOUNT EDGCUMBE; read 1ª. (No. 142.)

House adjourned at a quarter past
Seven o'clock, to Thursday
next, a quarter past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 10th July, 1883.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Report*—Channel Tunnel [No. 248].

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Post Office (Money Orders) Acts Amendment* [263].

First Reading—Mersey River (Gunpowder)* [262].

Second Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) [227]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) [229].

Select Committee—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (Nos. 1, 4, and 5), Sir Arthur Bass, Mr. Sclater-Booth, and Mr. Holms *nominated* Members.

Committee—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Eighteenth Night*] —R.P.

Withdrawn—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) * [60]; Corn Sales * [95].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 6) BILL.—[BILL 227.]

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. John Holms.*)

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, who had a Notice on the Paper of his intention to move—

> "That the Bill be referred to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills Nos. 1, 4, and 5 are to be referred; That all Petitions against the Bill, or Orders, be referred to the said Committee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions,"

said, he was anxious to know whether the Bills were opposed. He was told they were not, and, therefore, that it was not proposed to refer them to the Hybrid Committee already appointed to consider various other Electric Lighting Bills. He understood the view of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), and it was one in which he (Sir George Campbell) concurred, that Parliament had quite enough to do without discussing unopposed Bills, and, in ordinary circumstances, he would quite assent to that view; but this was a very new subject, and he understood that they proposed to hand over to the Brush Electric Company a very large portion of the Metropolis, almost one-half of it. The Local Government of London was in a somewhat weak state, being unable to make up its mind on the question—especially the Vestry of Kensington which represented him. They had been refused further time, and were required to come to terms with the particular Company to whom their district was assigned, by an arrangement made between the large Companies which had at present a monopoly, in order to prevent anyone applying for similar powers after the passing of the Bill. He decidedly objected to such an arrangement. He should be quite content, if he thought the interests of the ratepayers were sufficiently guarded, either by their own local government or by the Board of Trade. But what he had been much struck by in the matter was the extreme difference between the terms extorted from the Vestries of London and those which Municipal Bodies were able to make for themselves. When he compared the Metropolitan Bill with the Birmingham Bill—and they understood the principle of local government thoroughly in Birmingham — he found there was an enormous difference. The Birmingham Scheme was set forth in the Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 3) Bill. Under the present Bills, the Brush Companies had obtained six months in which they could hawk about hundreds of Provisional Orders, selling their privileges wherever they could; and they would suffer no penalty if they did not succeed in selling them. [Mr. Chamberlain dissented.] That was what he understood. They had powers to carry out their works in a certain area named; and the only penalty, if they did not succeed, was that their powers would drop. In this instance, the only sum they proposed to set by as a guarantee for the completion of their works was £10,000. Let the House compare those conditions with the terms Birmingham made for itself, and they would find there was an extraordinary difference. There was an A area in the Birmingham Bill, and no B area at all; and, instead of laying down £5,000 or £10,000, a sum of £100,000 was secured, so that, while the area of the Birmingham Bill was confined, the security for the *bonâ fide* construction of the works was very large. He had addressed these observations to the House, in order that his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade might make the matter perfectly clear. He did not propose to move the Resolution which he had put upon the Paper.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, his hon. Friend (Sir George Campbell) was acting entirely within his right of raising the question; but not in calling on the House to go into all the details of schemes which had been deliberately relegated to a different tribunal. Both of these Bills were unopposed, and the details of them had been settled between the Companies concerned, and the local authorities, who had been fully heard, and were satisfied with the concessions which had been made. There was no longer any opposition at all, and yet his hon. Friend proposed that the Bill should go before a Hybrid Committee, to which the ordinary Standing Orders of the House would not apply, and which would be required to hear the opposition of everybody, however factious it might be. Such a course would destroy altogether the value of a Provisional Order, because the whole object of this legislation was to cheapen the tremendous cost of obtaining Private Bills;

and in a case like this, where there was no opposition on the part of the authorities, it would be most unwise to tempt opposition from other persons. His hon. Friend had gone into a number of details, which it would be very difficult for the House to appreciate, and he had stated that the terms in these Bills were different from those in the Birmingham Order. Of course, every one of these things had to be considered separately, according to the conditions of the locality. But the information which his hon. Friend had given to the House was entirely inaccurate. He said that the Brush Company had obtained an Order which would enable them, for six months, to hawk Provisional Orders about the country for sale to the highest bidder. They had no power to do anything of the kind, and they themselves would come under an obligation to carry out such Orders as they obtained; and it did not at all follow that the Board of Trade, or the local authorities, would be willing to accept the nominees of the Company, although they would be willing to accept the Company themselves. It was also a mistake to suppose that Birmingham would have to put down £100,000 and this Company only £5,000. The proposal of the Board of Trade was that a sum should be deposited and drawn out as the works were completed; but the London authorities objected to that proposal, and asked that a certain sum should be left perfectly idle until the whole of the work was completed, and that it should not be drawn out during the progress of the construction. That was the proposal of the local authorities, and not of the Board of Trade, and it had been inserted in this and other Orders to satisfy their wishes. In either case, the intention was not to load the Company with the necessity of keeping a large amount of capital idle, but of taking some security that it was intended *bonâ fide* to proceed with the work, and that an application for a Provisional Order was not made for the purpose of keeping other persons out. There were other points; but he did not suppose the House would desire that he should enter into an elaborate discussion upon the matter. No injustice would be done by allowing these Bills, which were unopposed, to go before the Chairman of Ways and Means. On the last occasion when the question was before the House, they were dealing with an opposed Bill; and then, although a little against his own judgment, he had yielded to the desire expressed by the House, and had agreed to refer them to a Hybrid Committee. Any other opposed Order would be treated in the same way; but a really unopposed Bill should go through the ordinary course.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVINCIAL ORDERS (No. 7) BILL.—[BILL 229.]

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Holms,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE (INDIA)—LIEUTENANT CLARENCE NOBLE.

MR. MONTAGU SCOTT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Is it the fact that, on the second of May last, Lieutenant Clarence Noble of the Royal Artillery, attached to the Madras Infantry, met with a severe gun accident when he was carried down from the jungle to the civil station at Chanda, where he lay for four days before any competent surgical aid could be procured, death almost immediately ensuing on the performance of an operation when the regimental surgeon was at last found; and, is it customary for a station like Chanda to be left for many days at a time when the surgeon is on leave without any competent substitute being provided beyond a Native doctor who is merely a dispenser to the qualified surgeon?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, no communication has been made to the India Office in respect to the death of Lieutenant Clarence Noble at Chanda. It is a small civil station, with a garrison of one company of Native Infantry (90 men) for gaol and treasury duties. There is one civil surgeon, who has also charge of the gaol. It is customary to grant an officer holding such a position short leave of absence, provided he can arrange to the satisfaction of his immediate superiors for the performance of current duties during his absence. In this instance, if the civil surgeon were absent, his duties would be undertaken by the assistant surgeon, Mr. Mitter, who holds a diploma as Bachelor in Medicine of an Indian University. This arrangement must have had the sanction of the highest civil authority of the district.

RIVER STEAMERS (METROPOLIS)—PIMLICO PIER.

Dr. CAMERON asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he has definitely sanctioned the removal of the public pier at Pimlico; and, if so, whether, before sanctioning its removal, he took any steps to acquaint himself with the wishes and convenience of the workers at the Army Clothing Factory and the inhabitants of the district?

Mr. CALLAN: Before the Question is answered, I wish to ask the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is a fact that not one single worker at the Army Clothing Factory, whose wish and convenience the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) considers should have been consulted by the right hon. Gentleman, is a regular passenger by the steamboat on working days, and therefore could in any way be inconvenienced by the removal of the pier; whether that removal has not only not met with the sanction and approval of the vestry and local authorities, but also of the inhabitants of Pimlico; and, whether the only parties in any way inconvenienced are the Members of Parliament residing, like the hon. Member for Glasgow, in St. George's Square, who prefer the economy of a penny boat to the more expensive luxury of a cab?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that some weeks ago he received a communication from the London Steamboat Company, asking permission to change the position of the pier at Pimlico, from its present site, to about 300 yards further up the river, on the ground that, being immediately opposite the pier which had been erected on the other side of the river, great inconvenience and difficulty were experienced in bringing the steamers from one side to the other. The Company represented to him that they had obtained the consent of the District Board of Works, and also that of the Vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square; and he gave his consent provided they also obtained the consent of the Metropolitan Board of Works. It was the intention of the Government to hand over the interest which they had in the Pimlico Embankment to the Metropolitan Board of Works as soon as possible.

Sir JOHN HAY gave Notice that he would ask the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, on Thursday, whether the Board had given its sanction to the arrangement?

Mr. CALLAN said, that, at the same time, he should ask whether, though the Board had not given their consent, the work of removal had been begun?

Dr. CAMERON said, he had asked about the removal of a pier, and not the erection of a new one. With regard to the remark of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Callan), no inconvenience would be felt by him (Dr. Cameron), as, during the present Parliament, he did not believe he had once travelled by the penny boats.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Of course, I understood that in the event of the erection of a new pier the Company would cease to use the old one.

Dr. CAMERON asked whether a pier could be removed without the assent of the Department which the right hon. Gentleman represented?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I really do not know.

TURKEY IN ASIA—THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is aware that two steamboats, the "Khalifeh" and the "Medjidieh," belonging to British owners and carrying Her Majesty's Indian Mails, have been prevented from loading or discharging cargo and passengers at Bagdad?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I regret to say that the facts are substantially as stated by my hon. Friend. The mails, however, were allowed to land, and the foreign passengers; but no passengers were allowed to embark for the return journey.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD gave Notice that, in consequence of the importance of the subject, and the unsatisfactory answer of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he would on Thursday ask, What steps Her Majesty's Government has taken to protect the interests of British and Asiatic commerce, in consequence of the hindrance which the Turkish Government has placed on the legitimate exercise of the rights of the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company at Bagdad; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will maintain the rights of navigation granted by Firman in 1838, and exercised since that period?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE, with reference to the remark of the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur Arnold) about the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, said, he had answered the Question on the Paper, which related to a question of fact. If his hon. Friend desired to have further information, he should be happy to give it on Thursday.

PUBLIC HEALTH—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA.

Viscount FOLKESTONE asked the President of the Local Government Board, What precautions are proposed to be taken to prevent the importation of cholera by the ships carrying the Indian Mails, and other ships arriving in England through the Suez Canal, or from any Egyptian port? He would also ask, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to what appears in the "Standard" and other daily papers to-day, to the effect that, owing to the quarantine proposed to be imposed on vessels at European ports, foreigners propose to return to their homes in Europe from the East, *viâ* England, for the purpose of avoiding quarantine?

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER: I wish to supplement the Question by another more specific. I understand that the Indian steamer *Ganges* is on her way to Plymouth; and I wish to know whether any precautions have been adopted at Plymouth, with a view to the landing of passengers; and, whether Her Majesty's Customs medical officer will examine the passengers before they are landed?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, with regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Stewart Maclivor), I can only say that that will depend upon whether, in the opinion of the officer, there is a possibility of choleraic infection, considering the length of her voyage. If she is last from Trieste, where I understand there is no cholera, I should think that after the long voyage from that port, no one being ill on board, he would assume that the vessel was quite free from any danger of cholera infection, and would allow the passengers to land. In answer to the Question of the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Folkestone), I think it is desirable that I should go a little beyond the exact terms of the Question, and make the answer a general one for the satisfaction of the House. In the eighth annual Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council (Mr. Simon), laid before Parliament at the time, and again in 1879, the noble Lord will find a full examination of the value of quarantine as against cholera. Mr. Simon pointed out that—

> "A quarantine which is ineffective is a mere irrational derangement of commerce, and a quarantine of the kind which insures success is more easily imagined than realized. . . . Quarantine purporting to be effectual cannot rest satisfied with excluding from entry such persons as are obviously sick, but indispensably for its purpose must also refuse to admit the healthy till they shall have passed in perfectly non-infectious circumstances at least as many days of probation as the disease can have days of incubation or latency. . . . In 1832-3, when some sort of quarantine against cholera was adopted here, the results gave no encouragement to a repetition. . . . The thought of quarantine in England became more and more obsolete, and the possibility of enforcing it, if ever so much desired, fell more and more towards nothingness. . . . I daresay that quarantine in England was never otherwise than very lax. At all events, for many years past it has, in a medical sense, been abolished."

Those views of Mr. Simon represent the present opinion of the Medical Department. Quarantine, meaning by the word a system which professes to prevent the entry into a country of persons coming from another country until assurance is attained that no infection can be introduced by those persons, is not now regarded by the English Medical Department as capable of fulfilling its pretensions; and its least failure to exclude infection is seen to make the whole system irrational, its cost and its vexations unjustifiable. Accordingly England, which long ago abandoned the system as of little or no avail against cholera, has now the consent of most European nations (as expressed by their delegates to the Vienna Conference of 1874) in preferring for the defence of her ports another system, which, under the name of "medical inspection," aims at obtaining the seclusion of actually infected persons, and the disinfection of ships and of articles that may have received infection from the sick. The details are set out in an Order of the Local Government Board, issued in 1873, and now in force, but which has just been renewed, with some slight amendment of details, and which will be presented to the House. In the present Order, and in that of 1873, provision is made for the detention of ships at appointed places, for the visiting and medical examination of ships and passengers, for the removal to hospital of persons suffering from suspected cholera, and for their detention, for the destruction of clothing or bedding, and even parts of ships infected, and for the purification of ships. I believe that since this Order was issued in 1873, this country has been thoroughly prepared against a possible invasion of cholera. As to mail steamers coming from India through the Suez Canal in quarantine, and not touching at any infected port, they would not be inspected by us. Steamers coming direct from Alexandria, when there has been one reported case of cholera, would, owing to the length of the voyage, though they are fast ships, also seem to be safe enough, if no sickness has shown itself on board during the voyage.

Mr. O'DONNELL: May I ask, is it not the fact that the form of quarantine which consists of isolating actual cases of disease or suspected cases of sickness, and imposing the destruction, together with fumigation and disinfection, of infected materials, has been condemned under the name of "quarantine," but is approved of when it takes the name of "medical inspection;" and, whether it is the fact that those European Governments which are said to have agreed with the British Government as to this system at the Vienna Conference are now imposing quarantine on all vessels arriving in their ports from the East?

Viscount FOLKESTONE asked the President of the Local Government Board, whether he did not think it advisable to send down instructions to the Inspectors at the ports to be very careful in regard to the inspection of vessels arriving from the East to examine passengers?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I think the object of the noble Viscount will be attained by the fact that we intend issuing a new Order on the subject, which, as I mentioned, is being done during the present week. It is substantially the old Order with a few changes; but it will serve to call their attention again to the importance of exercising great care. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. O'Donnell), there is a great distinction to be drawn between the old quarantine and the "medical inspection" I have described to the House. The old system of quarantine never could be enforced under ordinary conditions in this country; it could only be enforced on islands like Cyprus and Malta, with a limited trade. The idea of quarantine was to exclude all persons coming from an infected place, until they had gone through a period of isolation equal to the period of the latency of the disease. Therefore, suppose there was cholera anywhere on the Continent, you would have to prevent people crossing from Calais entering the country for 10 days. It would be impossible to work such an absolute quarantine system; but the system of medical inspection which I have described is a very different and a better one. As to whether other European Governments which agreed to the medical inspection system were not imposing quarantine, I can only say that I do not know that any of those Governments are doing so.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that, at the meeting of the Alexandria Board of Health, on the 14th May, while deaths from cholera at the rate of many hundreds a week were occurring in Bombay and vicinity, the English delegate, acting on instructions from Lord Granville, protested against action being taken with reference to subjecting vessels from Bombay to quarantine, in order to prevent injury to the interests of commerce; whether, accordingly, arrivals from Bombay continued to be free from quarantine; whether, at the same time, the

Dutch Authorities at Java informed the Alexandria Board of Health that cholera was prevalent at Java, and arrivals from Java in Egypt were accordingly submitted to the requisite supervision; and, whether it is true, as stated in the Egyptian "Official Journal," by Dr. Flood, of Port Said, that an Arab passenger from Bombay, in the steamship "Timour," landed at Port Said on the 18th June without being submitted to any quarantine regulations, and proceeded to Damietta a couple of days previous to the outbreak of cholera?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, it is not true that deaths from cholera at the rate of many hundreds a-week were occurring in Bombay and vicinity in May last. At the meeting of the Egyptian Maritime, Sanitary, and Quarantine Board, held on the 14th of May last, a resolution was passed by which arrivals from Bombay were subjected to quarantine. The British Delegate voted against this resolution, on the ground that the Bombay medical officers declared that cholera was not epidemic, and returned the number of deaths at 28 in a week. On this occasion Mr. Miéville acted on his own opinion in the matter, and not on instructions from Lord Granville. The quarantine so established continued till June 27, five days after the first outbreak of cholera, when it expired without any interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government. On the 19th of June intelligence was received by the Netherlands Consul General at Alexandria, that cholera had been epidemic at Padang (Sumatra) since the 14th, and the same day the Board's regulations against cholera were ordered to be applied to arrivals from that locality. No information has been received as to a notification relative to cholera in Java; but, subsequently to this date, the Constantinople Board of Health decided to place pilgrims to Arabia from Java in quarantine, on account of the prevalence of cholera at Padang. As regards the last part of the hon. Member's Question, no information has been received; but, at Sir Edward Malet's suggestion, inquiry has already been made.

MR. O'DONNELL: I would ask the noble Lord, if he will inquire how it is that yesterday his hon. Colleague the Under Secretary of State for India contradicted what the noble Lord has himself now stated? The hon. Gentleman admitted that there were hundreds of cases of death from cholera occurring in a single week in the neighbourhood of Bombay?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I never said anything at all of the kind. I simply said, in reply to a Question, that the hon. Member was right in his assumption that several hundred deaths had occurred in the Collectorates of Thana and Poona; and if the hon. Member is of opinion that these places are in the immediate vicinity of Bombay, I cannot agree with him.

MR. O'DONNELL: The words "immediate vicinity" are a combination of the hon. Member's own. I used the word "vicinity" in the Question.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am aware the word in the Question was "vicinity," and I used it in the ordinary English acceptation of the term.

MR. MACFARLANE: I wish to ask the noble Lord, is it not the fact that from the month of April to the month of September cholera is usually prevalent in Bombay and Calcutta; and, if quarantine is always to be established at the Suez Canal because of it, and ships detained there 12 days, the Canal, instead of being doubled, had not better be shut up?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I agree that, in these circumstances, the Suez Canal would be rendered practically useless.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether cholera has broken out at Menzaleh and Tantah among fugitives from Damietta; whether the towns already affected by cholera contain a population of more than 300,000, and what is the number of troops and police at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for the complete isolation of so large a multitude; whether Her Majesty's Government have been notified by Ismail Hamdy Pasha that the Egyptian Government possess no adequate means of dealing with the infected population; whether upwards of 200 persons have been brought in from the country round Alexandria and confined in the lazaretto at Mekx on suspicion of being fugitives from cholera centres; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will advise the recall of the Egyptian troops from the Soudan or the employment of the British Army of occupation for the purpose of restraining the spread of the disease?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; it is unfortunately true, as I stated yesterday, that cholera has broken out at Menzalah. I have not heard whether any cases have occurred at Tantah. It does not appear whether or not the outbreak of cholera at Menzalah and other localities has been occasioned by fugitives from Damietta; but a Report on the outbreak of cholera in Egypt, from Mr. Miéville, British Delegate to the Egyptian Marine, Sanitary, and Quarantine Board, is on its way to this country, and will be presented to Parliament as soon as it is received. I cannot inform the hon. Member of the exact population of the infected district nor of the exact number of police and troops at the disposal of the Egyptian Government for the isolation of the infected districts. Her Majesty's Government have not been notified by Ismail Hamdy Pasha, that the Egyptian Government possesses no adequate means of dealing with the infected population. I have no information as to the number of persons brought in from the surrounding country and confined at Mekx: it is possible that Mr. Miéville's expected Report may contain these details. Her Majesty's Government will not advise the recall of the Egyptian troops from the Soudan, and have not directed the employment of the British Army of Occupation for the purpose of restraining the spread of the disease. They attach more importance to sanitary precautions than to cordons of soldiers and police.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked, whether the attention of the noble Lord had been directed to the statement of a newspaper correspondent, to the effect that, according to reports from Damietta, the streets of that place were almost entirely deserted; whether the ordinary population of the town was 40,000, and where had that population gone; and, had they spread infection over the country in spite of *cordon sanitaires?*

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked, whether the attention of the noble Lord had been directed to the following telegram, which had appeared in *The Times* of that morning from their Alexandria Correspondent:—

"Alexandria, July 9.

"I have received the following from Dr. Mackie, which I send without comment:—'There was one death from cholera yesterday evening, that of a European adult male. He had been formerly in good health, and had not been in an infected district, nor in contact with any infected persons, so far as he knew. The sanitary sub-commission have made a visit of inspection to the slaughter-houses, from which all meat is supplied to Alexandria and the troops. They found them in a most filthy state, without proper means of flushing or cleansing. These slaughter-houses are the monopoly of a European company, but are under the local sanitary inspection. Acres of ground around them are full of unburied and half-buried *débris*, entrails, and carcasses exhaling a most offensive odour. The animals are slaughtered and dressed in rooms with open drains smelling abominably. The establishment is within a short distance of Ramleh, where are the barracks of the 46th Regiment. I am of opinion that it constitutes a source of danger to them when westerly winds prevail, or on calm nights. The 46th Regiment has 116 sick, out of a total of 862?'"

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he must ask the hon. Members to give Notice of the Questions to the Secretary of State for War.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought that the condition of the slaughter-houses at Alexandria might be regarded as coming within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he must repeat that the hon. and gallant Baronet had better give Notice of his Question to his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he would, at the same time, ask whether, notwithstanding the condition of things described, it was not the case that the official bills of health of Alexandria stated that the sanitary condition of the town and district was extremely good?

Mr. ECROYD: I wish to ask the noble Lord, whether the Government have received any information as to the truth of the report in the morning newspapers, that there has been a serious outbreak of cholera in China?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; we have no information on the subject.

Mr. MACFARLANE gave Notice that when the President of the Local Board answered the Question as to the mails from India, he would ask If, during the prevalence of cholera in Egypt, and the consequent difficulty of bringing the Indian Mails through Italy, it is intended to carry the Mails through the Suez Canal in the vessels which bring them from India, instead of sending them by rail to Alexandria and from thence by another vessel?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the hon. Member to address his Question to the Postmaster General. He believed that one ship a fortnight always came through that way.

EGYPT—THE RINDERPEST.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that rinderpest was introduced last year into Egypt from Odessa with the cattle for the supply of British troops; whether all precautions against the progress of the disease were rendered impossible by the disbandment of the Egyptian army and police, and by the dismissal or imprisonment of the local authorities; whether the rinderpest has raged for the past four months in Egypt without any measures to check its ravages; whether it is true that nearly three-fourths of the cattle of the Egyptian peasantry, including almost the whole of the draught and plough oxen, have perished of the pestilence; and, whether Her Majesty's Government intend to take any steps to aid the peasantry in their distress?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Foreign Office are not aware that the cattle plague was introduced into Egypt in the manner stated by the hon. Member; but they have reason to believe that it has been for some time prevalent in parts of Egypt, and has committed considerable injury. I am not able to state the exact proportion of cattle which has perished. Lord Dufferin's despatch contains the views of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the best means of alleviating the losses of the peasantry.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether the noble Lord had seen a statement that the cattle disease had been arrested because there were no more cattle to die?

No reply.

THE MAGISTRACY—GUILDFORD PETTY SESSIONS—ASSAULT ON THE POLICE BY A HAWKER.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a case at Guildford Petty Sessions of alleged assault on the police by a hawker, in which it is alleged that the mayor reproved a respectable tradesman, a witness for the defence, for "coming forward to oppose the police;" whether there were three other witnesses for the defence who asked to be allowed to give evidence, but were refused by the court, who fined the defendant without hearing them; and, whether he will think it right to make inquiry of the justices as to these facts?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, no information had yet reached him on the subject. He would make an inquiry, although, as the hon. and learned Gentleman knew, he had no power to interfere.

MR. HOPWOOD asked if the House was to understand that the right hon. Gentleman was not the Official to appeal to in these matters; and, if so, would he point out what Constitutional remedy existed?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, the difficulty lay here. Most magistrates were appointed by, and were more or less under the jurisdiction of, the Lord Chancellor. But the Mayor and ex-Mayor of a town were under no authority at all. They were appointed by Statute, and were irremovable. A case occurred some months ago in which he thought a censure had been incurred, and he communicated with the Lord Chancellor, with the result that it was found, he regretted to say, that there was no authority over a Mayor and an ex-Mayor.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS' COMMITTEE — WITHDRAWAL OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade, If he will now consent to lay the letter of the Irish Lights Commissioners, withdrawing from the Committee on Lighthouse Illuminants, on the Table of the House?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, it would not be well, I think, to lay that letter on the Table alone, without the rest of the Correspondence. The matter has now come to an end. The Committee has now been dissolved; and, if the hon. and gallant Member thinks it of sufficient import, I shall have no objection to produce the whole of the Correspondence, in order to complete what has already been given.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: When will the right hon. Gentleman be able to produce it?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: This week, I think.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 9th July.*]

[EIGHTEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Miscellaneous.

Clause 61 (General interpretation of terms).

MR. WARTON said, he proposed to move an Amendment confining the meaning of the expression "entertainment" to "food, drink, and lodging." Although that had been the old meaning of the word which had been so used in all early Acts of Parliament for hundreds of years, he feared that, under the present Bill, unless the Amendment were accepted, it might have a larger scope, and be made to include entertainments of a spectacular or dramatic kind, as well as concerts, operas, and oratorios. As the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had retained the word in the Bill, he wished to restrict it to its proper meaning, and to exclude the idea that Judges might attribute to it that any sort of entertainment of the kind he had described was intended by the Bill.

Amendment proposed,

In page 36, line 38, after the word "requires," to insert the words "the expression 'entertainment' means food, drink, and lodging."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GORST said, the Committee had, on many occasions, reason to complain that Amendments of this kind were not put on the Paper. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) must have had this Amendment in his mind, because he told the Committee yesterday that there were many additions necessary to this clause; and therefore he (Mr. Gorst) thought, out of courtesy to the Committee, that he might have given Notice of the Amendment he had just moved. It was impossible to deal without Notice with matters which involved purely verbal and technical distinctions; and therefore he trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would not entertain the hon. and learned Member's proposal without full consideration. He (Mr. Gorst) believed the meaning of the word "entertainment" had been settled by legal decisions; and anything in the nature of a definition being now introduced into the Act would *primâ facie* raise the probability that the legal definition was to be altered, that the present reading was obsolete, and that some new meaning was to be attached to the term. Of course, in a matter of this kind, the Committee must trust entirely to the hon. and learned Attorney General, who was alone competent to decide upon it.

MR. WARTON said, he could assure the Committee there was no want of courtesy on his part in not placing the Amendment on the Notice Paper. It was only natural that, after having hurried through the Bill at an unusual rate, some verbal Amendments should be found to be necessary in Clause 61. If his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Gorst) would supply any other definition, which would confine the term to its actual meaning, he (Mr. Warton) should be willing to accept it; but his fear was, that when the word once changed its meaning, its scope had a tendency to become enlarged. The word "entertainment," however, was not a legal term; it was an old English term, which meant food, drink, or lodging; but it was now understood by many to be some kind of amusement. He was certain that, 100 years ago, no one would have understood the meaning of "entertainment" in that sense, because that was quite a new application of the word. ["Divide, divide!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite, who now interrupted him with cries of "Divide!" might one day have their elections declared void, because some Judge interpreted the word in a sense different from that in which it was now understood, and because the framers of the Bill had not been careful enough to guard against a change of meaning. For his own part, he should be very much amused if some hon. Members found that this undefined term worked against them, because they withheld the small amount of care and attention which would have saved them from the consequences he had described.

MR. BIGGAR said, there was a great deal in what the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) had stated with regard to the use of the word "entertainment." Everyone acquainted with Irish villages, must have seen upon the sign-boards of certain small houses the expression, "Entertainment and lodging." The use of these words was exceedingly common in Ireland; and they conveyed, in a great measure, the meaning put upon the word "entertainment" by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport. Therefore, he (Mr. Biggar) thought that, if the hon. and learned Member would use the two first words of his Amendment, without the word "lodging," he would give a thoroughly correct definition of the term. There was no doubt that the word "entertainment" might be made to apply to places of amusement; but he did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would say that a theatrical entertainment would be an illegal practice under the Act. In the form he (Mr. Biggar) had suggested, he should be willing to support the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport.

MR. HICKS said, before they went to a Division he thought it desirable the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General should state to the Committee exactly what was his opinion as to the meaning of the word "entertainment." It would be in the recollection of the Committee that this point had been raised at an earlier part of the Bill, when the hon. and learned Gentleman, unless he (Mr. Hicks) had misunderstood him, stated that, in his opinion, the word "entertainment" was to bear its own meaning of "food and lodging." He (Mr. Hicks) thought the meaning attached to the term by the hon. and learned Gentleman should be clearly expressed in the Bill; on the other hand, if he had misunderstood the hon. and learned Gentleman, and it was the intention of the Government that the word should bear a larger meaning than it had 200 years ago, then that should likewise be made clear on the face of the Bill. In either case, the pitfalls which lined the path of hon. Members should be removed.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that the word "entertainment" did not always mean food and lodging in Ireland; where there was no food, the phrase over the houses was generally "Dry lodging."

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 18, Noes 135: Majority 117.—(Div. List, No. 190.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 62 (Short title); Clause 63 (Repeal of Acts); and Clause 64 (Commencement of Act), severally *agreed to.*

Application of Act to Scotland.

Clause 65 (Application of Act to Scotland) *agreed to.*

Application of Act to Ireland.

Clause 66 (Application of Act to Ireland).

MR. BIGGAR said, that he proposed to leave out the words at the commencement of the clause which made the Bill apply to Ireland. He did not regard this question from any partizan point of view, nor did he trouble himself much about the Act; because, while he expected from it no particular inconvenience, he felt sure that it would neither add to, nor diminish, his election expenses. Over the greater part of Ireland the expenses were always much less than the maximum scale annexed to the Bill, and, therefore, he did not think the Irish people were much interested in that part of the subject. There was, however, a good deal of bribery still existing in the North, although, substantially, it did not affect the balance of Parties. It was the custom in some of the counties in the most Northern parts of Ireland, to throw away money at elections in the most extravagant manner; but with that matter, also, the people of Ireland had very little concern, because, if gentlemen would throw away their money foolishly and incur the heavy penalties which the Bill imposed upon them, they must be allowed to do so. But the great objection he and his hon. Friends had to this Bill was the great number of difficulties which it created, and the risk there might be of a Member being unseated for some trivial act which was not worthy of the name of bribery or corruption. For that reason he thought still that the Bill should not apply to Ireland at all, although he knew it was much needed in England; and it was, no doubt, well that it should also be applied to Scotland.

Amendment proposed, in page 41, line 18, to leave out the words "This Act shall apply to Ireland."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would point out to the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that his Amendment would effect the very opposite result to that which he intended. The clause was for the purpose of showing the modifications with which the Act should apply to Ireland. The hon. Member had always supported the view that there should be equality of legislation in matters of this kind with reference to the Three Kingdoms, and he (the Attorney General) trusted he would stand by that view now. That principle had been affirmed by a large majority, and therefore he could not accept the Amendment.

MR. WARTON said, he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would assist his fellow Law Officers of the Crown in settling what would be the corresponding Court in Dublin to the Central Criminal Court, London, so that it might appear on the face of the Bill. The question was raised on the 47th clause; and it was mentioned at the time, that there should be some provision made, so far as Ireland was concerned, with regard to cases of *certiorari.* He hoped, before the Bill was passed, the hon. and learned Attorney General would condescend to answer questions from that side of the House, and indicate what was the corresponding Court.

MR. BIGGAR said, after the explanation of the hon. and learned Attorney General, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman, in referring to what had taken place with regard to the Bill on those Benches, was in error in saying that he (Mr. Biggar) and his hon. Friends had made wholesale charges against the Bill. He had certainly confined his criticism to one or two points in it; his description of the Bill having been that it was not intended to check corruption so much as to reduce expenditure. He had never said that the Bill was an exceedingly bad one, although he had stated that it would create litigation, and make plenty of work for the lawyers.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill." —(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. WARTON said, the hon. and learned Attorney General had distinctly stated that there should be some provision made in reference to cases *in certiorari* in the Irish Courts. ["Oh, oh!"] He (Mr. Warton) thought it due to a Member of that House, that when a point was taken, with a view to assist the Bill in its progress through Committee, it should be met by some better argument than a howl from hon. Members opposite. He felt confident that hon. Members on the opposite Benches would, some day, regret having passed this Bill without giving it the amount of attention it required.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), when they were on the 47th clause, had suggested that this point should be considered when the Irish clause was reached. The Committee would see that, if he (the Attorney General) had substituted any words, without giving Notice and without drawing the attention of Irish Members to it, they would have had the right to complain. Therefore, he proposed to give Notice of the words to be substituted, and to bring them forward on Report.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to impress on the Committee, that when hon. Members on those Benches made a point in good faith for the assistance of the Committee, it was only right that they should receive a reply from the hon. and learned Attorney General. It was quite clear to him that the later clauses of the Bill had been run through too rapidly.

MR. BIGGAR asked, whether the registration of the Bill, if it passed into law this Session, would influence in any degree the question of registration dealt with in Sub-section 3?

MR. LEAMY said, he also wished to know, if, when the Registration Act became law, it would be necessary to make any change in the 3rd sub-section? He had already opposed the extension of the Bill to Ireland, and he should do so again, because he had heard nothing since it was introduced to make him alter his opinion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) was understood to say that no alteration would be made in the clause in consequence of the passing of the Registration Bill.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 185; Noes 6: Majority 179.—(Div. List, No. 191.)

Continuance.

Clause 67 (Continuance of Acts).

MR. ERNEST NOEL said, he did not know whether there was any occult reason why the period of 1888 should not be put into the Bill. It seemed to many hon. Members—who obviously esteemed this measure more highly than did Her Majesty's Government—that, having spent so many weeks over the Bill, they ought to allow it to continue in force at least over one General Election. Of course, he knew, very well, it could be put into the Expiring Laws Continuance Act; but, unless the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General could show them that it was necessary that it should be so treated, and that it should not be continued longer than a year, he would ask the Committee to express an opinion upon the circumstances. If the hon. and learned Attorney General could show there was some real reason for the period fixed in the Bill, he (Mr. Ernest Noel) should be happy to withdraw his Amendment; otherwise he should insist on his proposal.

Amendment proposed, in page 42, line 21, leave out "84," and insert "88."—(*Mr. Ernest Noel.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was not at all surprised at his hon. Friend the Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel) having brought forward this Amendment. He (the Attorney General) had explained the matter to many hon. Gentlemen in private; and he readily admitted that it required some explanation, as it looked somewhat like an absurdity that, after all the expenditure of time and trouble which had taken place upon the Bill, they should only leave it in operation for 12 months; but, as the hon. Gentleman had suggested, an occult reason for the limitation adopted in the Bill really did exist, and that reason he would explain to the Committee, if he could. For some cause or other, all the Corrupt Practices Acts had been made of a temporary character—he would not say all, however, because there might be Acts to which his attention had not been called, with which a different course had been pursued. The Act of William III., and others dealing with this subject, had been of a temporary character. They had been generally passed for a period of three years, at the expiration of which period they became Bills requiring to be renewed from year to year. There was the Election Petition Act—the Act of 1868—under which, as the Committee would recollect, jurisdiction was taken from the Committees of the House in the matter of Election Petitions, and conferred upon certain of the Judges. In that Act there was no clause providing for the continuance of the measure for any considerable period—the duration of the Act was limited to three years. That Act, together with the Act of 1854, was, on the expiration of the three years, inserted in a Continuance Act, for the reason that, in a matter relating to its own affairs, the House wished to keep to itself an opportunity of recalling its jurisdiction. He did not say whether or not that was a wise system. It might be a wise rule for the House of Commons to stand upon what was its Constitutional right, and give only a temporary jurisdiction to the Judges in matters which intimately affected its health. Whether or no, such had been the practice of the House in the past, and such was the practice now; and he, of course, had to deal with things as he found them. If the Committee would turn to the Bill they would find that a great many past Acts were incorporated in this measure. In Section 10 matters were dealt with which brought into play the Parliamentary Elections Act of 1868, and dealt with the Election Court existing under that Statute. The Bill, therefore, had incorporated in it a general Act, which would expire, according to the existing practice, on the 31st December, 1884; and if he were to allow this Bill to become a permanent Act, what would become of it in 1884, when the Act which it incorporated expired? If this Bill did not repeal an existing Act, but incorporated its provisions, and that Act were allowed to expire, surely this measure would become a chaos, and only half workable. The result, therefore, was that it was impossible for him to go beyond the period during which the previous Acts were continued—it was on that period that this measure depended. He could not carry his Bill beyond the Continuation Act; and, therefore, for that reason, and that reason only, the date the 31st December, 1884, had been inserted. The measure was, as all Corrupt Practices Acts which had been passed had been intended to be, part of the permanent law of the land. The Act of 1868, which they renewed every year, was part of the permanent law. He might suggest to the Committee that the time had almost come when the House might take the view that they need not be very jealous of losing their privileges, and, for that reason, continuing these Acts from year to year. Might it not be well for them ere long to consider whether all these Acts, including the Act of 1868, could not be extended over a long instead of a short period—in fact, could not be rendered permanent?

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, they ought to be very much obliged to the hon. and learned Attorney General for the clear manner in which he had explained this matter, because there could be no doubt that the public at large, at all events, knew nothing about it. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that the time had come when they need not be so particular about guarding their privileges by only continuing these Acts from year to year. They could not render the Acts permanent this year; but it might be a matter for consideration another year whether it would not be necessary to render all Acts relating to Parliamentary Elections permanent.

Mr. CALLAN said, that it was important that the Act had been limited by the Government to 1884, because it was not judicious to pass an Act which would bind future Parliaments. No doubt, in due deference to public opinion out-of-doors, it was only right to apply an Act dealing with the corruption of candidates and Members of Parliament to those persons who were at the present moment interested. In 1884 they would see the end of the present Parliament—a consummation most devoutly to be wished—and, under the provisions of this Bill, they were not likely to see very many of the present Liberal Members—certainly not many of those below the Gangway—returned to this so much desired haven. It was not necessary to continue this Act, as the next Parliament would be so pure that it would be wholly unnecessary to have such a measure in the future, cleared, as the House would be, of all Scotch philanthropists and Radical purists.

Mr. FRANCIS BUXTON said, he would ask whether the hon. Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel) would withdraw his Amendment, in order to allow the Committee to take a Division upon another Amendment which stood in his (Mr. Francis Buxton's) name? As the hon. and learned Attorney General had pointed out, this measure incorporated several Acts dealing with corrupt practices, all of which had been continued from year to year. But because a wrong had been done in the past, he failed to see why it should be perpetuated in the future. He could not but hope that, if the Bill were made perpetual, by the leaving out of the clause dealing with continuance, the Renewing Bill, to be passed at the end of the Session, would deal with all further matters which required renewal. If the clause were left in, and the Bill were only to continue to the end of the next year, to be continued from year to year, what might happen in the next Parliament? Why, they might have the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) Attorney General, and he would, naturally, at once drop this measure altogether. The method of dealing with corrupt practices at elections had been looked upon as an open question; and the fact of the Bill being renewed from year to year was the reason why public opinion had been somewhat doubtful upon it. It seemed to him that it would be better for the sense of the Committee to be taken upon his (Mr. Francis Buxton's) Amendment—to leave the clause out altogether—than upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel). Before sitting down, he would call attention to the fact that the words "Fourth Schedule to this Act" should be "Third Schedule to this Act."

MR. HINDE PALMER said, he considered it very inconvenient and objectionable to pass Acts of this kind for so short a period; that inconvenience having been illustrated in the case of the Ballot Act. Whenever it had been thought necessary to render that measure permanent, it had been blocked in this House; and if this Bill were put into a Continuance Bill, no doubt it would be blocked in the same way, or by a pressure of other Business. The sooner they broke through the present practice the better. He was inclined to think that the proposal of the hon. Gentleman below him (Mr. Ernest Noel) was a good one, as it would save them from the necessity of renewing the Bill from year to year.

MR. LEWIS said, he was happy to find that there was at least one clause in this Bill to which he could give a cordial assent, and that was the present clause, which limited the operation of the measure to 12 months. He did not know that there was any way out of the difficulty which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had explained to the Committee; at any rate, he sincerely hoped there was not. It would be desirable, in the interests of the purity of elections, that there should be an opportunity of trying back, supposing they found this instrument did not act quite so cleanly and fairly as some hon. Members expected. For his own part, he delighted in the idea that they were not going to inflict this enormity on candidates and agents for more than 12 months without an opportunity of reconsidering the matter. He should certainly vote for the clause as it stood.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that, after the very clear explanation they had had from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, there could be no doubt that this clause must stand part of the Bill. In a matter of this kind, by which so many alterations were effected in the law, and with regard to which so many difficulties might arise in the future in carrying out the Act, it was only right that they should have an opportunity of seeing how it worked before they rendered it permanent. If there was to be a General Election shortly—and upon that point right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench would know more than anybody else—hon. Members would have an opportunity of finding out how the measure worked. He was convinced there was not one man in the House who, if the Act did not work as they expected it would, would not be glad that they had made the Bill temporary, instead of permanent. If the Act was found to work unsatisfactorily, they would be in a much better position by its being temporary than they would be if it were permanent.

MR. MACFARLANE said, at an earlier stage, he had moved an Amendment for the purpose of giving an unseated candidate an appeal. He had understood that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was not opposed to the principle of the Amendment, and that he would himself bring forward a proposal on the subject. Well, he (Mr. Macfarlane) did not find that the hon. and learned Gentleman had put down any clause on the Paper on the subject; and he would, therefore ask him if he intended to make any arrangement in the nature of an appeal in the case of an unseated candidate?

MR. MONK said, the explanation of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was so clear, that there could be no doubt it was desirable that this Bill should, in the future, be put in the Schedule of the Expiring Acts Continuance Bill. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who spoke last but one (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), and who had just left the House, was in error when he said that, inasmuch as the measure was to be placed in a Continuance Bill, it could be amended from year to year. It was clear, that when a Bill of this nature was placed in a Continuance Bill, it could not be amended when it was renewed from year to year. There was nothing in the shape of difficulty in connection with the Continuation Bill. He would suggest that the hon. and learned Gentleman should insert the Acts which were renewed in the Continuance

Bill, from year to year, in the Schedule of the present Bill.

Mr. ERNEST NOEL said, that, no doubt, the explanation of the hon. and learned Gentleman was very clear; but it was clear in this sense, that he could, if he had chosen, have granted the request made in this Amendment, because he had given several instances where analogous Acts had been passed primarily for three years. What he (Mr. Ernest Noel) had asked was that the Bill should be passed for five years, so as to carry them over the next General Election. If his proposal had been adopted, before the expiration of the measure—that was to say, before 1888—they could put into the Schedule those Acts which were continued from year to year, and which were incorporated in the Bill. It appeared to him that the feeling of the Committee was against his proposal; and as he did not wish unnecessarily to put them to the trouble of a Division, although he should have been glad if the hon. and learned Gentleman had accepted the proposal, he should ask leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 42, line 24, to leave out the word "Fourth," and insert the word "Third."—(*The Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to;* word *inserted* accordingly.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Mr. BIGGAR said, he had given Notice of opposition to the clause, and must confess it seemed rather illogical that a measure which had occupied so much time in passing should only come into operation for a year. The explanation of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General very much influenced his opinion, however, as to whether it was desirable to continue it in force for a longer period; but it would be absurd to an outsider, who did not understand the details of Parliamentary work, that the measure should only continue for 12 months. He was not at all certain that, from the point of view of the Government, they were quite right in insisting that it should only last for that period, even after the explanation of the hon. and learned Gentleman. It was quite possible that, at the end of 1884, or the beginning of 1885, a new Parliament might be in existence, and perhaps a new Government, and that that Government should think it undesirable to renew the Bill, and should simply let the whole matter drop, and let things stand where they were. Then, if the hon. and learned Gentleman once more came into power, he might think it desirable that the measure should be re-introduced, and, in 1886 or 1887, they might have to go through all the labour and occupy all the time which they had been doing lately upon this matter. He really did think that the hon. and learned Gentleman should invent some plan by which they could get out of this difficulty, which he had raised for himself by proposing that the Bill should not be of a permanent character. It was a very awkward plan to have a great number of Acts of Parliament on the same subject, and it seemed to him (Mr. Biggar) that it would be requisite before long for some Minister to bring in a Consolidating Bill, dealing with all measures relating to corrupt practices at elections. That should be done, so as to enable candidates to know really what the law was, or, at any rate, to enable them to make a guess at it. A candidate, or his agent, should be able to find out what was the law by referring to one Act, without being put to the necessity of going over a large number of Statutes, which it would now be necessary for him to do, in order to form his opinion as to what was a corrupt practice. The present system of having a large number of Acts of Parliament dealing with one subject was a most unsatisfactory method of proceeding, and it was especially so with regard to Parliamentary candidates, seeing that these gentlemen would, in a great many cases, have to be their own judges as to what their conduct ought to be. A candidate would not always have a lawyer within call to give an opinion as to the legal bearings of a matter of this sort; besides, even attorneys and barristers would not know exactly what was forbidden by the Bill, and he must say it seemed to him preposterous that these Acts should be in existence, making it difficult even for a lawyer to find out what the law was.

Question put, and *agreed to,*

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he now had to move the first new clause which he proposed to add to those already accepted in the Bill. It might save the time of the Committee if he stated the nature of the circumstances under which he had decided upon submitting this new clause to their consideration.

Mr. NEWDEGATE here rose.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Gentleman rise to a point of Order?

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, he wished to ask the Chairman a question. Without at all desiring to deprive the hon. and learned Attorney General of his privilege, he wished to say that the hon. and learned Gentleman was making an addition which was to be inserted in the Bill after Clause 16; and, as he (Mr. Newdegate) had to propose a new clause after Clause 2, he should like to know whether, by now accepting the hon. and learned Gentleman's proposal, he would not be precluded from moving his clause?

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General is in charge of the Bill, and he, therefore, takes precedence in the matter of bringing forward new clauses.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: It will not preclude me from moving my clause?

The CHAIRMAN: Certainly not.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was about to represent to the Committee, when interrupted, that when, some time ago, they were discussing Clause 4, which dealt with a voidance of the seat in consequence of a corrupt practice on the part of an agent, there was some debate, and many hon. Members expressed the view that it would be a great hardship to inflict upon candidates the consequence of being deprived of their seats for some trifling corrupt practice on the part of another person. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had desired the insertion of an Equity Clause, dealing with bribery, treating, and undue influence. It was thought that a middle course might be taken, by agreement, to exonerate candidates, in certain cases, of corrupt practices by agents, leaving out all allusion to bribery. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton made a proposition; and afterwards, by the direct appeal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), supplemented by a statement from the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, it had occurred to some of them that this middle course might be taken, and that whilst they could not sanction any relief in the case of bribery, it was possible to give it in the case of treating and undue influence. When they got into detail in this debate, he should be again prepared to state the reasons why they made this distinction; but that suggestion having come from hon. Members who had taken a conspicuous and responsible part in the passing of this Bill, he had at once felt that there was good reason why their view should be accepted. After their view had been accepted, there were still those who wished to extend this elastic clause to cases of bribery, and he had thought at the time that there had been a little misapprehension as to the source from which the suggestion had come; it had been within the right of every Member of the Committee to divide on the question, whether bribery should be included or not. Votes had been secured for the proposal of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, by the knowledge that the Government would introduce an elastic clause. The principle having been accepted, he had to accept the words of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, and endeavour to carry out his views with regard to treating and undue influence. It would be remembered that, at the time, he had objected to the words of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, as he thought they required some alteration, and, also, that they did not quite carry out the hon. Member's object. He had taken the words of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, and, having amended them, had put them into a clause which he thought would carry out the view of the Committee. The words he had decided upon were these—

"Where, upon the trial of an election petition respecting an election for a county or borough, the election court report that a candidate at such election has been guilty by his agents of the offences of treating and undue influence, and illegal practice, or of any such offence, in reference to such election, and the election court further report that the candidate has proved to the court—(a.) That no corrupt or illegal practice was committed at such election by or with the knowledge and consent of such candidate or his election agent; and (b.) That such candidate and his election agent took all reasonable means for preventing the commission of corrupt and illegal practices at such election; and (c.) That the offences mentioned in the said further report were committed contrary to the orders and without the sanction or connivance of the candidate or his election agent; and (d.) That the offences mentioned in the said further report were of a trivial, unimportant, and limited character; and (e.) That in all other respects the election was free from any corrupt or illegal practice on the part of such candidate and of his agents; then the election of such candidate shall not, by reason of the offences mentioned in such further report, be void, nor shall the candidate be subject to any incapacity under this Act."

He did not know whether there would be any exception taken to the wording of the clause; but he thought it carried out the views of hon. Gentlemen in giving some safeguard in the direction they desired; indeed, he thought it went further than the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. He saw two Amendments on the Paper; one in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), whose endeavour it seemed to be to reverse the recent decision of the Committee, and to make this elastic clause apply to bribery —to include bribery as well as treating and undue influence. When the Committee voted upon this question it had arrived at a decision with regard to it. [Mr. LABOUCHERE: No, no.] He was in the recollection of the Committee upon the matter. A Division had taken place on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton; and, without discussing the words of that proposal, in substance it was the same as the present clause, only it applied to bribery as well as undue influence. After two discussions, that Amendment was refused by the Committee. Now, having carried out the whole of that Amendment and more, with the exception of the word "bribery," the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) sought to insert the word "bribery;" therefore accepting, in its entirety, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, which had been negatived by the Committee. Now, he made no complaint against the course hon. Members proposed to take. If they chose to express a second time their opinion, it would not be becoming for him to raise a question about it; but he had to ask at least that those who agreed with him on the first occasion would see a still stronger reason for doing so now, after what had occurred. He hoped they would accept the clause as he proposed it, and would not agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He could give stronger reasons than he had given before why they should not include bribery; but he would only say that there was no subject in this Bill upon which he had received so many communications as he had every day received upon this matter. Persons experienced in election affairs expressed the strongest hope that there would be no case in which bribery would be looked upon as trivial in this Bill. There was one other view that he wished to refer to. These words had been framed for the purpose of dealing with cases of treating, undue influence, and illegal practices. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) took the clause as to treating and undue influence, and crudely introduced into it the word "bribery." Well, he asked every Member of the Committee, who was a supporter of the Bill, whether to a greater or a lesser degree, not to accept that Amendment. It would be a backward movement which had never been acknowledged before, and would, he was sure, be most injurious to the interests they had mainly to consider—namely, the interests of the constituents. On the other hand, he had to deal with the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), who desired to amend the clause by striking out the word "not," and to insert after the word "void" the words "but the candidate shall not be subject to any incapacity under this Act." The effect of that would be that a candidate could be unseated for a trivial case of treating or undue influence on the part of an agent, but would not be incapacitated from becoming a candidate in the future. What would happen if that were agreed to? Why, a candidate, after being unseated for some trivial act, would have the sympathy of the constituency, and, after being unseated, he would offer himself for election again, and would be elected, simply in consequence of that trivial act of treating or undue influence. The Amendment, in fact, asked him (the Attorney General) to depart from the undertaking he had given, not only to introduce this clause, but to provide that the seat should not be voided in consequence of some trivial act of treating or undue influence. He should, therefore, be breaking his word if he were to acquiesce in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Ipswich. He adhered to his clause in both its aspects. He could not carry it further, because he believed it would be injurious to do so; and, on the other hand, he could not fall back from his position. Whilst he did not run away from anything he had said on the main question, if this matter was to be gone over again, he must reserve to himself the right of saying what he might believe to be necessary in the future. He merely contented himself now with calling attention to what had taken place on a former occasion, and begged to move the insertion of the clause of which he had given Notice.

New Clause (Report exonerating candidate in certain cases of corrupt or illegal practice by agents,)—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)—*brought up,* and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. CALLAN said, he did not wish to raise a discussion upon the principle of the clause on the Question that it be now read a second time, if the Committee were adverse to that course; but, to his mind, it was preferable to raise the discussion on its principle on second reading, and then afterwards to go into details; still, in this matter, he was in the hands of the Committee. ["Hear, hear!"] He did not care for "Hear, hears!" from hon. Members opposite. If the hon. and learned Attorney General thought it better to take the discussion after the second reading, he should wait until the clause had been read a second time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that, before going into any discussion upon the matter, he wished to state to the Committee that he had an Amendment on the Paper to insert the words "bribery or," in the third line, before the words "treating and undue influence." For the purpose of simplifying the matter, however, instead of moving that Amendment, he would move to leave out the words "treating and undue influence, and illegal practice," and insert the words "corrupt practices."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that would include personation.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, his object was to include personation. The hon. and learned Attorney General had told the Committee that he (Mr. Labouchere) was asking to reverse its decision. Technically, it was true that he was doing that; but, in point of fact, he was not doing that. The hon. and learned Gentleman himself admitted that a good many had voted with him, or rather against the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), because they were anxious to see the clause the Government would bring up. As he distinctly understood, from what fell from the hon. and learned Attorney General, there was a feeling in the Committee that, as a clause was to be brought up dealing with this special matter, hon. Members, on this question, should reserve their judgments. He (Mr. Labouchere) was rather sorry that his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton had taken a Division on the occasion referred to, because he had thought at the time it might prejudice the case; at any rate, he thought any hon. Member was perfectly free to vote on the matter as he thought right. The hon. and learned Attorney General said he had received communications from various parts of the country requesting him not to yield on this matter. Well, he (Mr. Labouchere), on the other hand, could say that he had received communications from his constituents on the subject. It had been said that his constituents would at once misunderstand them. His constituents had held a meeting, and what was the resolution that they passed on this question? Why, it was this—"Keep your eye on the Attorney General." They said—"Particularly oppose this and every other clause which you regard as dangerous to a free, pure, and independent constituency. He was, therefore, so far as he was concerned, strictly within his duty in keeping his eye on the hon. and learned Attorney General, and in moving this Amendment against the hon. and learned Gentleman's clause. What really did happen on the last occasion? [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] He understood the anxiety of the Committee to get to the end of this matter; but the question was so important that he really thought they ought to look into it, and look into it most seriously.

What took place on the last occasion? As the hon. and learned Gentleman said, they had a very large preliminary discussion upon the definition of the word "agency." The hon. and learned Attorney General told them that he could not, although a lawyer, define what an agent was. The reason of that was, so far as he (Mr. Labouchere) could understand it, not being a lawyer, that whereas, in other matters, an "agent" was a person employed or acting for another person; in electoral matters, an agent was a person who was an actor in a common cause with a candidate for a specific end. Well, the hon. and learned Gentleman was not prepared to give them any species of limitation to his agency. So far as he (Mr. Labouchere) understood it, the hon. and learned Gentleman was not prepared, that when an Association took an active part in an election, every single member of it became an agent of the candidate, and that if any member of such an Association engaged in a corrupt practice the candidate was responsible for it. They had had decisions in different ways. Lord Bramwell had distinctly stated that he had been obliged to do an injustice to candidates because he had no Equity Clause. The hon. and learned Attorney General himself would, no doubt, remember the Taunton case, in which a Conservative candidate, or rather Member, had been held to be liable for what a political Association had done. But a remarkable circumstance was, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department had interfered, and had said that the Judges already had this equity jurisdiction. According to the right hon. Gentleman, this jurisdiction, which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had said would open the door to bribery, was already possessed by the Judges. Well, after the clause was adopted, that equity jurisdiction would not in any case be possessed by the Judges, because this clause placed those who thought the Judges ought to have that jurisdiction in a much worse position than they were in now. It laid down specifically that Judges might have an equity power henceforth in matters of treating, undue influence, and illegal practices; but by leaving out bribery and personation, or by not substituting for the limited words in the clause the general term corrupt practices, it directly told the Judges that they had no equity jurisdiction in regard to bribery, and in regard to personation. Well, he asked the Committee whether they were in favour of that—whether they thought it was desirable or not? The hon. and learned Attorney General told them he had taken a middle course—those, he thought, were the words the hon. and learned Gentleman had used. But he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he had not knocked the bottom out of his new tub by yielding in the matter of treating? Could the hon. and learned Gentleman tell him any distinction which existed between giving a man the money to pay for a glass of beer, or any food, and giving him the actual beer and the actual food? He remembered that the hon. and learned Attorney General had endeavoured to draw a distinction. He said—"When you treat, you do it generally openly; but when you give money, you do it secretly." He (Mr. Labouchere) did not know what that distinction had to do with the present case. He denied that there was such a distinction. What happened in the matter of treating? Why, at an election, beer was apt to flow in all public-houses. If there was a brewer in the place, he would be on one side or the other, and his beer was used largely, and he would not collect his accounts until the end of the week, so that it was a much easier thing to treat secretly than to give money; and that, it seemed to him (Mr. Labouchere), was a much more prevalent corrupt practice at the present time than the other. The effect of the ballot had not been to change human nature; people were just as ready to take money now as they always were. All the ballot had done, if it had done anything in this matter, had been to cheapen the votes. There were a large number of persons in that residuum, of which they had so often heard, who belonged neither to one Party or the other, and who had been, in past times, ready to accept 10*s.* or 5*s.* for a vote; but who were now ready to accept not only 10*s.* or 5*s.*, but even a pot of beer. There should be no distinction between treating and bribery; if they were to say there was to be no equity in the one, they should say there should be no equity in the other. When the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General told them himself that it was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent injustice being done, that the

Judges should have an equity power, that statement was equally applicable to small cases of bribery as to small cases of treating. He could not help thinking that the hon. and learned Attorney General did not quite understand these large popular constituencies. These places were perfectly pure; but, at an election time, there was a very great deal of excitement. At such a time as that a man might be so utterly carried away by his feelings that he might, in his excitement, give away 2*s.* 6*d.* or 5*s.* to some other person to go somewhere with, without any intention of wrong doing, and that would be bribery. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Hear, hear!] At any rate, a man by doing such an act as that might think he was doing wrong, but he might be carried away by his feelings. The hon. and learned Gentleman said "Hear, hear!" It was perfectly horrible that such an act should be visited with all the consequences of bribery. No doubt, it was right that the man who was guilty of such an error of judgment, or such misconduct, should be punished; but what he (Mr. Labouchere) objected to was that the candidate should be punished also. Let them take the case of Northampton, where there was a large Liberal Association and a large Conservative Association. He believed that the Liberal Association numbered about 1,000 individuals, and it undertook everything in connection with an election. The members of the Association took an active part in the election, as agents in every sense of the word. Suppose some member of the Association said—"Smith won't vote;" whereupon another member went to the man, urged him to vote, and slipped half-a-crown in his hand. Was that to be held to be bribery, which would affect the position of the candidate? He (Mr. Labouchere) was of opinion that the man ought to be punished for bribery; but he could not understand why the candidate should be punished on account of an individual act like the one he had cited. Let them suppose there was a traitor in the camp, either on the Liberal or Conservative side, and that he said—"I have got a particular dislike to the individual who is coming forward; I belong to an Association; I will give a voter half-a-crown; I will then let it be known in some sort of way, and the candidate will not only lose his seat, but be prevented from sitting for the constituency for the next seven years." Why should such a power as that be placed in the hands of any individual? He (Mr. Labouchere) could not understand why, for the act of a traitor or a fool, they should accept the consequence themselves, and not only lose their seats, but be prevented from sitting for a constituency for seven years. The hon. and learned Attorney General had said that a constituency would not suffer in any sort of way. He (Mr. Labouchere) denied that. When a constituency had had a contested election, it did not want another in two or three months. Generally, working men, to vote, had to give up a portion of their time, and they objected to do that very often. If, because of the individual act of one black sheep, an act which did not in the slightest degree affect the election, and of which the candidate or the Association might know nothing, a constituency was to be forced to waste a considerable amount of time in conducting another election, he considered a punishment was inflicted on the constituency; and he confessed he was a little surprised to hear the hon. and learned Gentleman say that the constituency would not be punished. He (Mr. Labouchere) maintained, too, it was a punishment upon the Member. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Oh, no!] The hon. and learned Gentleman said "Oh, no!" but it was quite possible that a Member could not get a seat anywhere else. He (Mr. Labouchere) doubted very much whether a man could get another seat under such circumstances. Let them take the case of a man who had never been in Parliament before. Possibly, he was not a well-known man; he succeeded at his election, but was immediately turned out, because some member of an Association, who was acting for him, had bribed in a trivial manner. Did the Committee suppose that any other constituency would have him? Another constituency would say to him—"There are just as good fish in the sea as you; there are others who want to stand here; you are, no doubt, a victim of circumstances, but we do not want such a man." Take the case of Leeds, for instance. Did not the hon. and learned Attorney General remember that at

Leeds, at the last General Election, an Association, numbering 900 persons, brought forward the Prime Minister, and undertook the whole business of the election. The Prime Minister had nothing to do at all with the election; yet if one of the members of the Association had been a fool, or a traitor, and had given improperly half-a-crown, what would have happened to the Prime Minister? He would have lost his seat, and he would have been tainted with the stigma, and would not have been allowed to sit for Leeds for a certain given time. Hon. Gentlemen opposite would have alluded to such a state of things with very great pleasure; and after a while, when people had forgotten the details, they would say—"Talk about Gladstone being a high minded man; he is not even allowed to sit for Leeds!" What would happen in the case of the majority of hon. Members? This clause would do them—very humble individuals as they were—the very greatest injury and the very greatest wrong. His main object in opposing the clause was not the wrong which might be done to a candidate, was not the time occupied in a second election; but it was that in striving to do one thing they did a worse thing. It used to be the habit that a small clique, composed of one or two agents, had the whole election in their hands. A better system now prevailed, for candidates were anxious that the people themselves should take an active part in the election. Now, he asked, if this clause—if this pitfall for every hon. Member—were passed, would it be possible for a Member to encourage the electors to take an active part in the election? A man would be afraid to do that, and therefore he would have to fall back upon the old system of two or three agents, or a small committee managing the election. Such a thing would be most undesirable. Personally, he considered that Conservative and Liberal electors should take an active part in an election—as active a part as possible—and that they should be, in every sense of the word, partners and agents of the candidate; and it was for that reason mainly—though he considered the other reasons he had assigned would have been quite sufficient—that, as far as he was concerned, he should oppose this clause to the bitter end, unless the hon. and learned Attorney General was willing to accept the Amendment which he now begged to move.

Amendment proposed, in line 3 of new clause, to leave out "treating and undue influence," and insert "corrupt practices."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, that if the Amendment were carried out, he did not see any great good the Bill would be for the prevention of bribery and other corrupt practices at elections. The hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had given a history of the clause; but the Committee must remember that when the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) was put down, there were several Amendments upon the Paper having the same object in view. There was that, for instance, standing in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), which he (Mr. Jesse Collings) thought was far more potent to secure the object in view, and, at the same time, to prevent the abuse of that object, than the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton. There was also an Amendment standing in the name of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke); but, for some reason or other, all the Amendments were passed over except the one of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton, upon which a Division was taken. The hon. and learned Attorney General, in obedience, he (Mr. Jesse Collings) granted, to the wish of the Committee, that the candidate should be protected, but not in obedience to the wish of the Committee, that the constituency also should be protected, agreed to bring up some clause to deal with the matter. But he (Mr. Jesse Collings) ventured to say that, in this clause, the hon. and learned Gentleman had not kept within the bounds of safety, having regard to the object of the Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman had made the clause elastic for treating and undue influence. Why should the Bill be so elastic for treating and undue influence? The experience which led to the passing of the

Ballot Act was, that a great instrument of corruption in the larger boroughs was treating and undue influence. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) could not agree with the hon. and learned Attorney General in his estimate of the small amount of treating and undue influence which took place, or as to its comparative unimportance as compared with bribery; though he admitted that treating and undue influence were carried on in a less dangerous manner, perhaps, than bribery. The hon. and learned Gentleman had taken a middle course, and he had landed in a difficulty which all middle courses lead to—namely, the difficulty of defining the difference between bribery and treating. It was impossible for them to have one law for bribery and one for treating. To his mind, treating was a most dangerous form of corruption. It was the most dangerous form of corruption, because it assailed a class of voters who were more open to temptation than any other class, on account of their poverty, or on account, oftentimes, of their habits. What did the clause really provide? Under Section "A" it was provided—

> "That no corrupt or illegal practice was committed at such election by or with the knowledge and consent of such candidate or his election agent."

Now, that was totally worthless, because no corrupt practice was ever committed within the knowledge and consent of any candidate. Then, again, Section "B" was to the effect—

> "That such candidate and his election agent took all reasonable means for preventing the commission of corrupt and illegal practices at such elections."

Every candidate and his agent always had done that, and always would, so far as any assertion of that view on their part was concerned. Then came, perhaps, the worst and most demoralizing provision of all—namely—

> "That the offences mentioned in the said further Report were committed contrary to the orders and without the sanction or connivance of the candidate or his election agent."

Now, if the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was introduced, they would admit that there could be such a thing as trivial and unimportant bribery. They might as well say that there could be trivial and unimportant forgery. They might as well make a law to the effect that forgery ought to be an offence of no importance when small sums such as £5 or £10 were involved, and that it only became a serious crime when large sums were at stake. His hon. Friend the Member for Northampton had trotted out the one black sheep. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) did not believe in the one black sheep theory, because one black sheep was always an indication that there were other black sheep; and, although the presence of one black sheep might be sufficient for the purposes of the Judge, generally speaking they might conclude there were many other black sheep. The action, however, of one black sheep could be dealt with by a Judge under the present law. A Judge might decide in the direction of preventing any injury being done by that one unfortunate or foolish man; and if a Judge could not be depended upon, either on account of his partizanship, or for some other reason, the real way to get over such a difficulty would be to have two or three Judges instead of one, because it was not very likely that two or three Judges would be swayed by partizanship, or by any particular motive, or by any objectionable motive. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) should, of course, vote for the Amendment, because it would lessen the evil of the clause as it stood; but, after that, if the Amendment were defeated, adopting the principle of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), he Mr. (Jesse Collings) should move the Amendment which stood in his name, because he felt sure that it would give all necessary protection to a candidate without relinquishing the protection to the constituency.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he wished to make a few remarks before they proceeded to a Division, on account of the remarkable speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). He (Mr. Edward Clarke) would not address the Committee at any length, because he considered that the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had treated them with perfect frankness and fairness in this matter. He (Mr. Edward Clarke) cordially appreciated the way in which the hon. and learned Gentleman had kept the promise he made to the Committee. It was perfectly clear that there were some hon. Members of the House, who accepted their law from the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt), and had accepted from the right hon. Gentleman that for law which was not law at all. The hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Jesse Collings) appeared to have been impressed with the statement which the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) made, to the effect that the Judges had at present this equitable authority. When the right hon. Gentleman was challenged by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to put it in the Bill, he turned round, and with great emphasis, said it was impossible to put common sense in the Bill; and it appeared to be thought in some quarters of the House that the right hon. Gentleman knew the law, and was stating the law. The one instance of the one black sheep would undoubtedly unseat a candidate, and the reason that this discussion had been important was that the Judges themselves had complained of the hardships upon them in having to unseat a candidate for a single act. The bitterest complaint on this matter was made by Lord Bramwell in the case of Mr. Robinson at Bristol. The facts of the case were, no doubt, familiar to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich. There was no charge of bribery at the election itself; but it was shown in evidence that, at the test ballot to decide who should be the candidate, the small bribe—he believed of two or three shillings—was given to a man to vote at the test ballot for Mr. Robinson. Mr. Robinson was elected Member for Bristol; but Lord Bramwell felt bound, on account of the one act of bribery in the case of the test ballot, to unseat the Member, and they had never seen that Gentleman, who was the victim of that unfortunate occurrence, in the House of Commons since. Lord Bramwell complained that he was bound by law to unseat Mr. Robinson for that one individual act. If the clause now proposed by the hon. and learned Attorney General were accepted, and put in the Bill, and if, three months hence, a precisely similar case of hardship to that of Mr. Robinson's came before a Judge, that Judge would have no option whatever but to unseat the Member. A Judge had no equity power whatever, and whether a fool or a traitor gave a half-a-crown or five shillings, in a case, perhaps, where the majority was numbered by hundreds, and where the act of bribery could not possibly have affected the election, a Judge would be obliged to unseat. He (Mr. Edward Clarke) thought it was doing the work of this Bill imperfectly to leave this obvious and confessed mischief unredressed. He was glad to find the principle of an Equity Clause admitted; and although he should be obliged to vote for the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton, at the same time he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had treated the Committee very fairly.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he would like to explain the position in which he stood in reference to this matter. Some days ago, he moved an Amendment, which covered the cases now contemplated by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He still held the opinions he expressed during the debate on his Amendment, and he entirely agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Edward Clarke) that a most cruel injustice had been committed. In the course of that debate, a distinct offer was made to him (Mr. H. H. Fowler), to the effect that the hon. and learned Attorney General was prepared to draw a distinction between bribing, treating, and undue influence; and, exercising his own discretion, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) accepted the compromise of the hon. and learned Gentleman, and asked leave to withdraw the Amendment. The Committee did not see fit to grant leave to withdraw it, but compelled a Division to be taken. He considered that the hon. and learned Gentleman had wholly fulfilled his pledge to introduce an Equity Clause, referring to treating and undue influence; and, therefore, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) considered that he must honourably adhere to his compromise with the hon. and learned Gentleman as regarded it.

Mr. RAIKES said, he hoped they would hear something with regard to the merits of this precise Amendment, because it really raised a question itself, and not the larger question which had been dealt with by more than one speaker. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) proposed that this equitable jurisdiction, which was to be given to the Judges who tried Election Petitions, was not to be confined to cases merely of treating and undue influence, but should extend to all corrupt practices. He (Mr. Raikes) was bound to say that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton had made out an unanswerable case in favour of his contention. For his own part, he did not wish, on this Amendment, to discuss the morality or expediency of the clause as a whole; but it did seem to him that it would be extremely unjust if they were to allow a candidate to escape in a case of treating or undue influence, but left him to suffer for bribery or personation, to which, it was clear, neither he nor his agent had been parties. He (Mr. Raikes) was glad the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton had moved his Amendment in the present form; because it struck him that it would be extremely hard if, for a single case of personation, an election should be set aside. He (Mr. Raikes) could not believe that a candidate ought to be deprived of his seat if one of his supporters had attempted to vote twice in the same election. It very frequently occurred that there were isolated cases of personation; it was extremely easy for a traitor, for instance, to get up a little conspiracy to indulge in personation, and thus defeat the election of a candidate; and, therefore, he was very glad that the Amendment was so framed as to include personation as well as bribery and undue influence and treating. He offered no opinion as to what would be the general result of the working of this Bill with this clause in it. He wished now to confine himself to the precise Amendment moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton; and he (Mr. Raikes) would only venture to suggest that, if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General was in search of equity in this clause, he did not quite know where he was seeking for it. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would be ready to accept the Amendment.

Mr. LEA said, he had seen many unjust cases under the law as it now stood; and, after every Petition, the Press of the country were unanimous in calling upon Parliament to alter the law. Mr. Charles Harrison was elected for Bewdley, and he was notoriously scrupulous. His expenses did not amount to more than £250; but a Petition was successful in his case, simply because a bailiff of his had lent one of the tenants a farm drill. A good deal had been said about the loss of a candidate's seat; but there was one point which had not at all been noticed. This Bill was supposed to enable comparatively poor men to become Members of Parliament; but it might mean to poor men simply ruin. He (Mr. Lea) supported an Election Petition once, because he believed that if the individual elected were allowed to sit he would be a disgrace to the House of Commons. The Petition resulted in his (Mr. Lea's) favour, and the costs were given also in his favour, and yet he had to pay out of his own pocket £5,000. Had he lost the Petition, he would have been compelled to pay as much as £12,000 or £15,000. He asked the Committee if they were prepared to consider that a just law and a just state of things? A man might become a candidate for a borough or a county; he might be elected; but through the indiscretion of someone over whom he had no control he might lose his seat, and be mulcted in costs amounting to several thousand pounds. The law at present was unjust, and called urgently for alteration. All that was asked was, that there should be purity of election accompanied with justice. He (Mr. Lea) believed if the clause were passed as proposed to be amended by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) it would provide for just and pure elections.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he was sorry the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was not at present in his place, because he (Mr. Stanhope) wished particularly to address his observations to him. The object with which he rose was chiefly to ask the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton whether he would not move his Amendment in the form in which it originally stood—namely, to insert "bribery or" and not "corrupt practices?" He (Mr. Stanhope) quite admitted the strength of the reasons assigned by the hon. Member for the alteration he had made in his Amendment, and he also admitted that the matter was one of considerable doubt and difficulty. At the same time, he did feel very strongly that there was a great difference between the offence of personation and the offence of bribery; and he was inclined to think that, in the case of bribery, they might perfectly well extend to the candidate and his agent the same indemnity that was extended by the clause of the hon. and learned Attorney General to treating and undue influence. He thought they were going too far in stretching the clause so as to include such offences as personation. He (Mr. Stanhope) appealed to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton whether it would not be better, and attain the object a great many of them had in view, if they were to take a Division upon the proposal to insert "bribery," so that personation would not be included?

Mr. R. T. REID said, he hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) would adhere to the clause as it stood. It ought to be remembered that this Equity Clause was the result of a compromise and a concession made by the hon. and learned Gentleman in order to disarm criticism in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). Complaint was made that a man might be unseated for a single act, and, of course, it would be a hardship for a man to suffer for some isolated act; but they must remember that, whether they were dealing with the Law of Agency, as applied to Parliamentary elections, or dealing with any other branch of life, there were many cases in which men had to suffer severely for the acts of their agents. He (Mr. R. T. Reid) did not think, however, that any lawyer would say for a moment that, because an Association was working for a candidate, it followed that every member of that Association was the candidate's agent at law.

Mr. EVANS WILLIAMS said, that when the Amendment was put, he should refrain from voting, not because he was not very much opposed to the Amendment, but because he considered that the whole clause was so intrinsically bad, and would so weaken the Bill, if added to it, that they had better make it as bad as possible, rather than set up a distinction between bribery and other corrupt practices; for he thought treating was, if anything, worse than bribery. He (Mr. Evans Williams) believed that the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) himself was very unwilling to introduce this clause; and he thought it would have been far better, when pressure was put upon him to introduce an Equity Clause of this sort by Gentlemen who were not in favour of the general principle of the Bill, if the hon. and learned Gentleman had said he would withdraw the Bill, because advantage was taken of its progress to weaken the present law, rather than weaken it by the insertion of such a clause as that. The present Amendment endeavoured, not only to relax the severity of the Bill, but to relax the law, even as it at present existed. He had had some experience in electioneering, and he certainly would prefer to contest a constituency under the present law than under the Bill, if the clause now under consideration were added to it. He was satisfied that the result of adding that clause to the Bill would be that a candidate would be able to get some "man in the moon" to come down and corrupt all round, and that the candidate would afterwards be able to prove to the satisfaction of the Election Judges that he was quite innocent in the matter. If they were to have a clause of that kind, let them be consistent, and have all corrupt practices included. He believed it was possible for personation to be practised with the sole purpose of spiting a candidate. Therefore, he considered that personation ought to be included in the operation of the clause. At any rate, he trusted that a protest—and he hoped a successful protest—would be made against this fatal clause.

Mr. BRYCE said, as the Representative of a large constituency, he desired to say that he supposed that at the next election he would have some thousands of agents. He believed that, under the existing law, if a Judge had no common sense, he could unseat every Member in the House. He (Mr. Bryce) was not at all, in the least, afraid of the Bill, because he believed Judges had common sense, and that the people in constituencies had common sense. He believed, also, that where it was known that an election was substantially pure, there would be no intention of presenting Petitions. He hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) would not accept any Amendment to this clause. They ought not to take the starch out of the Bill. He submitted there was a clear distinction between bribery and treating. Treating was a thing which necessarily involved a great number of people; it was not a thing worth doing on a small scale; it was not a thing which could be done secretly to any appreciable extent; and, therefore, it was far more important that they should apply a strict rule with regard to bribery than to treating.

MR. WARTON said, he was glad the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had recognized the principle of common equity and justice. He did not, however, agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman in making a distinction between bribery and illegal practices, for the sole reason that the limitations in the clause were so strong. Now, paragraph "b" ran as follows:—

> "That such candidate and his election agent took all reasonable means for preventing the commission of corrupt and illegal practices at such election."

Now, corrupt practices included bribery, and although a candidate and his election agent might take all possible means of preventing bribery, if an isolated act of bribery were committed, a candidate would, under this clause, lose his seat. The clause ought certainly to extend to bribery.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that perhaps he might be allowed, in the presence of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), to repeat his suggestion. There were some Members of the Committee who found a considerable difficulty in including personation in the clause, while they thought bribery might be justly included. What he (Mr. Stanhope) had to suggest to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton was, that they should be allowed to express their opinion in a Division upon the question of the insertion of the word "bribery" instead of "corrupt practices."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was quite willing to agree to the wishes of the hon.Gentleman (Mr. Stanhope); and, in order to do that, he would now ask leave to withdraw the present Amendment.

MR. RAIKES said, he hoped the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) would do nothing of the sort. He (Mr. Raikes) could not understand why, in the case of personation, a Judge should not have the same equitable power as in the case of bribery or undue influence. He thought it was very likely that personation, in many cases, would be practised by some treacherous person.

MR. LEWIS said, he thought the observations of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) must lead some hon. Members astray. One of their most distinguished Judges—Lord Bramwell—had, in the presence of a Committee of the House of Commons, pointed out how cruel the law was at present, and how necessary it was, in the interests of justice, that some such alteration as this should be made. He (Mr. Lewis) could not see the least logical distinction between the proposal of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) and that of the hon. and learned Attorney General. These were all, more or less, corrupt practices, and capable of being committed by persons who assumed the character of agents, without any knowledge on the part of the candidate; but, because of some refined distinction which the hon. and learned Attorney General saw between these two things, he asked the Committee to draw a line, tight and irretrievable, on the subject of bribery and undue influence. He (Mr. Lewis) should be far more inclined to restrict undue influence than treating; but he thought they might thank the hon. and learned Attorney General for having gone as far as he had with a view to getting a good Act. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to think he was going further than he had promised; but he (Mr. Lewis) understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that when he brought forward this moderate clause he would include illegal practices in it. He (Mr. Lewis) had an Amendment with reference to giving a dispensing clause; but he had not moved it, because he had in his mind the promise of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. J. R. YORKE, in reference to a statement made in the course of the debate that the Judges now had a kind of equitable jurisdiction, said, he thought it would be better to give them a jurisdiction which was strictly defined. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. Edward Clarke) had said there was no such thing as equitable jurisdiction, and that common sense was entirely excluded from the Act. His (Mr. J. R. Yorke's) vote would depend, to some extent, upon the explanation he got upon this point from the hon. and learned Attorney General.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought the Amendment might be withdrawn, and the word "bribery" substituted. He had refrained from entering into this question, because he had given his reasons on a previous occasion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in new Clause, line 3, after the word "of," to insert the words "bribery or."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question put, "That the words 'bribery or' be there inserted."

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 115; Noes 175: Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 192.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill." —(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. JESSE COLLINGS in opposing the addition of the new clause, said, that a great deal had been heard of the possibility of unseating a large number of Members by this Bill; but he ventured to say that if the Bill became law as the hon. and learned Attorney General had drawn it, there would be very few Petitions presented against any Members after a General Election; while, if this clause was adopted and added to it, there would be a considerable number presented, because, although he would not say it would open the door to bribery and treating, it would make a great hole in the Bill. He knew a borough—and it did not stand alone—in which a candidate was the owner of a large number of public-houses; and it was known that, although there were only trivial cases to prove it, there had been considerable drinking going on. As this clause stood, there would be no interest in a candidate to personally attempt to stop that practice; but, without the clause, there would be a common interest in all parties—candidate, agents, and electors—to prevent everything in the form of drinking or any corrupt practice. Therefore, even in the interest of the candidate, it would be better not to have this clause than to adopt it unamended. The object of the Bill was, or should be, to make corrupt practices as serious an offence as felony, or any other offence against which society warred; but, by the clause, half the inducement to a candidate to prevent bribery was taken away. There was a danger on the other side that the candidate might suffer; but that was a danger of the smallest kind, for no Petition would be presented against a candidate who had been doing his best to prevent corrupt practices. Therefore, in the interest of the candidate, as well as for the prevention of treating, it was better that this clause should not be agreed to, unless it was amended.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had now to deal with an entirely different subject—namely, the prohibition of the employment of hackney carriages. He need not, he thought, remind the Committee how this new clause which he now proposed came into existence; for the Committee had already discussed the question whether the conveyance of voters should be allowed or not. Originally, the conveyance of voters was illegal in boroughs. It occurred to him that a mere prohibition should not be allowed to continue, and in the closing days of the discussion in 1880 the question was discussed, and it was decided that the localities should allow conveyance of voters; and so boroughs and counties were placed in the same position. That was a much better position to occupy than the prohibition of conveyances; but it was thought afterwards that all conveyances should be made illegal. That view had been carried out in this Bill, and there had been a strong concurrence of opinion in favour of prohibition altogether. A large number of voters, who took an interest in the Bill, had expressed an opinion in favour of prohibition with all its inconvenient consequences; but the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and some other hon. Members had opposed mere prohibition. They wished to go further. They said the power of carrying voters was being handed over to those who had private carriages, and they asked that there should be a prohibition against the voluntary lending of carriages. That view was urged very strongly, and several hon. Members wished to insert a Proviso that no person should be allowed to convey a friend or neighbour to the poll. That was a view which, he thought, the majority would not have agreed to; but while the discussion was going on, it was pointed out, with great force, that there would be hired carriages, for which, if there was no payment at the time, there would be some return. Under these circumstances, he proposed this new clause.

New Clause:—

(Employment of hackney carriages, or of carriages and horses kept for hire.)

"A person shall not let, lend, or employ for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, any public stage or hackney carriage, or any horse or other animal kept or used for drawing the same, or any carriage, horse, or other animal which he keeps or uses for the purpose of letting out for hire, and if he lets, lends, or employs such carriage, horse, or other animal, knowing that it is intended to be used for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

"A person shall not hire, borrow, or use for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll any carriage, horse, or other animal which he knows the owner thereof is prohibited by this section to let, lend, or employ for that purpose, and, if he does so, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

"Provided, That nothing in this section shall prevent a carriage, horse, or other animal being let to or hired or used by an elector for the purpose of conveying himself to the poll,"—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. WHITLEY said, he would appeal to the hon. and learned Attorney General not to press this clause; because he (Mr. Whitley) could not help thinking that it would bear very injuriously on the working classes. If the Amendment he had moved upon the matter had been accepted, he should have been quite content; but this clause would operate very hardly on many voters, by practically precluding them from voting at all. He had received several telegrams stating that, by such a clause, the working men in Liverpool would be disfranchised, because they would not be able to vote during the polling period. In counties the farmers generally had some means of conveyance, and so had the tradesmen in small constituencies; but in densely-populated places there were no conveyances that could be used; and therefore large constituencies would be placed at a great disadvantage by this clause. The practice hitherto had been for these voters to be taken to the poll in parties of 40 or 50 at a time; and what would there be to prevent 40 or 50 such electors clubbing together and chartering an onmibus, paying, say, 3*d*. apiece to be taken to the poll? It would be impossible to find out what any one man contributed to the cost. One might pay £1 and another 1*d*., and they would all say they were going to vote. He thought a clause which was likely to be broken was not wise. Believing that the clause would bear harshly on the working classes, he should oppose its insertion in the Bill.

MR. WILLIAMSON said, he would suggest that the words, "or by several electors at their joint cost, for the purpose of being conveyed," should be inserted.

MR. GORST said, he objected to the clause on principle, and he hoped the Committee would not assent to it. It was a shameful inequality. In all legislation, and particularly in election legislation, it was most important that all men should be treated alike, and that no special favour should be shown to the richer classes. He did not think anybody but a Whig Attorney General, or a Whig Government, could ever have devised a proposal which put rich and poor men on so absolute an inequality as this clause proposed; and he was certain that, if the hon. and learned Attorney General had been inspired by the Liberal and Radical feelings which were represented in the Cabinet, that would have preserved him from the error of proposing such a clause. If this clause were passed, what would be the state of affairs? A wealthy nobleman, possessing a number of carriages, would be allowed to use them to increase his political influence. He might lend his horses and carriages, and employ the whole of his stud, and the whole strength of his stables, to drive electors to the poll; but a more humble elector, who happened to be a livery-stable keeper, or a cab proprietor, and who was a citizen just as much as the nobleman, and had just as much right to use his position and property for the advancement of his political principles, would be placed under a peculiar and special disability. He was not to be allowed to make use of his own property, at his own expense, to increase his political influence, and make himself of weight in a contested election. That was giving influence to a Whig nobleman, and denying it to a Conservative livery-stable keeper. Against such a principle he must enter his earnest protest. But the case was worse than that. The humbler individual was not only not allowed to lend his carriages or cabs, but he was not to be allowed to employ them himself; so that there might be the spectacle of a Whig nobleman riding in his own carriage, and driving electors to the poll; while the livery-stable keeper, or the man who possessed a cart which he was accustomed to let out for hire, was not allowed to indulge in that luxury. This was not a question of Party or of politics. It was a question whether one man was to be as good as his neighbour or not. At election times, at all events, one man was as good as another; and he must protest against so gross and shameful a piece of class legislation as this clause.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, the clause was the outcome of an Amendment he (Mr. Joseph Cowen) had moved at an earlier stage. He had moved, and the Committee decided, in accordance with the decision of the Government, that all conveyances should be forbidden. His proposition had not been entirely adopted, and the result was a compromise, which was fairly open to the criticisms of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst). But the hon. and learned Attorney General had only fulfilled his pledge. He believed the clause would be inoperative. It was not likely that a job-master would lend his carriages; if he did he would be paid for them at some future time; but, so far as the hon. and learned Attorney General was concerned, he had simply fulfilled his promise.

Mr. LEWIS said, he knew that his views were unpopular; but, while he sat on the Conservative side, and cried out for liberty, hon. Members on the other side would tie up electors and put them in manacles. What was the principle of this Bill? The principle was to encourage voluntary effort; but, directly that became disagreeable or unmanageable, the hon. and learned Attorney General said that was not the principle of the Bill, and that, at all events, they must control and limit voluntary effort. In this clause, and in many other clauses, there was no principle, except tyranny. That, he believed, was the main principle of the Bill. A strong picture had been drawn by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst); but it was not over-coloured. The liberty of the subject was to be confined in one class; but it was to be unrestricted in another. It was not necessary to go into the wording of the clause to show the effect of it; but, before it was parted with, he hoped the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Williamson), who had suggested a practical Amendment, would adhere to it. In regard to persons clubbing together to hire vehicles, if the hon. Member would move the Amendment he had suggested, he (Mr. Lewis) thought he would meet with considerable support from both sides of the House. In point of fact, it was only a common-sense Amendment, and the Committee would be disposed to look at it from a logical point of view. He believed the Government had taken up an illogical position, and that they were placing a restriction upon liberty which was altogether unjust.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it would be better to divide on the second reading of the clause, which raised the principle of the clause itself; and if the second reading were assented to, they could then discuss the details in Committee. So far as the words "a person" were concerned, in legal construction they included the plural. Therefore, the words "any person" being already in the Bill, there would be no object gained by accepting the Amendment suggested. He would not at present discuss the question raised by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). The point would be, whether a person was simply carrying on his trade. It might be very easy for a job-master or a person engaged in the business of letting public carriages to supply vehicles for the polling day on the principle that "one good turn deserves another," and that the good turn would come very soon after the election was over. If there were any doubt as to the legal construction of the words "a person," he would gladly accept the Amendment which had been suggested; but he did not think there was.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK thought the clause was objectionable in principle, and said he intended to vote against its being read a second time. Indeed, he thought that the hon. and learned Attorney General was hardly satisfied with it himself; and, having regard to the cool manner in which it had been received by hon. Members below the Gangway, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press the clause, and would not divide the Committee upon it. The hon. and learned Gentleman was always conjuring up phantoms; and, in reply to some of the objections which had been made, the hon. and learned Gentleman said there would always be some job-master in the neighbourhood who would allow his horses and carriages to be used, with the certainty that he would afterwards be paid. He did not believe that the hon. and learned Gentleman had any foundation for that assertion, or that, in any of the numerous cases which had taken place in regard to the use of conveyances, any instance of this kind had been proved to have occurred. The hon. and learned Attorney General had accepted the suggestion thrown out to him; but at the bottom of the compromise there was the principle of disfranchising voters throughout the country. The clause would positively disfranchise a considerable number of men all over the country; and the spirit which pervaded it was that certain persons should be prevented at an election from making use of their votes. He wished to call the attention of the hon. and learned Attorney General to the second branch of the clause, which, in his (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck's) opinion, was most objectionable. The hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to provide that—

> "A person shall not hire, borrow, or use for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, any carriage, horse, or other animal which he knows the owner thereof is prohibited by this section to let, lend, or employ for that purpose, and, if he does so, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

He would take this case. Supposing one of the rich noblemen who had been referred to, or some other person in the possession of carriages, wished to invite a party of friends to his house, who he thought were not very well off in the world, and that, in order to save job hire, he sent carriages to convey them to his house to dinner, and to take them back afterwards. Would he not, by that process, put a certain sum of money into their pockets? Of course, he did not actually give them money; but he saved them the expenditure of money, and the same principle which was considered to stand good in a small instance must hold good also in a larger and more important one. As the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had pointed out, they were establishing an inequality between the man who had carriages at his disposal and the man who had not. He trusted that the Committee would negative the clause, which he really did not think the hon. and learned Attorney General himself in his heart approved.

Mr. ANDERSON said, he entirely approved of the clause, because it was simply to make general that which was the law now in the boroughs of Scotland. Hon. Members would remember that when the Act of 1880 passed, the House exempted Scotland and Ireland from the provisions of that Act; and he wished now to point out that the evils which had been indicated by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) were simply theoretical. They were not at all real, and they were not practical, because, if they were, they would have existed in Scotland, and must inevitably have cropped up in that country ever since the Act was passed. That had not been the fact; and he was satisfied that nothing of the kind would occur in England if this clause were passed. Hon. Members might depend upon it that the clause would not produce the effect anticipated from it, but that it would be advantageous to insert it in the Bill.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he should vote against the clause, because he did not think it could possibly be made to work. He would take the last part of it, which, in particular, was thoroughly impracticable. It said—

> "Provided, That nothing in this section shall prevent a carriage, horse, or other animal being let to, or hired, or used by an elector for the purpose of conveying himself to the poll."

The English of the clause was somewhat peculiar. They would, most undoubtedly, have people who would hire carriages for themselves in order to go to the poll; and, that being so, were they going to make it illegal if, while the carriage was going along the road, the voter saw two or three friends walking along the same road, to pick them up and take them along with him to the poll? A man might hire a carriage who had lent his own carriage for the work of the election. He would have a perfect right to drive himself to the poll; but if he hired a carriage and picked up another voter on the way to the poll it would be held that he was guilty of an illegal practice. Such a provision would be entirely impracticable, and would, undoubtedly, be evaded. Therefore, as it was only calculated to bring about litigation, and probably void the election, he, for one, would vote against it.

MR. BRODRICK said, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would consider whether it was wise to press this absurd and ridiculous clause. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) dissented.] He saw that the hon. and learned Attorney General shook his head. They were absolutely going to provide that a job-master was not to let out a carriage or a horse if he knew that it was going to be used in an election. There were dozens of job-masters in London who sent down horses to all parts of the country at election times. Were they going to propose that, whenever an election took place, no man should hire out a horse to a person of strong political feeling, because he might be likely to use it in an election? He undertook to say that if a General Election took place in November next he could point out one man in London who would send down at least 100 horses to the country, to be used by various gentlemen in different parts of the country for bringing up voters to the poll. Were they to allow that to be done? ["No, no!"] They would either make it penal, or they would not. If they made it penal, all he could say was that they would be using the clause in order to deprive a very valuable class of men of the liberty, to which they were fairly entitled, of carrying on a legitimate business. But there was another point he also wished to call attention to. They said they would not allow a man who had hired a vehicle, and who had, perhaps, driven it for a distance of five miles, to give a poor neighbour a lift on the way. The hon. and learned Attorney General asked them to read the clause a second time, and then promised to tell the Committee what he proposed to do with it. But he (Mr. Brodrick) thought it would be perfectly ridiculous to accept the clause at all. If four or five men banded themselves together to hire a vehicle to carry themselves to the poll, were Parliament going to assert that each individual ought to pay his share, and then to provide that, if another voter was subsequently taken in, it would be an illegal practice? What it might come to was this—that they might have one rich man paying 19*s.* 10*d.*, and four poor men being conveyed with him who were only required to pay a farthing each. The principle of the clause was not to allow men with strong political feelings to assist by money, in any way, the power of the electors in getting to the poll. On the same principle, they ought to deny to any person who owned a large house the power of asking a number of people to stay with him on the day of an election, in order that they might have facilities for recording their votes. On the same principle, they ought also to refuse to permit a man to give a dinner or a luncheon to any person who might happen to be an elector on the day of election. ["Hear, hear!"] Well, then, if that were so, let the Government put it in the Bill, so that the Committee might know what they were doing. He thought it was an absurd thing to make a point of a small matter of this kind. In Scotland it would be absolutely necessary, in the case of a large number of poor voters, if they were to go to the poll at all, that they should be conveyed there; and he altogether disputed the necessity, under the pretence of putting down illegal practices, of inserting such a provision as this in the Bill.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the clause was the logical consequence of two propositions which had been very strongly resisted by the other side of the House. The first was, that the conveyance of voters to the poll should be allowed to go on as it had done. He knew there was a strong objection entertained to that practice on both sides of the House, and a considerable number of county Members had voted with the Government, insisting upon the Government doing away, in every shape, with the expense of conveying voters to the poll.

That principle having been adopted, a large majority on that (the Liberal) side of the House, asked for equality, and called upon the Government to prohibit the hiring and lending of conveyances also. "No!" said hon. Members on the other side of the House, "that would put us to a disadvantage; we claim the right of running our carriages, our breaks, our drags, and our waggonettes. We claim the legitimate influence of wealth." He thought the general opinion of the Press in all parts of the country had already been expressed in favour of the Amendment suggested by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen) declaring, on the principle of common justice, that the hiring and lending of conveyances should be prohibited. The Committee had positively prohibited the hiring of carriages, and now they were asked to prohibit the lending of them by private individuals. That was how the question stood at that moment. The hon. and learned Attorney General had gone a step further. A possible injustice was presented to his mind, and he desired to prevent collusive arrangements between a job-master and a candidate for the use of horses and carriages. It was possible that an arrangement might be made with a large job-master or omnibus proprietor to this effect—"Of course, we cannot pay for the use of your carriages, and we do not propose to hire them; but, if your cabs and omnibuses are placed at the disposal of the Committee, there will be a reciprocity of patronage in due course of time, which will compensate you for whatever loss you may sustain on the day of election." Now, he ventured to say that if this clause were not inserted in the Bill, there would not be a horse nor a carriage which would not be used at an election time, and it would be far better to allow the legitimate conveyance of voters to the poll. The Conservative Party opposite concurred in the desirability of doing away with the payment of the carriage of voters to the poll; and hon. Members on the Liberal side of the House were of opinion that they ought to carry the provision still further, and not leave the law in a position which would be favourable to the upper-class candidate and against the working-class candidate. The hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Brodrick) put the question in the same category as giving a breakfast, or a luncheon, or a dinner, and objected to the clause, because it aimed a blow at what he considered to be a legitimate mode of spending money and exercising wealth. That was what the clause was intended to prevent. The only legitimate way of dealing with the question was to prohibit the use of carriages altogether in any shape or form; and as the Bill did not go quite as far as that, he should certainly support the clause.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the hon. Member (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had forgotten one proposition which had been put before the Committee—namely, that if it was necessary to do anything at all, it was necessary to guard against the evasion of the law. That was the foundation of the clause; but the hon. Gentleman had entirely forgotten to answer it. Indeed, no one could answer it. It was assented to by the hon. and learned Attorney General, that any number of people could club together to hire a cab; and if so, the Act, if necessary, might be easily evaded by one elector paying a sovereign, and having a number of gentlemen conveyed with him at the cost of one halfpenny per head.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the Government had not yet accepted an Amendment to that effect.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the clause itself made that provision, when it said that—

> "Nothing in this section should prevent a carriage, horse, or other animal being let to, or hired or used by, an elector for the purpose of conveying himself to the poll."

He presumed, if one elector could hire a carriage, two electors could hire it; and then they came to this absurdity—that if one elector hired a carriage and two went by it, without both of them contributing to the expense, it became an illegal practice. Three or four electors could hire a carriage, and arrange among themselves how the expense was to be paid. On the day of an election, they might find an omnibus full of electors going along the road to the poll. Someone might say—"There is an illegal practice going on;" but the answer would be—"We have hired the 'bus;" but if another omnibus came along containing the same number of men, of whom one might have been picked up without paying his share, then that was held to be an illegal practice. He contended that they were opening the door to fraud and evasion by the manner in which the clause was drawn.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought there would be no difficulty in dealing with such cases as had been suggested by the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick). Any Judge who tried such a case would pronounce the transaction illusory, and an evasive hiring as far as the Act was concerned. If one man paid 2*s.* and another man 2*s.* 6*d.*, there would be a joint hiring; but if one man paid a sovereign, and another only a halfpenny, the Judge, as a matter common sense, would decide that there had been an evasion of the Act.

MR. ECROYD said, that either the Bill would entirely prevent a large number of the working classes from recording their votes at all, where the place at which they worked was distant from the place of polling, or it would be evaded by wholesale. In his own district, it was no exaggeration to say that on the polling day every available carriage would be hired by working men, and upon what terms? Did any hon. Member suppose they could get behind the terms upon which 20 or 100 men hired conveyances? He would engage to say that it was impossible to get behind those terms, and this provision would be evaded by wholesale, without any possibility of getting at the facts. He therefore thought it was undesirable for the House to pass a measure which would either be entirely impracticable, or would prevent the working classes from recording their votes.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS thought it was the best point in regard to the clause that it would be evaded. The practice of carrying people to the poll, somehow or other, would go on just the same as before, except to this extent—that the candidate might probably not be mulcted to the same amount. If the election was likely to be a close one, they would not find people left behind, because there were no conveyances to take them to the poll. There were certain persons whom they must of necessity convey to the poll—people who were ill, or too old, or too infirm to walk; and this sort of squeamish morality would never persuade the ordinary Englishman that he ought not to provide the means of conveying voters, under such circumstances, to the poll. Somehow or other, the friends of the candidate, or some members of his party—not the agents, for they would take care to keep their hands clear of anything of the kind; but independent electors, sufficiently well off, would provide these things. It might be illegal; but as long as it did not vitiate the seat, nobody would take the trouble to interfere with it when it was done, for the object of the Bill was not to send men to prison for misdemeanour. It had long been provided by law that the agents of a candidate should not vote at an election; but, as a matter of fact, the paid agents did vote in every borough that he had been connected with. There might be exceptions; but, as a rule, they voted. So far as he was personally concerned, he objected to agents altogether, and he had never had an agent in any election he had contested. He believed an election agent to be a mischievous institution. Whether they inserted the clause or not, if it were necessary to convey voters to the poll who wished to vote, no Act of Parliament would be allowed to stand in the way of their exercise of the franchise. It was all very well to frame Acts of Parliament in these days; but only very recently they had been told, in "another place," that if people wilfully disobeyed an Act of Parliament they would do nothing morally wrong, and that all their illegitimate bastards ought to be made legitimate by Act of Parliament. When the people were openly taught such a lesson, could they be persuaded that there was anything wrong in a matter of this kind? Somehow or other, voters would be conveyed to the poll, and the passing of this Act would not make a shade of difference whether the practice was rendered legal or illegal. He should vote against the clause; but, at the same time, he did not care one fig whether it was inserted in the Bill or not.

MR. RITCHIE said, there was one case he should like to put to the hon. and learned Attorney General. If the Amendment proposed on the other side of the House were carried, he wished to know if it would be legal for a coach proprietor or a hackney-carriage proprietor to bring into a district a certain number of such hackney carriages, and undertake to carry voters to the poll for one penny a-head? If that were done, would it not be a joint hiring of vehicles from such a proprietor, who could put on omnibuses or carriages for the purpose of conveying voters to the poll for a nominal sum? Would not that be a joint hiring, and perfectly legal, under the clause which the hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to insert in the Bill?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that it would not be legal, because it would be an evasion of the Act.

MR. WARTON said, there was a serious omission in the clause. As it was at present drawn, it referred only to conveyance by land, and left out altogether conveyance by water. It appeared to be forgotten that there were constituencies placed on the banks of rivers, and on certain arms of the sea; and he wanted to know why it should not be illegal for a boatman to let out a boat in order to convey voters so circumstanced to the poll? There was another suggestion he wished to make. He did not know whether the hon. and learned Attorney General was acquainted with the law in regard to stage carriages or not; but an interesting question arose upon that point. The law in regard to stage coaches was that any person had a right to book a place; and there was nothing to prevent a man going the day before an election and booking a place. They were told that no such conveyance was to be driven to and from the poll; but, in the case of an omnibus, might it not stop 100 or 200 yards from the polling booth? He saw no provision that would deal with a case of that kind. Then there was another remarkable omission. An elector was allowed to hire a carriage, or a horse, or other animal to take himself to the poll; but there was nothing said of bringing him back again. He threw out these suggestions for the consideration of the hon. and learned Attorney General. He wanted to know if it was the intention of the hon. and learned Gentleman to allow a voter to hire a carriage to convey himself to the poll, and not to allow him to be driven back again in the same carriage? He thought it would be the most prudent course for the hon. and learned Attorney General to stay his hand, and not go a step further. There were other parts of the clause which deserved attention; but he would not weary the Committee by raising further objections.

MR. GIBSON said, he really hoped that the hon. and learned Attorney General would reconsider the clause before it was finally incorporated in the Bill. He presumed that the Committee would divide upon the second reading of the clause now, and that the subsequent stage would be taken later, probably to-morrow. He sincerely hoped, however, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would consider the ridiculous and absurd consequences in which the Committee would be allowed to involve itself if it placed upon the Statute Book nonsense like this. A clause more abounding in absurdities and nonsense he had never seen. They were asked to hamper a man engaged in a lawful occupation in such a manner as not to be able to pursue that occupation, and in the third paragraph of the clause the hon. and learned Attorney General tried to free the Statute Book from the absurdities involved in the two previous paragraphs. The third paragraph certainly made the two preceding paragraphs almost illusory. If they intended to provide that a party of electors might club together and hire a hackney carriage, nothing would be more easy than to evade the requirements of the first part of the clause. It would be quite competent, if the clause passed in its present shape, for a crowd of electors, for their own purposes, to employ hackney carriages to convey themselves to and from the poll, and it would be impossible to ascertain upon what terms the arrangement was made.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the question put to him had reference to the payment of a nominal sum by some of the persons conveyed; and he had declared that that would be an evident evasion of the Act.

MR. GIBSON said, he could not see why it could not be done; and although the hon. and learned Attorney General had used the words "nominal sum," the question put was, whether a crowd of electors would not be able to pay a small sum among them? They all knew that the principle of small profits and quick returns was often acted upon as a very proper mode of dealing with ordinary business transactions; and, unquestionably, if this clause passed, they would find men who, at an election time, was glad that the right hon. Gentleman did not acknowledge the accuracy of the statement, which had startled him (Mr. Chaplin) in no slight degree. He would, therefore, not pursue it further; but there was another statement which he wished to notice, of infinitely more importance, by which it was probable that the public had been much misled, and for which there was no solid and no just foundation. He alluded to the statements made, early in the Session, by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, and repeated continually by those whom, he suspected, were more or less interested parties on many occasions outside—namely, that the effect of this Motion, which he (Mr. Chaplin) asked the House to accept, would be to enormously increase the present price of meat. Some had put it at 2*d.* or 3*d.* a-pound; others had stated—and the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers), if correctly reported, was one of them—that it would double the price; and the Vice President of the Council himself had not scrupled to state from that Bench that if his (Mr. Chaplin's) proposition were accepted, it would raise the price of meat to famine rates for the population of this country. [Mr. MUNDELLA: Hear, hear!] Now, with all due respect to the right hon. Gentleman, he believed it to be impossible to imagine a grosser exaggeration than that statement, or one more utterly devoid of foundation or incapable of proof. If it were really so—if even there were grounds, reliable grounds, for believing that it might be so—he confessed that he, for one, should be greatly shaken in his views; and he should think, as often as the Prime Minister was reported to have said on one occasion, that he would think about abolishing the House of Lords before proceeding with this Motion; but he held an exactly opposite opinion, and he would state at once his reasons for doing so. What were the facts of the case? Let him ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to fairly and impartially examine them. It was not, and ought not to be, a Party question. He had no disposition to make it one; and if they would approach it in the same spirit, he was convinced that their opposition would be greatly modified, if it did not altogether disappear. How did the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President support his assertion? The right hon. Gentleman began by stating that the effect of his demands would be to exclude a supply of meat from abroad for home consumption here to the value of more than £9,000,000 sterling. Well, that statement, to begin with, was not quite correct, because it represented the total value of all our live imports at the present time, and it took no account of the animals which would still be permitted to land alive under the terms of the Motion. The House would perceive that it was only upon animals coming from infected countries that he desired to place any restriction; and, under the terms of his Motion, they would still be permitted to land from any countries as to which the Privy Council were satisfied with the general sanitary condition of the animals therein. Those countries at present were as follows:—Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and British North America. He would explain to the House fully, before he concluded, how this arose; but, for the moment, it was sufficient to point out that the value of animals which came from those countries, according to the last Return he had, for 1881, amounted to £2,761,502. Now, if that sum were deducted from £9,200,000, which was said to be the total value of imported live animals, it would leave, roughly speaking, foreign live animals of the value of £6,400,000, and that was the total value of the imports at the present time with which he really proposed to interfere. He quite admitted that even £6,400,000 appeared, at first sight, and taken by itself, to represent a large amount of food with which to interfere; and so, no doubt, it was, until they compared it with the annual consumption of meat by the people of this country, and the moment they did that, they would then see that it was astonishing how small, how exceedingly trifling a proportion of the whole it represented. That was a point to which the attention of the public had not been by any means sufficiently directed, and as to which they had been very much misled. He remembered, at the time when the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President made his statement, that he asked across the floor—"What proportion of the whole of our annual consumption does your £9,000,000 represent?" But there was no reply. The right hon. Gentleman passed it by; and, probably, he was not in a position at the moment to say. He (Mr. Chaplin) was not at all surprised at it, because the annual consumption of the country was not very easy to arrive at. There were no official statistics or calculations that he was aware of on the subject; but there had been various calculations by different authorities which might be taken, he believed, as approximately, if not substantially correct; and the House would, perhaps, allow him, therefore, to submit to them some of the results of these calculations as applied to the figures of to-day. Now, what was the annual meat consumption of the country? It might be divided under three heads—first, the meat produced at home; secondly, the meat imported alive from abroad; and, thirdly, the meat which was imported dead. The first of these, of course, was more or less uncertain, and a matter of calculation; but the last two could be given exactly from official Returns. With regard to the first, calculations, as he had already said, had been made before, and he saw no reason why they should not be made approximately correct again. Estimates, he found, had been made upon this subject at different times by Mr. H. M. Thompson, afterwards Sir Henry Thompson, and at one time President of the Royal Agricultural Society of England; by Mr. J. A. Clarke, and by Sir James Caird—by Sir Henry Thompson in 1871, by Mr. Clarke in 1871, and again in 1873 and in 1875, and by Sir James Caird in 1878. At first, in their estimates, there was no great difference between any of the three, although, in his later estimates, Mr. Clarke made the amount considerably less. But, taking the first Returns of each, what he found was this—that by an elaborate system of calculation, based upon the official Returns of all the animals in the country, but the details of which would occupy too much time to give to the House, Sir Henry Thompson, in 1871, estimated that the number of home-grown animals which went to the butcher every year represented 1,266,000 tons of meat; Mr. Clarke made it 1,214,000 tons, and Sir James Caird 1,225,000 tons. Now, applying the system of calculation adopted by Sir Henry Thompson to the Returns of 1882—and he had purposely taken the highest because the Returns were notoriously less than the real number of animals in the country, for many people still neglected to make any Returns at all—he arrived at this result—With regard to the first head of our whole consumption—namely, that of home-grown meat—it amounted to 1,175,000 tons at the present time. With regard to the second, the total live import amounted to 105,000 tons; and with regard to the third—namely, the import of dead meat—it came to 204,667 tons, making a total of 1,485,702 tons, as the gross annual consumption of meat in the country at the present time. Now, let him ask the House to consider how much of this supply he really proposed to interfere with by his Motion. The total live imports for the year 1882 came, as he had shown, to 105,000 tons. But from that must be deducted the animals which would be still permitted to land alive, under his Motion, from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and British North America. According to calculations he had made, the weight of the animals which came from those countries in 1882 would represent about 46,000 tons; and, if that were so, that would reduce the amount of live imports which he interfered with from 105,000 tons to 60,000, and 60,000 tons represented certainly not more than about 4 per cent of the whole annual consumption of the country. Now, that was literally all that he proposed to interfere with, and even that amount, small comparatively as it was, would not by any means be necessarily lost to the consumer; for it was quite possible, and in his judgment exceedingly probable, that the greater part of it would come to us in the shape of dead meat instead. Now, if that were so, and if his comparisons between the amount of meat produced at home and the amount of live meat imported from abroad were correct in any degree whatever—and he fully believed they were—was it conceivable, upon the facts and figures he had put before the House, that this Motion could by any possibility have the alarming effects upon the price of our meat, which were so freely attributed to it by some of the most ardent of their opponents? That disposed, he hoped, of the main arguments which had been used, and now let him ask what was the case in support of the Resolution? He ventured to think that their case, always a strong one, had been greatly strengthened by recent events; for not only had we suffered much in England, but, during the present outbreak, this disease had spread with most unfortunate and disastrous results to both Ireland and Scotland, which were free from it immediately before. What was his first proposition? It was this—that the whole of our losses since September, 1880, must be traced to the landing of foreign live animals in England from countries infected with that disease abroad. What was the history of the present outbreak? It distinctly bore out his first proposition; for he would point out, as he did two years ago, that for a period of nine months in 1880, this disease had been stamped out, and we were actually and entirely free from it altogether. At the end of that period, it was, unhappily, re-introduced by the landing of a diseased cargo, or cargoes of animals at Deptford from France. That had never been denied, although the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had gone so far as to say he could not admit or acknowledge it had been proved. But he (Mr. Chaplin) thought he could set the right hon. Gentleman's mind at rest on this point by quoting, as a witness, a gentleman whose authority he felt certain he would not deny. He referred to Professor Brown, who presided with so much ability over the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council. This was what Professor Brown said. He (Mr. Chaplin) took it from a pamphlet on the history of foot-and-mouth disease, written by him for one of the Agricultural Societies of England—the Bath and West of England he believed—and this was what he said; after showing that the disease had been actually stamped out for nine months, he wrote as follows:—

> "The tenth outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease commenced on October 1, 1880, when the affection was discovered in a London dairy, and there can be no doubt that it was re-introduced by a cargo of animals from France, among which it was detected when they were landed for slaughter at Deptford on September 20."

Now, that statement, coming from that source, conclusively established the fact that, at a time when we were free and had been for nine months, it was re-introduced from abroad, and we had never got rid of it since. But what was the extent and character of these losses, which might have been so easily prevented? Since September, 1880, there had been very little short of 12,000 outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease in different parts of the country, and the number of the animals attacked, though he had not the actual figures, must amount to many hundred thousands. To give the House an idea of how serious these losses were, he would quote a letter which he had received only a day or two ago from one of the leading agriculturists in the East of England, Mr. Herbert J. Little, a gentleman well known in this House, and this was what he said—

> "On the 24th of May, foot-and-mouth disease was introduced to my farm by my sheep, which had been sent to the nearest wash dyke, no intimation having been made, and no suspicion existing in my mind that the disease existed in the neighbourhood. The whole of my sheep, about 600, became infected in a few days. Great loss of condition followed the attack. From the sheep it was transmitted to my cattle and pigs. The latter died off—so far as young ones were concerned—pretty quick, and I soon buried about 30. But it is among my cattle that the principal loss has occurred. Twenty of my cows were valuable shorthorns, all in full milk. One of these, a pedigree cow, of a valuable strain of blood, died of the disease. The remainder of this lot are so maimed and crippled from the disease that I cannot tell, at present, how far the immediate loss may go to, to say nothing of the certainty of many of them being permanently injured, and perhaps destroyed for breeding purposes. About 30 more heifers were rearing their own calves in the fields. These latter were beautiful animals, the pride of my farm, and in fine condition. I have already lost about half of them; but, as they still keep dying, I cannot tell the ultimate loss in this case any more than among the cows. Now, Sir, add to these losses the total failure of the milk supply, and the forced realization of a number of fine fat cattle, which were sent away lest the disease should reach them, and by which forced sale I was a loser of about £80, and you have a very unpleasant state of things, for which I must count the Government responsible. As I sit writing this letter, and listening, as I have to do day and night, to the melancholy lowing of my disconsolate animals, and, further, as I contemplate my own serious losses, and the deathblow which this attack has given to my efforts as a breeder, I ask myself why I and my class should be singled out for these penalties? We are engaged, under no ordinary difficulties, of late years, in a useful and honourable occupation; and we expect the protection of the Government, at least, against preventible disease."

In that expectation he (Mr. Chaplin) entirely and cordially concurred. A calculation was made for him, about two years ago, by one of the leading farmers in Lincolnshire of the average direct loss which might be said to have arisen from an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease among the stock on his farm. His calculation was as follows:—That on every 100 beasts, averaging, say, £15 a-head in value, the loss must be estimated, in one way or another, at £4 a-head; and on every 100 sheep, worth £3 apiece, the loss could not be less than £1 a-head. From the inquiries he had made, he (Mr. Chaplin) believed that was by no means an extravagant estimate. Now, applying that standard to Mr. Little's stock, he was afraid his losses would amount to at least £1,200. If that was so, he could only say that he had his entire sympathy. But the House must remember that Mr. Little's was not by any means an isolated case. There had been, as he had said, nearly 12,000 similar outbreaks since 1880; and if they multiplied Mr. Little's losses by 12,000, they would arrive at a loss in millions, which it was positively appalling to think of. At any rate, there was no doubt that the direct losses of agriculturists during the last three years from this cause had been really enormous; and to these must be added the indirect losses they had undergone from the stoppage of movements of stock, from loss of markets, through discontinuance of the holding of fairs all over the country, from forced sales, and the general restrictions placed upon them, which were far greater than hon. Members had any idea of. And all this loss had been incurred, it must be remembered, at a time when farmers had been suffering from exceptional distress, and when it might have been so easily prevented, if only it had been thought right to do that which he asked the House to urge upon the Government to do at the present time. That was his first proposition. His second was that, as long as importation from infected countries was permitted, we never could hope to be permanently free from the ravages of this disease in future. It was the fact that, since September, 1880, in spite of the mischief which they knew had arisen from the landing of one cargo at Deptford, and in spite of their continued and incessant remonstrances with the Government respecting it since then, no less than 307 cargoes of live animals infected with foot-and-mouth disease had been allowed by the Government to be landed in different parts of the country from that time to the present. When they knew the disastrous results of the landing of a single diseased cargo in Deptford, in 1880, it needed no arguments to show—although it might be impossible to trace it, as at Deptford, when the country was otherwise absolutely free—that in all human probability the disease had been repeatedly introduced afresh since then, and it would continue to be introduced undoubtedly, from time to time, as long as the importation from infected countries was permitted. Then his third proposition was this—that it was the duty of the Government, as far as a Government could do, to free the country from this state of things in future. How was that to be done? In his judgment, it could be done in one way, and one way alone—namely, the Government must take measures which would be sufficient to stamp it out again at home, as it stamped it out before, and prevent its re-introduction from abroad. That it could be stamped out they knew from experience, and they were supported in that view by great authorities, such as the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard). But the House must remember that doing this entailed great loss and great sacrifices on the farmers; and, although the farmers were willing to submit to them, and did cheerfully submit to them, in the hope of the final extinction of the disease, all their sacrifices had been rendered vain by the deliberate importation of infected animals. They could not be expected to undergo all these sacrifices again; and he, for one, would be no party to continuing the restrictions on them, harsh, severe, and injurious as they were, unless, at the same time, the Government gave them the most effectual guarantee in its power against the re-introduction of the disease from abroad. He maintained that the Government ought to do this, at the present time, and that they had ample power to do all that was necessary under the law, as it existed at present. The existing law gave to the Privy Council, under Section 35 of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878, absolute discretionary power to prohibit the landing of animals from any specified country, or any specified part of it. And it further provided, by the 5th Schedule of the same Act, with regard to all animals that were not prohibited from landing by the Privy Council, that they were not to leave the wharf alive, but were to be slaughtered at the port. Then the law gave a further discretionary power to the Privy Council to exempt animals from compulsory slaughter at the port, if they were satisfied that the general sanitary condition of the animals, and the laws relating to animals in the country from which they came, were such as to afford reasonable security against the importation of disease. Now, how had the Privy Council exercised that two-fold discretionary power which was vested in them by the law? On the one hand, they had absolutely prohibited the landing of animals altogether from Austria, Italy, Greece, Russia, the Dominions of the Sultan, and some other countries besides, until the Order for their prohibition was cancelled. Those were countries from which there was always danger, more or less, of importing cattle plague. On the other hand, from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and British North America, they not only allowed the animals to land alive, but so satisfactory was the general healthy condition of those countries, that they also exempted the animals from compulsory slaughter at the port when they did land. Then, besides that, they had recently, within the last few weeks, issued an Order prohibiting the landing of all live animals whatever from France, because there was so much foot-and-mouth disease in that country at the present time. That was how the powers vested in the Privy Council were exercised at present; and all that he asked the Government to do by his Motion was this—to go a little bit further than they had gone at present, and to deal with every other country from which there was the smallest fear of importing this disease precisely as they were dealing with France at the present time. The law was quite sufficient, he believed, to enable them to do so; but if it were not, then let it be amended as quickly as possible. But he could not think that was necessary; there was foot-and-mouth disease in France, and the Government prohibited animals from landing. The disease had also been prevalent in Belgium, in Spain, the United States, and other countries during the present year; and if the Government were able to prevent the landing of animals from France, what was there to prevent them from prohibiting the landing of animals from other countries from which there was reason to fear the introduction of disease? That was a question to which they were entitled to have a very explicit answer from the Government. In the interests of the public, that was what the Government ought to do. We had a growing population, and a daily-increasing demand for meat. Where were we to look for an adequate supply? Not to America, for there, undoubtedly, the surplus supplies were being contracted every day, and the country had little more than it required for its own consumption. Neither could we expect any large permanent additions to our supply from Europe, except it was from Russia, and from that country we had always the fear of importing the cattle plague. It certainly was satisfactory to know that the fresh meat imported dead, for the first half of the present year, showed an increase of 27 per cent as compared with the corresponding half of last year, and that the live imports also showed an increase of 19 per cent. He thought it very satisfactory that this increase of live imports was mainly due to one of the clean countries—namely, Denmark, with which he would not in any way interfere. For a large and permanent additional supply of meat at reasonable prices, such a supply as he desired to see available for the people, there were only two sources to which we could look with any certainty and assurance for the future. One of them was our own production at home, and the other was the development of a large dead meat supply with our Colonies—with Australia and New Zealand, for instance—from which large quantities of meat came. The present high prices of meat were, in his opinion, mainly owing to the greatly diminished stocks in our own country, caused chiefly by the losses arising from foreign disease, and, above all, by the cattle plague many years ago. It was certain that, with adequate security against the re-introduction of these diseases in the future, our flocks and herds would be largely developed and increased. The evidence given by witness after witness before the Royal Commission was so conclusive upon this point that advanced Radicals, like the hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. Joseph Cowen), and Professors of Political Economy, like Mr. Bonamy Price, were constrained to support that view. He knew well that, in moving his Resolution, he was rendering himself liable to much misrepresentation. He had often been accused of a desire to make food dear for the people of this country. But ungenerous and untrue charges of that nature in no way affected him, for nothing could be further from his wishes than to raise the price of food. Standing in the House of Commons, he declared that he advocated this measure, because he believed it was in this direction only that they should be able to secure large, abundant, and cheap supplies of meat. He proposed his Resolution, not in the interest of any particular class, but in what he honestly and conscientiously believed to be the interests of the whole population of this country; and he submitted it with confidence and hope to the verdict of the House of Commons. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE, in rising to second the Resolution, said, that he did so in the belief, as expressed by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin), that he was advocating what was for the benefit of the consumers of this country, and not for that of the agricultural interest alone. Although representing a county, he (Colonel Kingscote) believed he was returned, not by the agricultural interest in that constituency, but by a large mining population; and if, in any way, he were to advocate measures which would enhance the prices of meat, he did not think his seat would be worth very many hours' purchase. However, if means were not taken to stamp out cattle disease, a state of things would soon be reached in which no one would devote that attention to the question of cattle breeding which ought to be given to it in this country. In 1880, England was nearly free from cattle disease; but in that year it was introduced from abroad through the Deptford Market, and since then it had prevailed to an extent which could not but cause the gravest anxiety. It had spread throughout the length and breadth of the land; and at that moment all over England, Scotland, and Ireland the agricultural community was suffering from the different restrictions imposed upon it by the outbreak. Those restrictions made by the local authorities varied in the most remarkable manner. Scotland was practically shut off from England, and so were Northumberland and Westmoreland from the other English counties, in consequence of the importation of foreign animals through Newcastle-on-Tyne. The restrictions were carried out in what he must call a nonsensical manner, seeing that every county had regulations of its own. Jobbers were allowed to accumulate their animals in different places; and, while those in which the disease had shown itself were left behind, others were taken around the country, and to the waterside markets, and so disseminated disease. He could assure those who thought that foot-and-mouth disease was a very trifling disease that it was not the farmers only, but the whole community, who were sufferers by it. The country was suffering more than any statistics could show from the disease, which destroyed not only the fertility of cows, but their milking qualities, and ruined the farmers who owned these animals and depended on their produce. Professor Brown, in his evidence before the Committee in 1877, said that one of the most important amendments of the existing system would be a uniform scheme applicable to the whole country, to be carried out by Privy Council Inspectors stationed in each district. And the Report said that, provided there was security from the importation of disease from abroad, the farmers of the country would be willing to accept any regulations. In fact, the farmers had suffered by the regulations without a murmur, and how had they been rewarded? He would say, without the least hesitation, that since 1877 the disease had been distinctly brought in from abroad. The Government were asked to-night not to shut the stable door after the steed was stolen, but to take those precautions that would prevent foot-and-mouth disease from coming here from countries abroad where it was known to exist. If we did not know how to take care of ourselves, foreign countries knew how to adopt measures for their own protection. Our American friends had at last awakened to the danger, and to the necessity of restricting the importation of animals from countries in which disease existed; and their Legislature had recently, by a clause in the States' Tariff Bill, prohibited the importation of hides or neat cattle under a penalty of $500 fine, or a year's imprisonment; but provided for the suspension of the prohibition, when the Secretary to the Treasury should signify that importation from any particular country might take place without danger of the spread of disease throughout the States. He only asked the Government to take those precautions which the United States had taken now. His hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Chaplin) had said that the dead meat trade could be easily carried out in this country. He (Colonel Kingscote) endorsed that opinion, and maintained, with his hon. Friend, that if the Government prohibited the importation of live stock tomorrow, we should, through the dead meat trade, not suffer a bit as regards the price of meat. He could say, having sat throughout the Committee of 1877 and the Royal Agricultural Commission, that the dead meat trade could be very quickly and efficiently developed if it were only forced upon the trade. There was no use in denying that the trade would resist to the utmost the introduction of the dead meat system, because there were two middlemen who would have to be done away with; but if they were to be done away with the price of meat would be very much reduced; and experience had proved that it would be perfectly practicable to rely solely on that source for the foreign supply of this country. It was ridiculous to say that the dead meat trade could not be carried on in hot weather. What was the use of the telegraph and all our other appliances if it could not? America and Australia could send us meat; but a deat set had been made against the dead meat trade, and prejudice had been excited against it, merely because the middlemen felt alarmed. But as long as disease was allowed to run its course through the length and breadth of the land, agriculturists would not breed sheep and cattle. In fact, cattle breeders in this country were becoming few and far between; and he contended that every encouragement ought to be given to live stock breeders, otherwise they would soon disappear altogether. As for the two Amendments on the Paper, of which Notice had been given, he did not see much difference between that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) and the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford merely said that, while continued and vigilant exercise on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the powers entrusted to it was called for, the House did not consider it necessary to make further provision by legislation on the subject. But further provision by legislation was not asked for. The powers the Government had were sufficient, and what the supporters of the Resolution wanted was, that the Government should take precautions against the introduction of the disease which was known to exist in other countries. As to the other Amendment, that of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), to appoint a Select Committee upon the subject, for which a good deal might have been said earlier in the year, what, in the name of fortune, was the use of proposing a Select Committee in the month of July? What could a Committee do in the matter at that time of the year? He did not know what could possibly be the object of the hon. Gentleman, unless he thought that the whole House were simple and idiotic, or else he wished to make fools of them all by urging upon them such a proposition. With the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford he found no fault at all. It was not much more controvertible than the statement that two and two made four, and that was all he could say of it. He believed that the Act of 1878 gave the Privy Council power to do all that was desired; and he called upon them to do it, and supported the Resolution of his hon. Friend for that one object. The recent action of the Government with regard to this question had very much disappointed him. It appeared that there was not a Minister, but that a new Agricultural Department had been formed—a Council of Agriculture; and the result was this—that after more than one deputation had been received, not only courteously, but also satisfactorily, the Lord President of the Council told a deputation of salesmen and others that they "had given him power to resist further demands" on the part of the agricultural interest. In the present state of things, deputations were received by the Lord President, Questions in the House were answered by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Vice President of the Council was, he believed, to represent the Government that evening. It seemed to him that, amid all this uncertainty, the agricultural interest was tossed about in a way that was not at all satisfactory. He cordially supported the Motion of his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Chaplin), and in doing so he spoke on behalf of the consumer, as well as the agricultural interest; and he believed that if the disease were allowed to go rampant throughout the land, both the farmers and the general body of consumers would be most injuriously affected.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That this House desires to urge on Her Majesty's Government the importance of taking effectual measures for the suppression of foot and mouth disease throughout the United Kingdom, and it is of opinion that, while for this purpose it is necessary that adequate restrictions, under the powers vested in the Privy Council, should be imposed on the movements and transit of cattle at home, it is even more important, with a view to its permanent extinction, that the landing of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from any Countries as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD, in rising to move the following Amendment—

> "That the recent prevalence of foot and mouth disease calls for the continued and vigilant exercise on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the powers entrusted to it, not only with reference to the movement of live animals at home, but in regard to their importation from abroad, but this House does not consider it necessary, under present circumstances, to make further provision by legislation on the subject,"

said: I am glad to think that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin) has given great advantage to my case; for he has, in the frankest and most complete manner, accepted my view of the question by declaring that no legislation is required; and, in order to confirm that, my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote) has, with even greater emphasis—and there are no two greater authorities on the subject in the House—unhesitatingly accepted the proposition I now submit to the House. Another advantage which I have is that, although myself inferior in authority, I am able, without imputing any unworthy motive to the hon. Gentleman opposite, or questioning the sincerity of his purpose, to say what he (Mr. Chaplin) could not say in this matter—namely, that I rerepresent no less an interest than that of the great body of the people. ["Oh, oh!"] If any hon. Members doubt that, I will give them an invitation to Manchester, or any other large centre of population in this Kingdom, and ask the people to judge then and there between them and me. The hon. Member comes forward, at a time when the price of meat is very high, with a policy which I shall contend would probably make it much dearer. He represents most ably, I admit, but avowedly, that which he conceives to be the interests of the producers of meat in this country. I shall endeavour to show that the agricultural interest will not be well advised if it presses this Motion. He brandishes before the eyes of the House the Report of the Duke of Richmond's Commission on Agriculture. Perhaps it is due to modesty—I will so assume—that the hon. Member has not informed the House how he triumphed over that Commission in this matter, as I hope he will not triumph in the House this evening. Is it not a fact that he forced the Duke of Richmond to surrender his judgment in this matter? The Duke was the author of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill of 1878, which was relieved of its most intolerable proposals by the Liberal Opposition in that year. When the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire brought the proposal which he makes to-night before the Commission on Agriculture, I believe I am right in saying that the Duke of Richmond, together, I think, with Lord Vernon and others, opposed it, because the Duke of Richmond felt that, if he had been still President of the Council, he could not, in accordance with his views of duty, act upon the policy of this Resolution without legislation; and that he was not disposed to bring forward such legislation as would be needful to prohibit the importation of live animals for immediate slaughter from all countries which were not entirely free from the common diseases of such animal life. I beg to inform the House that the Report of the Royal Commission, which the hon. Member presents with such confidence, is not, in reality, a unanimous Report; I believe there was a division upon the point of policy embodied in the hon. Gentleman's Resolution, and that the noble Duke the President, together with my right hon. Friend the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), and others, were defeated by the zeal of the hon. Member, and by the fervour which he inspired in the minds of other Gentlemen who had seats on that Commission. The House is acquainted with the composition and the career of that Commission. It lost the co-operation, first, of my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) and of Lord Spencer; then it lost Lord Carlingford, and domestic affliction deprived it, to a large extent, of the attendance of my right hon. Friend the Member for Halifax. Its Report is a compromise; and while I desire to speak with nothing but respect for the Commission, I feel quite able, upon unquestionable grounds, to ask the House not to accord undue weight to the conclusions contained in that document. I firmly believe I might appeal to the hon. Member to withdraw this Resolution in the interests of agriculture. An hon. Member of the Conservative Opposition, speaking to me the other day of this Resolution, said, very frankly, that he questioned the policy of the hon. Member. "For," said he, "I think the price of meat is high enough." More explicitly, I would venture to warn the hon. Gentleman and his Friends not to press their advantage too far. The people of this country, as anyone may see, are very long suffering. The fact is that, owing to their divorce from the soil, which is peculiar to this country, they are slow to interfere in these matters. The hon. Member who makes this Motion is more than suspected of dislike for the law which established Free Trade in corn. He and the right hon. Gentleman his Colleague of North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) dally with Protectionist doctrines; and the result is that the House is somewhat incredulous when the hon. Member disclaims any such leaning or intention in his present movement. It is not wonderful the House should assume this attitude, when we regard the effect of the hon. Member's Motion. I do not know what course Her Majesty's Government would take if this Resolution were carried; but this I can say, with certainty—that, if legal sanction were given to his proposal, no live animals could be imported into this country for the food of the people, except from Canada and the petty Kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. I am much surprised to hear the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire speak of the salt beef, pork, and bacon which come into this country, when the question is limited to that of fresh meat. Although there is some exaggeration and some unconscious misrepresentation in the hon. Member's account of the ravages of disease, I am quite willing to admit the great importance to the interests of the population of the extirpation of disease. I not only admit the necessity of dependence for the larger part of our supply of meat upon the flocks and herds of this country, but I will acknowledge a strong desire that we should be more largely than at present dependent upon that chief source of supply. We must, in this connection, remember with reason and sympathy the recent losses of British agriculture — though such losses have been by no means confined to this country. I have no doubt that it is not foreign importation, but rather the miserable character of recent seasons, which has given such fatality to animal disease. But it is not only the bad seasons from which our agriculture has suffered. Farmers have lost much more than £100,000,000 of capital, and the consequence has been that flocks and herds have suffered from poor feeding, in seasons when a generous feeding was peculiarly needed. Disease has spread from that cause, and no wonder there has been a serious decline in the cattle and sheep of the United Kingdom. For the general purposes of agriculture the climate of this country is one of the best in the world; but, under a severe strain, our agriculture has shown but little power. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire wants to administer a modicum of Protection. I wish to give all reasonable immunity from disease; but I must confess that the want of power shown by our domestic agriculture, under the stimulus of very high prices, forms a strong argument against the Resolution. As to the Act of 1878, Clause 35 gives the Privy Council power to make any Order, restricting the import from foreign countries; and, in face of their powers under that clause, I cannot understand how any hon. Member could desire to go beyond the Amendment which I shall presently move. But the action of the Council must be governed also by the words of the 5th Schedule; and we find there that, except in case of the presence of cattle plague, there is a strong obligation to admit animals for slaughter at the foreign animals' wharves from all countries. As to foot-and-mouth disease, the condition of the United States last year would probably have justified the Council in admitting animals not merely to these wharves, but to the interior of the country, because that Schedule requires nothing but "reasonable security against the importation of diseased animals;" and if there is not that "reasonable security," then the cargoes are to be landed at the several wharves for immediate slaughter. I need say no more to show that legislation is unnecessary, or that it would be necessary, if the policy of the hon. Member was to be adopted. I would now ask the House to look at the circumstances of the present import of live animals. In spite of all restrictions, in spite of all the difficulties of carriage, in spite, also, of the improvements in the method of preserving and carrying beef and mutton, the importation of live animals is a growing trade. That is a very remarkable fact. The total number imported last year from foreign countries — 1,483,838 — is larger by 200,000 than the total of any previous year. It is customary to compare the number imported with the total of our flocks and herds, and to call it insignificant. But the home supply of meat represents but a small proportion of the total of animals in the land; and I believe that, of the animals killed for food upon this Island, the imported supply, including that from Ireland, largely exceeds 30 per cent. I have shown that this is a growing trade. But I will also show that it grows more rapidly than the dead meat trade. While the total of live animals imported last year was the largest, the import of fresh beef fell more than 40 per cent, from 812,000 cwt. to 460,000 cwt., and the import of 188,000 cwt. of fresh mutton does not bring up the total to the former figures. In the first six months of this year the import of fresh mutton has not increased. Even with very high prices, the import of beef is less than in 1881; while the import of live animals in the first half of this year has increased by 50,000. Contrast this with the last Report of the Australian Frozen Meat Company, which shows a loss of £3,080 on the importation of 21,641 carcases of mutton. A few days ago I saw the latest importation of frozen sheep from New Zealand. In the summer air the exposed carcases were becoming moist and flabby; but there can be no doubt that the frost of 112 days had not deprived this meat of all quality as good food. I obtained the opinion of the person to whom the largest consignment of this meat was made. He himself, interested constantly in its sale, does not pretend that the meat has or can have the quality of meat which has not been frozen. Much of the natural flavour and quality has, he says, gone out of it in the freezing. It is obvious that, in freezing, the vessels containing the juices of the meat must burst, and lose their contents upon thawing. But those who are interested in the trade tell me that that is not all the loss. One of them illustrated it in this way. He said—"If you want to know what is the difference in frozen meat, take two bottles of port wine, and taste both after one has been frozen for three months." These are the opinions of men who are every day engaged in selling frozen meat, and they are, I think, conclusive. There is great risk in the trade, not only from fluctuations of price in the New and Old Worlds, but also because, while the cost of fitting a ship with refrigerators involves some thousands of pounds, that outlay is liable at any moment to be wasted by the invention of some superior process. I mention these facts to show that the import of live animals is a matter of much consequence to our food supply, and that the House must not assume that a dead meat supply would arrive, sufficient to prevent a great rise in price, if the landing of live animals were prohibited. In the first six months of this year, while the import of fresh beef was less than in 1881, that of live cattle and sheep was greater by 50,000 than in 1882. In the last 20 years the price of mutton has risen by more than 3*d.* a lb. It has been officially stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) that, if the policy of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire were adopted, there would be a further addition of 3*d.* per lb. to the price of meat. Now, I wish to point to another matter which tends to the increase of the import of live animals, and that is, the improved methods of carriage. I observed that, when the Duke of Richmond, since his conversion by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, spoke of this question the other day, his Grace referred to the enormous waste of animals by casualty at sea. The Duke of Richmond was, however, careful to quote only the losses in 1879 and 1880, the two years together showing a loss of more than 30,000 animals. That represents a fearful waste and suffering. But I have no fact to lay before the House more encouraging and remarkable than that, in the two succeeding years, the loss has been reduced to 9,000 in 1881, and actually to 3,000 in 1882, including shipwreck, and every form of casualty. We see, thus, that in only four years, and with increasing imports, the loss at sea has been reduced by the enormous improvement of 80 per cent. Such are the conditions of the import of live animals. Even under severe restrictions it is a flourishing trade, one with which, in the interest of the consumer, it behoves this House to be most careful not to interfere unadvisedly. The Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire is aimed at the annihilation of this trade. If his policy were carried into law, it means the prohibition of all imports of live animals, with a temporary exception for Canada and the three Scandinavian Kingdoms. Now, let us pass to consider what are the reasons why this policy which he recommends should be adopted? He alleges that foot-and-mouth disease is spread throughout the country from these foreign animals' wharves. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not deny the possibility; but I assert there is no positive proof in any case of the spread of disease from these markets. And the extent of foot-and-mouth disease in these markets has been extremely small. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire would prohibit at one blow the importation of animals from the United States of America; but, while no fewer than 231 cargoes, containing more than 100,000 sheep and cattle, arrived from the United States in 1882, not a single case of foot-and-mouth disease was reported. He (Mr. Chaplin) would prohibit entirely the landing of sheep from Germany. But, out of 507 cargoes of German sheep, containing nearly 500,000, there were only 57 sheep landed in 1882 with symptoms of foot-and-mouth disease. These are landed at foreign animals' wharves, such as Deptford and Birkenhead—places which are treated strictly as infected places—for immediate slaughter. The hon. Member would abolish these markets, and one of the consequences of his policy might be to bring upon the Exchequer claims for compensation amounting, I should say, to £1,000,000 sterling. The City Corporation alone have spent nearly £300,000 upon their Market at Deptford. Three years ago I said in this House that I thought the management of Deptford Market left much to be desired. Now it is more careful, and the accommodation has been greatly enlarged. I do not think they can be too careful at these markets. A case of foot-and-mouth disease may arise any day. But the question for this House is, whether the risk, which is extremely small, is worth the danger to the interests of the consumer? I feel sure that it is well worth the risk, and that, while we ought to make every reasonable effort to check and to extirpate disease, we can never expect to gain absolute immunity. We receive every day straw, vegetables, and material in a hundred forms which may convey the contagion of disease. Hundreds of people pass in and out, to and from the shores of Europe and America. If there were none but a dead meat trade, our butchers and dealers would cross in large numbers to the Continent, without any of those precautions which are now taken at the foreign animals' wharves. You can only get utter security from contagion at the cost of an intolerable isolation. In 1839, when one of the most extensive outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease occurred in this country, there was no such intercourse, and the importation of foreign animals was, and had for years been, prohibited. The last Report of the Privy Council contains some interesting facts, showing that a dead meat trade does not follow the prohibition of the import of live animals. Since 1877, the importation of cattle from Belgium and Germany has been unlawful. Formerly, we drew annually about 25,000 head from those countries; that is, about 175,000 cwt. of beef. But now the fact is that, since the prohibition of live cattle, we have imported less beef from those countries than they used to send when the import of animals was permitted. At one period of last year foot-and-mouth disease appeared in 26 of our counties; and this extension was probably due to the wet seasons, which favoured the extension, and to the low condition of the stock owing to the impoverishment of the farmers. I have now shown that the importation of live animals is a large trade, and is not a declining trade; that you cannot stop that trade without causing a material increase in the price of meat. I have also shown that the risk of infection from abroad is one which cannot be wholly avoided, and that it is probably reduced to the smallest possible dimensions at the foreign animals' wharves. I would like to add a word as to the decrease in our flocks and herds, and especially in the sheep stock. Within the last nine years the decline in the number of sheep in this country has been no fewer than 6,000,000. That has been caused largely by a disease which is consequent upon excessive damp and low feeding. But it has taken place, and the reduction remains under two conditions which it is most important for the House to bear in mind; the first is the continually rising price of mutton; and the second is the decline in the production of food for stock by the conversion of arable land into grass land. I was glad to see that the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), in the Recess, drew attention to this sad decline in the agriculture of the country, and bade his hearers remember that, owing to this conversion, the soil is producing less food every year. It is one of the most inveterate fallacies that all land will produce more meat under grass than under tillage; and the indiscriminate conversion of land into grass—due, as I hold, to the absence of economic law from our land system—is a great evil. Before I sit down I should like to say that I am not sure our foreign animals' wharves are well placed. I think it would render contagion less possible, and I am certain it would greatly improve the condition of the meat, if foreign animals coming to this country for slaughter were placed for a day or two after landing in good air and upon pure food, which cannot be had in the reeking atmosphere of such a place as Deptford Market. I am certain—and I presume to speak on this subject as one who, for some years, has spared no pains and labour to master a question so important to the food supply of the people—that in their interests it would be well if we admitted more liberally the importation of foreign animals under the condition of slaughter at the place of landing. But I would not have the landing-place and slaughter-houses in populous places, where the liability to contagion is increased, and where the condition of the animals and of the meat suffers by impurity of the atmosphere. In my opinion, the best imported cattle come from the United States. When they arrive in the Thames there is a charge of about 9*s.* a-head for conveying them in the City Corporation boat and for standing in Deptford Market until slaughter, which is compulsory within 10 days. Now, I should like to see Deptford, converted into a dead meat market in connection with the foreign animals' wharf, removed to some place like Thames Haven, with an area of 100 or 200 acres of land, and with every reasonable precaution for sanitary isolation. I am surprised at the very excellent condition in which foreign animals land at Deptford—better, certainly, than after a long journey by railway train. But if they passed a few days after landing in an open station in the Kent or Essex marshes, and if the carcases were allowed to cool in that purer atmosphere before being sent by boat or rail to Deptford, there would be an immense improvement in the quality of the meat. It should be remembered that 918,082 foreign animals were killed last year in Deptford Market—that is, for five days in the week more than an average of 3,500 per day. The Resolution of the hon. Member would prohibit the import of this vast supply. Neither live nor dead, not one of that million of animals would have come to our shores if legislative effect had been given to the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. I should like to see slaughter conducted in a better atmosphere, but so near that the cooling of the meat should not take place in transit. I am certain that the carcases could be sent into London far more cheaply than the cost at which the animals are now conveyed, and that the risk of contagion, small as that now is, would reach an irreducible minimum. When that is done, I should hope that the import of live animals might be doubled by a more liberal policy and by the firm establishment of a trade which it is clear must not be prohibited. We cannot ignore the interests of British agriculture; but it is a perilous demand which is made in the interests of agriculture that we should help to raise the price of meat to 1*s.* 6*d.* a lb. The success of the hon. Member would in time be deplored by those who now support his movement. To show how far-reaching in other trades would be the consequences of the policy of exclusion, I may mention that if, in 1882, the desire of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had been enforced, there would have been a loss of 50,000,000 lbs. of tallow, and of 1,500,000 hides and skins to the markets of this country. I find in the doctrines of the hon. Member an insidious revival of the policy of Protection. [*Laughter.*] I have warrant for that suspicion. Lord Carnarvon is not a less cautious man than the hon. Member; and Lord Carnarvon, addressing, the other day, his neighbours at Newbury, let the cat out of the bag. He said—"He believed they did not object to the importation of foreign dead meat." Believed! I am sure Lord Carnarvon spoke from honest belief, that it is open to doubt whether the supporters of this movement in favour of dear food would be satisfied, even if the importation of live animals were prohibited. I am sure that policy of prohibition will not be sanctioned. I would entreat hon. Members not to be misled in this matter, and especially hon. Members from Ireland, to whom I have a peculiar right of appeal. In the borough of Salford, the annual sales of Irish stock amount to a value of more than £3,000,000. There is no equal business with Ireland in any other town of Great Britain. The compulsory slaughter of Irish cattle on the other side of St. George's Channel would, perhaps, be the next advance of those who are behind the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. And I say to the Irish Members that it is for the interest of their country that they should resist this movement. Hon. Members who represent the landed interest are sometimes very unwary; I think I remember that one of them proposed to admit store stock from Ireland, but to exclude fat cattle. That, however, was too barefaced to go forward; but it serves to illustrate the ideas which are in the minds of some, at least, of the supporters of the Resolution. I do not believe that the agricultural interest would be benefited by the success of the Motion. I do not question the sincerity of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire; it is his prudence which is, I think, at fault. He is overdoing the part of the farmer's friend, and his success would be followed by a strife between the people and the producers, which, I am confident, will not be to the advantage of the latter. Sir, the question before the House is one which must and should be determined by the interest of the consumer. I trust that what is called the landed interest—a term which I never employ, and I do not acknowledge, because I know not how to separate the interests of the people from those of the soil—I trust that the producers of food in this country will not seek their advantage in any limitation of supply; but that, while vigilant, as we should all be, for the avoidance and extirpation of disease, they will always be ready to render allegiance to those wider and general interests which should control and direct the action of the Legislature. I beg to move the Amendment of which I have given Notice.

Mr. GILES, in rising to second the Amendment, as one affecting the interests of his constituents, said, he desired to do nothing to prejudice the agricultural interest, or to lessen the importation of foreign cattle. The fact that the Motion made by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was seconded by an hon. and gallant Member on the Government side of the House, and that he (Mr. Giles) had seconded this Amendment showed that this was not a Party question, as it ought not to be, having reference to the supply of food for the people. His hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire was attempting to do that which he (Mr. Giles) conceived was an impossibility. He was not quite sure what they were contending for; but the hon. and gallant Member who seconded the Resolution (Colonel Kingscote) said at once that he did not wish for any alteration in the law, and that that was the effect of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold). His (Mr. Giles's) own idea of the precautions necessary in order to stamp out the disease was simply that the landing places should be isolated, and that the infected cattle should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation. At some eight or nine of the principal ports of the country over £500,000 had been spent in providing means for the reception and isolation of cattle, and the expenditure upon shipping, as applied to this purpose, would reach fully the same amount; so that a sum of at least £1,000,000 sterling would be lost if the proposal of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire were carried. There were many other weighty reasons why the landing of live cattle should not be prohibited. Professor Brown said that no exporting country was free from one or more of the diseases coming within the terms of the Act of 1878 as affecting live stock; and he also said that if we were to shut out the importation of live animals from suspected as well as from infected countries, we must be prepared to sacrifice the annual importation of no less than 344,000 cattle and of 1,114,000 sheep. Out of that large number imported it was proved that only 859 were diseased. This fact deserved very serious consideration; for surely it would be preferable to submit to that slight risk and loss rather than to imperil the supply of food. And it should be noted that, although the stock of live cattle was not increasing, the population was constantly increasing—in fact, the number of live stock in England, Wales, and Scotland since 1882 showed a decrease from 36,000,000 to 32,000,000 head. They all knew that meat was dear enough now, and if further restrictions were imposed the price would probably be increased by 15 or 20 per cent; and in the interest of the million, rather than that of a class, he would point out that the stoppage of the supply of foreign meat would deprive the poor of a very large portion of their means of subsistence. To such a proposal he was sure they would never willingly submit; and he, therefore, begged to second the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to add the words "the recent prevalence of foot and mouth disease calls for the continued and vigilant exercise on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the powers entrusted to it, not only with reference to the movement of live animals at home, but in regard to their importation from abroad, but this House does not consider it necessary, under present circumstances, to make further provision by legislation on the subject,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts 1869 and 1878, and specially as to whether it is possible to take further steps for preventing the introduction of contagious diseases from Abroad, without unduly interfering with the supply of food; and also whether the provisions for preventing the spread of disease can be made more effective,"

said, he fully agreed with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) in asserting the right of the farmers of the country to call on the Government to protect them, to the full extent of the powers entrusted to them by Parliament, from the introduction of infectious diseases from abroad. He must say, however, that he did not fully understand what was the object of the Resolution which the hon. Member had submitted to the House. It seemed to him (Mr. J. W. Barclay) that the hon. Member must mean one of two things—either that the Government had not acted with sufficient vigilance and care, or that he asked the Government to adopt a new policy, and to go beyond the powers which had been entrusted to them by the House. In the first instance, he should have expected that the hon. Member would have moved a Vote of Censure on the Government for their laxity; and, in the other case, the hon. Gentleman should have pointed to further legislation; and, if so, he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) should have been, in that case, happy to support him. The powers possessed by the Government were clearly stated in the discussions on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill in 1878. The general provisions in respect of the powers of the Privy Council were embodied in the 5th Schedule of that Bill, and were to the effect that all foreign cattle were to be slaughtered at the port of debarkation; but if the Privy Council were satisfied that no disease existed in the country whence the cattle came, they were to have discretionary power to remit the Slaughtering Clause, and admit the cattle into the country. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire referred to the first portion of Section 35 as giving power to the Privy Council to prohibit the importation of animals from any country they thought proper. But it was well understood that that clause was introduced for the purpose of giving the Privy Council powers to deal summarily with any new disease, and specially for the purpose of dealing with rinderpest. But if any doubt existed on that point, he wished to point out that a precisely similar clause existed in the Act of 1869, Clause 16 of which provided that the Privy Council might, from time to time, by Order in Council, in relation to foreign animals, prohibit their landing generally, or at any particular ports. That was precisely the clause which appeared in Section 35 of the Act of 1878; and if the view now advanced was correct, the Conservative Government which passed that Act might have exercised the same powers under the Act of 1869. It seemed to him clear that the Government had no power to exceed the restrictions they had already placed on the importation of foreign animals; and if there was anything to be done, the Resolution before the House should point to new legislation, for the purpose of carrying out the views which the hon. Member was advocating. He, therefore, could not look upon the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire as one that could be followed by any practical results, because the Government could not act in contradiction of the views expressed by their own officers. Neither could he support the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), for the reason that he did not consider the existing legislation with regard to cattle disease perfect. After referring to the various Committees that had sat on this subject, the hon. Member said they were now asked to take what was clearly a new step by the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. That, he thought, was a step well worthy of the consideration of the House; but it seemed to him that this was a question which ought to be discussed upon a Bill to be introduced by the Government, and that before they proceeded to that step further inquiry should be made. If they were to proceed further in the suppression of foot-and-mouth disease, they should have a Committee to inquire into the experience of the working of the Act of 1878. There were several Amendments that occurred to him as desirable in the existing legislation. One Amendment that he would suggest was, that the local authorities in England should be representative, and not the Quarter Sessions. In Scotland, the representative bodies acted with very great promptitude and decision, and the action of the local authorities in Scotland had been attended with very great success. Were it not that disease was imported from time to time from the South—in the case of his own country particularly by Irish cattle—there would be no disease; and if they could prevent the introduction of those diseased animals from Ireland the existing state of the law would be perfectly satisfactory to the farmers in Scotland. Another defect in the existing legislation was, that in every county in Scotland there were many local authorities who sometimes issued contradictory regulations. It certainly would conduce very much to simplify the restrictions for stamping out disease, if there were only one local authority for each county, the burghs being represented on that local authority. He thought it ought to be the duty of the new Agricultural Department to see that the Act was carried out by the local authorities, and if they failed, the Department should step in and carry it out at the expense of the local authority. Another point to which he wished to invite the attention of the House was, that farmers were very deeply interested in the importation of store cattle from abroad. The Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire pointed at the total prevention of the introduction of store cattle from abroad. He looked forward to great advantage from the importation of store cattle from America. He quite admitted that, in the present state of affairs in the United States, it would be unsafe to allow the importation of store cattle; but the United States Government were beginning to take such measures as he hoped would have the effect of exterminating these contagious diseases. When that was accomplished, it would be a great advantage to the farmers of this country if store cattle were permitted to come from abroad. It was very desirable to encourage the breeding of cattle; but, as between breeding and importing store cattle, it was really a question of profit, and all depended on whether it was more profitable to breed or to import store cattle. He was in favour of allowing the British farmer to get the advantage of store cattle from abroad, if he could possibly do so, without the risk of disease being imported at the same time. If the Resolution of the hon. Member was passed, they should be just precisely where they were, unless it was intended as a Vote of Censure upon the Government, because, if the Government had no power to go further, it was necessary that they should have legislation. It was, of course, impossible to carry any Bill on the subject through the House this Session. The Select Committee could commence its Sittings at once, and lay out the ground which it proposed to investigate, and legislation might take place next Session on the Report of that Committee. That, he thought, was the proper course to adopt in the circumstances, and likely to have results most quickly.

MR. MUNDELLA: I am afraid, Sir, after what fell from the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote), that I ought to apologize to the House for taking part in the debate, and that the duty of replying upon the Resolution should be left to the person who is now responsible for the Agricultural Department; but I think that, as I have only recently been relieved of the duties connected with the Department, and as I have been in charge of it for nearly three years, if there is any blame attached for any *laches* or shortcomings on the part of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, I am responsible for, and at least ought to be able to answer for, those *laches*. I have had, what I shall ever regard as long as I live, the honour and the great privilege of serving under Lord Spencer as President of the Council; and I am certain that no man who ever occupied that position ever devoted himself more thoroughly to the work of the Department than Lord Spencer did. The noble Lord is himself a practical farmer, and has the greatest sympathy with all questions relating to agriculture; and, moreover, he brought to bear upon the discharge of his duties a zeal and earnestness which I believe have never been, and never will be, surpassed. I can safely say that whatever credit may be due for anything which has been done in carrying out the Act during the last three years is entirely due to Lord Spencer. I can say that, for my own part, I brought no special knowledge, and no experience, to the work of the Department; but this I did bring—a resolution to support loyally my Chief in any measure he deemed necessary for dealing with disease, and a determination not to shirk any responsibility, either from any unpopularity it might bring from my own side of the House or elsewhere, in carrying out measures, however strong or rigorous they might be, for the purpose of stamping out the disease. During the two years before May, 1882, the Act was administered entirely under the personal control and superintendence of Lord Spencer himself, and my noble Friend succeeded the Duke of Richmond, who was the author of the Act. If any man was determined to make the Act a success, it was the Duke of Richmond. The noble Duke also was a practical farmer. He had thorough sympathy with farmers, and no man ever brought to the discharge of his duties a greater determination to stamp out disease than the Duke of Richmond did when he passed the Act in 1878. At that time he had the very able assistance of Professor Brown, of the Veterinary College, and Mr. Lennox Peel, the Clerk to the Privy Council. Mr. Peel was the right hand of the noble Duke, and one of the best public servants we ever had. Lord Spencer brought the same practical knowledge and the same sympathy with the agricultural interest to bear upon the subject as his Predecessor; and, what is more, he devoted to it his great power of work, and that mastery of all details, which is one of his great characteristics. His ambition was, I am certain—because I was in daily communication with the late Lord President—his one ambition was, to free the country from disease. Lord Spencer, as the Head of the Department, acting upon the experience of his Predecessor, and with the aid of an admirable Staff, and with arrangements already made for carrying out the system—by his own vigorous administration, by the important improvements he introduced into the Metropolitan and Provincial markets, by the series of Orders by which he completed the machinery of the measures for suppressing disease—has brought the Act into a state of efficiency which is only now beginning to tell on the disease throughout the country. I am satisfied that Lord Carlingford is proceeding on the same line as my noble Friend (Lord Spencer) and that he is devoting himself to the new Agricultural Department. If hon. Gentlemen opposite, and, indeed, some hon. Members behind me, will only give the Act time to prove its efficiency—it has only been in work for four years at present, seeing that it began in 1879—if they will only give the Act time to show itself, I think they will find that it will give the country the maximum of security with the minimum of restriction on the food supply of the people. Some hon. Gentlemen opposite have intimated by their cheers and by their speeches that the Privy Council of the present Government have been wanting in their devotion to the protection of the agricultural interest. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) read a letter, in which the writer said that he placed all shortcomings at the door of the Government. [*Cheers from the Opposition.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer that sentiment. Let us see if there is not a witness somewhat more impartial than the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire and Mr. Little. I am about to quote from a speech made by the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, on the 16th of April last. The noble Duke said—

> "I am quite prepared to admit that Her Majesty's Government have done all in their power to check this disease. The Lord President has carried out the Act in the most energetic manner, by placing severe restrictions upon the farmers of the country, and by shutting up fairs and markets. The Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, which I had the honour to re-organize under the direction of Professors Brown and Cope, has been all that could be desired. I doubt, indeed, whether I should have been able to carry out the severe restrictions which the noble Lord (Lord Spencer) imposed."—(3 *Hansard*, [278] 277.)

The fact is that the Duke of Richmond himself, in the handsomest manner, has again and again admitted to me that he could not have done more than we have done, and that we have gone beyond what probably he would have been permitted to do. The reason of that is very obvious. We have been able to enforce restrictions, because we have not been suspected of any desire for Protection; and it is well known by every hon. Member that our only object has been to prevent disease. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire suggests that the repeated Motions which have been brought forward indicate a want of success, and the dissatisfaction which exists in regard to the action of the Privy Council, and their administration of the Act of 1878. For my part, however, I maintain, on the contrary, that the Motion of the hon. Gentleman to-night, and the other Resolutions which he has repeatedly moved, together with the speeches he has made, are themselves tributes to the success of the Act of 1878. For the last three years foot-and-mouth disease has almost been the only disease mentioned in this House. Was that so in 1877 and 1878? In those years, almost every Member in this House thought solely of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia, and foot-and-mouth disease was almost spoken of with bated breath as a secondary question. I am speaking within the recollection of every Member of the House who was here in 1878, when I say that pleuro-pneumonia was the fatal disease then spoken of; and it was mainly on account of pleuro-pneumonia that the Act of 1878 was passed. Foot-and-mouth disease was treated as requiring much less consideration than pleuro-pneumonia. Then let me show what the Act of 1878 has done, and what the arrangements of the Privy Council have done for the restriction of pleuro-pneumonia, which, it must be remembered, is a fatal disease. Animals once attacked by it never recover from it. [Mr. CHAPLIN: This is a debate on foot-and-mouth disease.] No; it is not a debate upon foot-and-mouth disease alone, and what I wish to show is, that the Act of 1878 has worked well on behalf of the agriculturists of the country generally; that it is still working well; and that if hon. Members will only give it a fair trial, it will do the work which it was originally introduced to do. In Great Britain, in 1877, there were 2,077 outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia, and 5,330 animals were attacked. In 1878 there were 1,721 outbreaks; in 1879, 2,170; and they gradually diminished, until in 1882 there were only 494 outbreaks against 2,077 in 1877, and the number of animals affected was reduced from 5,330 to 1,200. I believe that we have every right to expect that in two or three years from this time, if the local authorities will only use the powers invested in them, and slaughter the animals that have been in contact with beasts infected by pleuro-pneumonia, the disease will be altogether stamped out in this country, as it has been in Holland. Is that no small praise to the Act? Holland was the great focus of pleuro-pneumonia. It was the scourge of Holland down to 1871; and in that year there were no less than 6,079 cases of pleuro-pneumonia in the small stock of that country. Then they commenced to do what we are now doing, and what has been the result? They began in 1871 with 6,079 cases; in 1872, there were 4,009; in 1873, 2,479; in 1874, 2,414; in 1876, 1,723; in 1878, 698; in 1880, 48; in 1881, 99; and in 1682 none. Through the operation of the Act, pleuro-pneumonia has been reduced in this country by 75 per cent, and we have not had a single case of rinderpest. Not even a single case of sheep-rot had occurred; and, although we have been subjected to an attack of foot-and-mouth disease, even that has been kept within limits, compared with all former attacks. That, I think, will prove that the work of the Act has been successful. The hon. Member spoke of hundreds of thousands of attacks. There have been only 12,000 outbreaks, and 200,000 animals have been affected in three years, out of 32,000,000 which exist in the country. Far be it from me to depreciate the importance of foot-and-mouth disease to the farmers. I never have done so, and the hon. Member has misunderstood the effect of anything I have ever said with regard to breeding. The worst case that ever came to my knowledge happened to a personal friend of my own in North Nottinghamshire. He got foot-and-mouth disease among his ewes, and he lost 800 lambs. That was the worst case I ever knew, and I have not been in this Department for three years without knowing something about this matter. But what I have pointed out is surely no insignificant result of four years' working of the Act; and it is not fair to come down to the House and make an attack, which is virtually an attack upon the Government, for not having performed their duty. [*Cries of* "No!"] That is all very well; but I have heard responsive cheers from hon. Members opposite, and I know the signification of them; and, if it is necessary, I can produce a letter from Mr. Clare Read, who is not an unimportant authority in this House, and also from other authorities, thanking us for the courage we have displayed in standing by the restrictions imposed by this Act. I will just refer to what Mr. Clare Read wrote on the 27th of July, 1882. After sending me a letter of thanks, he said—

> "We have in Norfolk only one infected place of pleuro and one of swine fever, and no other case of any sort of contagious disease. We have not had such a clean bill of health in Norfolk for 30 years. Since the markets were stopped, we have only had one fresh outbreak of foot-and-mouth, and, telegraphing up to your office, you promptly declared an infected district, and the disease did not escape from it. Norfolk has been entirely free from that disease for some time past."

MR. HENEAGE: What did Mr. Clare Read say at a deputation a short time ago?

MR. MUNDELLA: I have not seen Mr. Clare Read at a deputation; but I know that Mr. Clare Read is the last man to deny his own handwriting. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Chaplin), on a recent occasion, declared that the Act of 1878 was one of the best and wisest measures ever passed for the benefit of the agricultural community. He now calls on the House to subvert the Act entirely. [MR. CHAPLIN: No; to carry it out.] Instead of asking us to carry it out, the hon. Member calls upon us to destroy it—to eviscerate and emasculate it, and to deprive it entirely of its main principle. The principle advocated from one end of the opposite Benches to the other was the principle of slaughter at the ports. Here is a description of what were the objects of the Act, and how they were to be accomplished. This is a speech delivered by an hon. Gentleman, on the 27th of June, 1878, when the Act was passed. The hon. Gentleman said—

> "Its object was to stamp out diseases at home, and to prevent their re-introduction from abroad, and it sought to attain its objects by imposing severe restrictions at home, and enacting compulsory slaughter at the ports. It was not intended by compulsory slaughter to stamp out disease, but to prevent disease from coming in, and it had not been shown that the

object would not be attained. Of course, it was the common object of all not to restrict, but to enlarge supply, and not to increase, but to lessen, the cost of food to the people."—(3 *Hansard,* [241] 345.)

Who was it who, on that occasion, told the House that the object of the Bill was to enact compulsory slaughter at the ports? It was the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire himself, and, in the opinion of the hon. Member, the whole object of the Act was to enact compulsory slaughter at the ports. To-night the hon. Member asked the House to abolish compulsory slaughter altogether, and to substitute for it total prohibition. [Mr. CHAPLIN: I say that compulsory slaughter has failed.] In that case, the hon. Member should come down with a Bill, and not with an abstract Resolution. He should ask us to legislate. Let us have a plain, straightforward statement, not for compulsory slaughter, but for total abolition. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said, in 1878, that he doubted if we could anticipate the period when foot-and-mouth disease would not prevail, even in the healthiest countries. He added that it might be necessary to enforce compulsory slaughter at the ports, as it was only by that means we could get rid of the disease. And the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), who had charge of the Bill, must have made 50 speeches on compulsory slaughter; all declaring that the object was not the restriction of importation; that that was the last thing contemplated; but that what was contemplated was the regulation of importation by slaughter at the ports. In short, I might almost exhaust *Hansard* if I were to read all the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite to the same effect. I cannot believe, therefore, that it is the intention of the House to-night to pass this Resolution without inquiry—to see how, wherein, and why, the Act has failed. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) says that it is too late to inquire. If it is too late to inquire, it is evidently too late to legislate. [Mr. CHAPLIN: We do not want legislation.] Then, what does the hon. Member propose? Does the hon. Member intend that the Privy Council should violate the whole spirit and intention of the Act of Parliament? [Mr. CHAPLIN: No.] I am afraid that the hon. Gentleman does not quite understand the nature of the Act that was passed. The contention, as expressed in the Resolution, is that slaughter at the ports has proved ineffectual; and, therefore, it is necessary to have total prohibition. ["No, no!"] Let me show hon. Members what the Resolution does mean before we go further. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Read the Resolution.] The Resolution is exceedingly plausible, and most ingenious; but it means total prohibition. ["No, no!"] Let me show the House how it runs. The main principle of the Act of 1878 is that all animals should be slaughtered at the port of landing, subject to two exceptions. What are those two exceptions? They are that the Privy Council should have power to prohibit absolutely the importation of animals from exceptionally diseased countries; and it is further required that the rule of slaughter should be suspended in the case of animals from exceptionally healthy countries. The rule is slaughter at the ports. The exceptions are total prohibition and free admission. Now, from all countries subjected to cattle plague the universal rule established by our Predecessors, and also for all countries likely, on account of their proximity, to be affected, has been to prohibit all importation—for instance, from Russia, the Turkish Provinces, Germany, Austria, and other countries where cattle plague constantly exists. Those are cases in which you would be entirely justified in having recourse to prohibition; and prohibition was enforced, long before the passing of this Act, in regard to those countries. Thus, in the exercise of the discretion vested in the Privy Council, they have, in exceptional cases, brought temporally under Schedule 5 certain other cases; and, because they have done that, the hon. Gentleman comes down and says—"You ought to prohibit universally." ["No, no!"] I say yes; and let me explain. The Privy Council could not work the Act unless they had this discretion, in exceptional cases of outbreak of disease, to come in and suspend importation. Let us take the first case that happened. Portugal, for instance, sent her animals here.

She was an exceptionally healthy country, and the animals she sent were admitted into the interior of this country. But before the Government were aware of it we discovered that they had foot-and-mouth disease in Portugal. It was discovered by a veterinary surgeon who was travelling in that country. We made our own inquiry, and at once said—"The disease itself exists, and your animals must be slaughtered at the port." Before a single diseased animal came in, we condemned them to be slaughtered at the ports. That was a stage downwards; but there are stages upwards. We compelled them to be slaughtered at the port, and then the disease became so bad that the wharves at Oporto became impregnated with disease. The ships became impregnated with disease; and, that being the case, we said—"We shall have nothing but disease if we allow it to go on. We will, therefore, suspend the importation for a month, in order that you may inspect and disinfect your landing stages, wharves, and vessels, and provide means for sending us healthy cattle." We suspended the importation for a month or two, and the result of the very stringent measures that we adopted was that perfectly healthy cattle were obtained, and we have received healthy cattle ever since. Indeed, I may say that there are no fatter, or more useful, cattle now in the market than the Peninsular cattle. But the hon. Gentleman opposite would not allow them to come in. His Motion is to prohibit them altogether; and when next they are allowed to come in, they will be permitted to go straight into the country. ["No, no!"] I say, yes; because you destroy the intermediate stage. The importation from Canada and other countries has been restricted. The hon. Gentleman, in his estimate of the Returns, said that there had been a large increase of healthy stock from America. Let me warn the hon. Gentleman against the danger of prophesying. In 1878, the hon. Gentleman omitted America from the Bill, because he said it was a healthy country, and free from disease. But what was the result? In less than one month after the Act came into operation the whole of the American supply of cattle had to be slaughtered at the ports of debarkation. How is the hon. Member to know, if he carries his Resolution to-night, and it comes into operation to-morrow, that the three countries, which he says to-day are free from disease, may not be infected to-morrow? We should then be in this condition—that we should not have a single foreign animal entering our ports. What I want to ask the House is this. The hon. Gentleman has condemned the words of the Schedule which compel us to admit foreign animals, when in a healthy condition, and he has inverted them so as to compel us to exclude all animals, on the slightest suspicion of their not being free from disease, so that we should be surrounded with difficulties. If we are not satisfied, if we have the slightest suspicion that disease exists in any country, we are to prohibit the importation of live animals from that country. That is not the Act, and it is contrary to the spirit of the Act, and the intention of the Act. The Resolution says—

> "That this House desires to urge on Her Majesty's Government the importance of taking effectual measures for the suppression of foot and mouth disease throughout the United Kingdom, and it is of opinion that, while for this purpose it is necessary that adequate restrictions, under the powers vested in the Privy Council, should be imposed on the movements and transit of cattle at home, it is even more important, with a view to its permanent extinction, that the landing of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from any Countries as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased."

What conditions are there there? Total prohibition, and free admission. What has become of compulsory slaughter? What animals are you to slaughter, if diseased animals are to be prohibited, and healthy animals are to be admitted freely? What are you going to slaughter? I want to know what would be the effect of this Resolution? I am prepared to show—and I think I shall be supported in my contention by those who have had the daily administration of this Act—that the Resolution of the hon. Gentleman, if carried into practical operation, would be as disastrous to the producer as to the consumer. In 1882, the total exports from foreign countries, including sheep and swine, amounted to 1,483,858. Of that number, if the Resolution were carried, no less than 1,169,776, would come under the Resolution of the hon. Gentleman, and would at once be excluded from the country—upwards of 1,100,000 out of 1,400,000, and these would be not the poor inferior cattle, but fine large fat animals from America, animals weighing not from 500 to 550 lbs., but from 1,000 to 1,500 lbs. What would be the effect on the people of this country of excluding four-fifths of the whole of their foreign meat supply? These four-fifths of the entire supply would go at once, and there would be only one-fifth left, and that would follow immediately when the first suspicion arose that there was a single diseased animal among them. So that it is within the range of possibility that, within a month after the passing of the Resolution, we shall have the total prohibition of the importation of foreign animals. How would that affect the consumer? The hon. Gentleman says it would not affect them at all. I was astounded to hear the hon. Gentleman say so, for I never heard a greater statistical blunder in my life, that the amount of meat to be excluded only amounted to 4 per cent of the whole consumption. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Of the whole annual consumption.] Does the hon. Gentleman include foreign meat, and bacon, and pork of every kind? He first drew attention to the home production, and then he came to the foreign importation, and he said that 4 per cent was the only amount excluded from the fresh meat supply.

MR. CHAPLIN: What I said was that the whole annual consumption of meat in the country might be divided under three heads—first, home-grown meat; secondly, meat imported alive; and, thirdly, meat imported dead; and, in the dead meat, I expressly include fresh meat, salt pork, and all other meats except hams.

MR. MUNDELLA: The hon. Member is still very much in error. Four per cent is 1-25th part of the meat supply of this country. The hon. Gentleman says that only comes to £6,250,000. Now, 25 times £6,250,000 amounts to something like £160,000,000; and therefore it means that £160,000,000 are spent in meat in this country. Does the hon. Member stand to that? If he does, he is a greater authority than Sir James Caird, or any other man I ever heard of, who has made a calculation. I never heard of £160,000,000 a-year being spent in meat in this country. [Mr. CHAPLIN: I never said it was.] But the hon. Member said 4 per cent, and I am prepared to say that the importations of the last six months were at the rate of from £10,500,000 to £11,000,000 a-year. The Resolution of the hon. Member would exclude £8,500,000 of that importation, and, multiply that by 25, you get more than £200,000,000. [Mr. CHAPLIN: What is the actual weight?] I can give you the value very much better than the weight. The average weight of the animals, however, could be ascertained, and the figures added up accurately. In 1878 Sir James Caird estimated that our home supply of meat and dairy produce, exclusive of milk, but including butter and cheese, amounted, in value, to £100,000,000. Since that time he estimates that, owing to the great falling-off in sheep, the meat supply has been diminished by something like 10 per cent, so that about £9,000,000 now represent the home supply. Now, the foreign supply of live meat alone is over £10,000,000. I have heard an hon. Member say that it was diseased; but I am sorry to say that it is much healthier meat than our own, and out of 30,000 animals imported within the last six weeks only six were found to be diseased. I wish we could say we could export 30,000 animals and only have the same amount of disease. After the most careful investigation I have been able to make, and after consulting Sir James Caird, and Mr. Giffen, and Captain Craigie's Reports two or three times over, I find that one-sixth of the fresh meat consumed in England, and one-ninth of the fresh mutton, are supplied to us from abroad. I should like, only the hour is so late, to trouble the House with some extracts from a letter from Sir James Caird. I made inquiries of Sir James Caird as to the increasing supply we are happily getting in this country from the earlier maturity of meat. There is no doubt that, owing to that fact, an increased supply is brought to the market, during the last 30 years, much earlier than it used to be. As far as cattle are concerned, they come into the market a year earlier than they used to do, and the sheep very much earlier also. An hon. Friend opposite told me recently that he had sold a lot of Dorset lambs at 72*s.* a-head, and that meat was produced in the market at a very much earlier period than was the custom in former times. Sir James Caird writes to the following effect:—After corroborating what I have already mentioned, as to cattle arriving at maturity at a much earlier age than they used to do, he goes on to say that any change in the laying out of arable land in grass is more than counterbalanced by the great increase of population, which increase has brought an increased demand for supply that has required, since 1872, an addition of one-tenth to our home stock of cattle, or, that failing, an equivalent import of animals from abroad. Ireland did not send us a single bad animal during the whole of my experience. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire ridiculed the idea, which I threw out on a former occasion, that the effect of the falling-off in the supply would be to raise the price of meat 2*d.* or 3*d.* per lb.

MR. CHAPLIN: I did not. The statement I complained of was this—that it would raise the price of meat to famine rates.

MR. MUNDELLA: And I contend that 2*d.* or 3*d.* per lb. higher than the present price of meat would be famine rates to a considerable portion of our population. At this moment, the two things that press the heaviest on the earnings of the working man are the cost of rent and the price of meat. I am satisfied that, in speaking of 2*d.* or 3*d.* in the lb., I am within the mark. I say there is no instance on record of the supply of any article of ordinary consumption having been decreased by one-tenth where an increase of more than 2*d.* or 3*d.* in the lb. was not brought about; a decrease of one-tenth in the supply of corn, cotton, coal, or almost any article of daily consumption, means an increase of at least three-tenths in the cost. What proportion of the foreign supply of meat is sold in London? Of all the animals sold at the London market more than 50 per cent of the cattle are foreign, more than 61 per cent of the sheep are foreign, and 94 per cent of the swine. That, by the most moderate calculation, would supply fresh meat for the whole population of Scotland; and certainly it could not be taken out of the supply of this country without the most serious risk of a meat famine arising, especially amongst the poorer classes of our population. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire says we shall have a dead meat trade if this trade in live animals is reduced, and that is the contention of my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. James Howard). Well, I am surprised at that, after the statements that have appeared again and again about the results of our prohibitions in Germany and Belgium. If the hon. Member will only turn to the last Report of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, he will find that Professor Brown states that during the six years before 1877—that is to say, the six years of the prohibition in regard to those two countries—we had lost about 25,000 head of cattle annually from Germany and Belgium, representing something like 1,000,000 cwt. of beef. Such has been the effect of total prohibition in Germany and Belgium. We prohibited live cattle coming from Germany and Belgium for fear of the rinderpest, and we had six years experience of that prohibition. We did not receive, in exchange for that prohibition, one single pound of dead meat. It is said—"If you stimulate the dead meat trade, you will benefit the Colonies, as you will then develop the supply from New Zealand and Australia." It is also said—"Cannot you have a dead meat trade with your Colonies;" but hon. Gentlemen who say that do not have regard to the facts of the case. What are the facts with regard to the Australian and New Zealand dead meat? The meat goes to the refrigerators at from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a-head, and it has been sold in this country at from 5½*d.* to 6½*d.* per lb. How much does the Australian grower get for his mutton? Why, if it sells at 6*d.* a-lb. he gets exactly 2½*d.*, 3½*d.* going to the cost of refrigeration, carriage, and sale in the London market. Could you expect America and the Continent of Europe to send us meat when their prices are so near to ours? They would not send us meat at prices so near their own, but would send it to the markets nearer their doors. How could you expect them to send their meat, and lose what the butchers call the fifth quarter—namely, the offal? The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire says that if the Government will only prohibit the importation of live animals we shall be able to produce all the meat we require at home; but I do not credit that. I believe we have produced all we can at home, and of that I am assured by the very best judges. There is a great difference of opinion upon this question, and my own is worth nothing; but I hear from men who are well informed on this question that now-a-days a farmer has every inducement to send stock to market, but that yet the supply has fallen off, not so much on account of the foot-and-mouth disease, as from causes which are not preventible. The country lost in 1879-80 nearly 3,000,000 sheep from fluke and river-rot; and this is not the only nation that suffered. In Prussia the stock decreased from 19,000,000 to 14,000,000, owing to bad seasons; and New Zealand, Australia, and America have also lost vast quantities of sheep and cattle owing to the prevalence of wet seasons. All over the world the inclement weather has had the same effect. How long do you think it would take the farmer to overtake the constantly-increasing demand if no adequate supply is coming to this country? Why, it would take many years and £40,000,000 or £50,000,000 to overtake the demand. This country can take all the foreigners can send to market, besides all it can obtain from home growth. We are adding to our population a Leeds or a Birmingham every year, and these people have to be fed. What would total prohibition do? Would it secure that entire immunity from contagious disease that the hon. Member anticipates? In 1871 we had no less than 65,000 attacks of foot-and-mouth disease, and the number of animals affected was something enormous, as much as 650,000, I believe. During the last three years we have had 12,000 cases, and 200,000 animals attacked. As a matter of fact, in one month in 1871 there were more animals attacked than in the whole of the last three years. Look at the condition of the country now as compared with what it was in 1841. If you could not keep the disease out in 1841, how are you going to keep it out now? It is admitted that the foot-and-mouth disease is the most infectious and most insidious disease that you can possibly have; and you know that the infection can be carried, not only by animals, but by drovers and others. It has recently been conveyed to Ireland by other means than an animal. ["No, no!"] Well, I know all about the bull; I have a full Report here from Lord Spencer and the Head of the Veterinary Department, and I know that the bull had nothing to do with it—he took the disease when he got there. The disease was taken by the drovers and dealers that go from England. The hon. Gentleman says it has been taken out at Deptford. The disease is so subtle that one hon. Member was reduced to the supposition that the infection had been taken to his animals by the sea-gulls. The hon. Gentleman was not far wrong in supposing that the germs of the disease are conveyed with the greatest possible ease, and that it is with the greatest possible difficulty that you can eradicate them. The market produce which comes from France—hides, hoofs, horns—all these may carry the disease with them; even the ships that convey them may bring the disease. How, therefore, can we hope that we shall escape, even if we stop the importation of live animals? Every ship that comes into our ports is, in itself, a centre of disease; but the greatest danger of all that could be set up would be that which would be established if the hon. Gentleman succeeds in what he desires. The plan of slaughtering animals abroad would not answer the purpose, for the consequence would be that large dead meat markets would take the place of the Deptford Market in France, Boulogne, Ostend, and other parts. We should have our butchers and dealers passing backwards and forwards to those markets day by day, bringing home the disease with them; and, bear in mind, there would then be none of those regulations in force which are now applied so effectually. I believe the more the House inquires into this proposition the more it will be found to be fraught with danger, both to the producer and the consumer. If the hon. Member will move for a Committee of Inquiry to ascertain what should be done, I believe that good ground could be found for it. I have never seen a Notice of that kind on the Paper from him, however. We have had five years' experience of the working of the Act, and it is quite possible that it might be amended. I think, and I have always thought, that it would be an excellent thing if we could, by some means or other—I am only throwing out the suggestion—that it would be a good thing if, when a cargo of animals arrives, there were some place separate—an island in the Thames, for instance—to which they could be taken. At any rate, the Act has been five years in operation, and it has been worked with the utmost rigour by the Privy Council Department. The Department has acted in accordance with the lines laid down in that Act; and we cannot go beyond the law, although we are as anxious to do everything in our power to eradicate the disease as the hon. Gentleman himself can be.

MR. JAMES HOWARD: I desire to address a few observations to the House with regard to the vote which I am about to record. My right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) has thrown out a suggestion that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), instead of the Motion before the House, would have done well to move for a Committee of Inquiry. Three or four months ago I placed upon the Order Book of this House a Notice of Motion upon that subject; but I received so little encouragement from the Government that I allowed the Notice to drop. I should not have said one word as to the administration of the Act of 1878, if it were not for the remarks of my right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council, who has challenged inquiry as to its administration; and, therefore, I would ask why, when the outbreak took place from the Deptford Market, in a certain cattle-shed in London, the Government did not exercise the power which the Act gave of slaughtering the animals in contact with those diseased?

MR. MUNDELLA said, the disease was not carried out by animals, but by men?

MR. JAMES HOWARD: There can be no question that the disease escaped from the cattle market; and it is also a fact, that cannot be denied, that the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council allowed the disease to escape into the country. If the Department had exercised the powers which the Act gave them, of "putting out the fire" in that particular shed, we should not have been debating this question at the present moment. I would also ask why the Government, when foot-and-mouth disease had been reduced, as it were, to a nutshell in the country, did not exercise the power conferred by Clause 29 of the Act, which empowers the Privy Council—

> "To slaughter, and pay compensation for animals, other than those affected with pleuro-pneumonia and cattle plague."

This is the third occasion on which the subject of cattle regulations has been brought before the present Parliament. The first occasion was on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), who proposed to relax the existing restrictions, with the view of allowing imported animals to be moved inward. I thought it my duty to oppose that proposal, and I did so on two grounds—first, because of the danger of such a step to our own flocks and herds; and, secondly, because it would have disturbed a compromise arrived at, after long contention, only two years previously. There were three parties to the settlement of the question in 1878. One of those parties maintained the necessity of total prohibition of live animals, of slaughter at the port of embarkation; and another party upheld the doctrine of unrestricted importation; while the third—and, as I thought at the time, the more moderate and wiser party—contended for slaughter at the port of debarkation. The Act of 1878 was based upon this principle. It was thought by hon. Members on both sides, when that Act was passed, that it would be sufficient to safeguard the owners of the flocks and herds of the Kingdom, and that it was an arrangement satisfactory to the great bulk of the farmers. The next occasion on which the subject was discussed was when the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, in the subsequent year, brought forward a Motion very similar to that which he has proposed to-night, and which I felt compelled, reluctantly, to oppose. I opposed that Motion precisely on the same ground that I had done that of the hon. Member for Salford—namely, that an Act of Parliament, which had been passed with great difficulty only two years previously, containing some 88 clauses and 7 Schedules, should not be lightly disturbed; that, since the Act was passed, the country had been subjected to only one outbreak; and that the circumstances were not sufficiently serious to take the step indicated in the Resolution. I said on that occasion—

> "That it was too soon to upset the compromise arrived at, after years of contention, between the great centres of population and the agricultural interest;"

and I was further influenced at that time by an expression of opinion from Professor Brown, the Head of the Veterinary Department, who had assured the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society that the Act of 1878 was sufficient, if it were vigorously enforced. Two years have elapsed since that Motion was discussed, and experience has proved, either that the opinion of Professor Brown was erroneous, or that the Act of 1878 has not been vigorously enforced. Whether that opinion was erroneous or not, and whether the opinion since expressed by the Lord Chancellor, as to the insufficiency of the Act, be sound or not, the fact remains that the farmers of the Kingdom and the cattle trade have been subjected not only to a vast amount of inconvenience, but also to frightful losses. What is still more serious is, that we seem to be no nearer to the extirpation of this troublesome disease than we were in 1880; and I believe that Professor Brown entertains little hope of stamping out the disease within a reasonable time, unless invested with far greater powers. When times were tolerably good, farmers endured the losses without making any great complaint; but now, when it has become a simple struggle for existence, there is no wonder that they demand—as they have a right to demand—more efficient means for stamping out the disease and preventing its importation from abroad. I have suffered great losses from time to time in my own flocks and herds, and can therefore sympathize with others, and I believe if hon. Friends near me had been subjected to similar losses, their sympathies would also have been extended more than they are to the struggling tenant farmers. It is quite true, as the Vice President of the Council has said, that the Act of 1878 has been most efficacious, so far as pleuro-pneumonia and rinderpest are concerned; but it is equally true that the Act has been a failure in respect of the troublesome disease which we are discussing to-night. Nor is this disease so innocuous as some of those middlemen, who are connected with the cattle trade, would lead the public and Parliament to believe. Foot-and-mouth disease is an eruptive fever, and although it is not so fatal as some other diseases, it is highly contagious, and inflicts frightful losses on the country. Cows affected with this disease speedily lose their milk. They are apt to become barren, and the disease leads also to abortion. In fact, foot-and-mouth disease strikes at the very root of food production. "Oh! but," say some of those interested men in the cattle trade, "this disease does not come from abroad; it is generated at home; it existed in this country long before there was importation." That also was the tendency of the observations of my right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council; but, with the permission of the House, I shall, in a few minutes, show the utter groundlessness of that assertion. It is true that Dr. Layard, as long ago as 1747, chronicled an outbreak of cattle murrain in this country; but, although it was of an eruptive character, it is evident from his statements that it was not the troublesome disease with which we now have to contend. I shall quote an extract which will show that it was of foreign origin. What said Dr. Layard as long ago as 1747? He said—

> "Care and time may extirpate the disease; at least, such devastation as has happened of late years may be prevented. But, of all cautions, prohibiting the importation of infected cattle and hides is of the greatest importance; since, for want of due attention, this distemper may repeatedly be introduced."

That extract conclusively shows it was the prevalent opinion of the time that the disease was of foreign origin. Now, I would call attention to a few facts which tend to show—if they do not conclusively prove—that our native cattle are not liable to outbreaks of contagious disease. I am in possession of the library of a distinguished agriculturist, the late Mr. Fisher Hobbs; and, looking through that library, I discovered a number of essays and books on the epizootic diseases of this country. In none of the books published in the early part of the present century can I find the least mention of any of the contagious diseases now prevalent. In Pearson's *House, Cattle, and Sheep Doctor*, published in 1811, the author, a veterinary surgeon of long experience in the grazing county of Leicester, treats of some 60 diseases of cattle and sheep, and of their remedies; but no mention whatever is made of either foot-and-mouth disease or pleuro-pneumonia. Clater was a great authority on cattle diseases, and no mention is made of those two diseases in the early editions of his *Cattle Doctor*; but in the 10th edition, published in 1853, I find the following remark:—

> "Since the eighth edition of this work was published, a new disease (foot-and-mouth) has appeared among cattle and sheep, and for the last 12 years has spread through the Kingdom, scarcely sparing a single parish."

As to the origin of this disease, after careful investigation, I have come to the conclusion that Professor Youatt was right, when he traced the first outbreak to certain lots of the bovine species, which were imported in 1839 for the Zoological Gardens, after which foot-and-mouth disease was immediately discovered in the suburbs of London. As to the alleged spontaneous origin of this disease, this is also a question of great importance. Take the case of Ireland. In giving evidence before the Select Committee of this House in 1877, I ventured upon a prediction. I said that although Ireland was a hot-bed of foot-and-mouth disease, if it were once stamped out, it would never appear again until it was re-imported. That has been the case. After the Act of 1878 was put in force, not a single case of foot-and-mouth disease occurred in that country, which was formerly a hot-bed of the disease, until re-introduced by a bull sent there in the present year. The Vice President of the Council has said that it was taken by drovers. At all events, whether taken by drovers or by the bull from Liverpool is not material to the argument that foot-and-mouth disease was stamped out in Ireland, and that no case occurred until it was re-introduced. Then take the case of England. After the outbreak of rinderpest in 1865, foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia were all but stamped out in this country, and no serious outbreak occurred again until their re-importation. Then, after the Act of 1878, foot-and-mouth disease was completely extirpated in England, and not a single case occurred in any part of the country until that unfortunate cargo of animals was landed at Deptford. Evidence was adduced, in 1877, to show that animals themselves are the chief carriers of disease. Evidence was also given to show that there were remote places in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, in which this disease had never been known. The explanation was that these remote places were not importing, but exporting districts. For the assertion that these diseases are generated by dirt, exposure, or from any other natural cause—although alleged by interested middlemen—there is not a particle of foundation. There is not an atom of evidence to show that those diseases are indigenous in our native cattle, and no veterinary surgeon of any eminence in this country or Europe has ever given in his adhesion to any such theory. These contagious diseases are no more indigenous to the cattle of this country than are yellow fever or leprosy or cholera morbus in the human family. Seeing the danger of those imported diseases to the flocks and herds of the country, it behoves Members of this House to look calmly and deliberately at the extent to which we are dependent for our meat upon foreign sources, and more especially at the extent to which we are dependent upon infected sources. In 1875, when writing *Our Meat Supply*, I went into minute calculations of the relative supplies of home and foreign meat. Those calculations were very widely published, and they formed the bases of some of the calculations referred to by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. The average consumption of meat per head of the population of this country is about 100 lbs. Of that, 78 lbs. are supplied by animals bred in the United Kingdom, 15 lbs. are supplied in the shape of foreign dead meat, 3 lbs. came in live animals from countries which are free from disease, and 4 lbs. from countries which are infected with disease. Therefore, of every 100 lbs. of meat consumed, we are only dependent upon foreign live animals to the extent of 7 lbs. These are facts which I defy the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) to gainsay. Ireland sends us double the number of live animals and twice the weight of meat that is imported from all foreign countries put together. Looking to the relative proportions of our supply of meat and to the extent which those foreign diseases lessen the home supply, and looking to the difficulty—almost the impossibility—of stamping out those diseases when they get a hold of the country, I have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when we should say to other countries—"Till you can show a clean bill of health, you must slaughter your animals on your own side." Nor is this a recently-formed opinion. When examined before the Select Committee in 1877, I stated as follows:—

> "I think that the country would not submit to the slaughter of cattle at the ports of embarkation, though I have no doubt that that would be the safer plan, because there would be less fear of conveying the disease by the animals themselves, and there would be less to fear of conveying it by means of hay, straw, and manure, and by persons going on board those ships in our own ports. But, as I say, I do not think that the country is quite ripe for such a step as slaughter at the ports of embarkation. I am clearly of opinion, however, that in the interests of the community it would be very desirable, so long as these diseases exist upon the Continent, to slaughter all fat animals at the port of debarkation."

Those who argue that by thus checking the importation of live animals we shall be re-introducing the principle of Protection, forget the fact that the surplus meat of the world must find a market either alive or dead. Meat does not differ from cotton or any other product in that respect. As a Free Trader, I protest, when we ask what is merely a question of proper sanitary regulations, to have fiscal questions dragged in. Breeding facilities are neither increased nor diminished by such regulations. Some people seem to imagine that meat can be increased the same as other products; but that is altogether a mistake. The number of animals which can be produced in a country depends upon the number of mothers. If you tell me the number of cows in the country, I shall be able to tell you what the production will be for 20 years to come. It should be remembered that there is no demand for the exclusion of dead meat, or for the exclusion of live animals if they come from countries free from disease, and therefore it is idle to twit farmers with a desire to return to Protection. If meat were 6*d*. per lb. instead of 1*s*. there would be some ground for the suspicion. I probably know the opinion, the inner thoughts of the farmers of England, as well as any Member of this House, and I say they demand nothing in the shape of Protection. The demand for greater safeguards against the introduction of disease comes from Liberal farmers just as strongly as from Tories—and I am very glad to say we have an increasing number of Liberal farmers in the country. The farmers of the Kingdom demand—and they demand as with one voice—that there should be greater security against the introduction of disease; and if the present Government resists that demand, they will find out their mistake at the next General Election.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that considering the length of time at which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. James Howard) had addressed the House, and looking to the lateness of the hour (1.5 a.m.), he should not attempt to follow his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) through the numerous lanes into which he had led them in his discursive speech. There were one or two points, however, in the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) upon which he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) wished to touch very lightly. As he understood the Motion of his hon. Friend, it did not imply that total prohibition which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council attempted to make out. What he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) understood the Motion of his hon. Friend to mean was, that the Privy Council should, in any case where, to their knowledge, there was a likelihood of disease being imported from a country into England, they should prohibit the importation of live animals from that particular country; and the speech of his hon. Friend pointed distinctly to that very fact, because, when he stated that he asked for this prohibition, he, at the same time, pointed out that a large deduction had to be made from the tonnage, which he estimated the foreign trade at in respect of those countries which were free from disease, and which, therefore, this Motion would not affect in the slightest degree. If he understood the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) aright, his argument was that the Privy Council had not the power, under the Act of 1878, to do as the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire desired. But surely the right hon. Gentleman did not appreciate the powers given him by the Act of 1878. He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had, as the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council knew perfectly well, something to do, not only with the drafting, but with the carrying of the Act through the House; and he ventured to say there was clear and absolute power given by that Act to the Privy Council to prohibit the importation of live animals from any country where disease existed. The words of the Act were—

> "The Privy Council may, from time to time, make such general or special orders as they may think fit for prohibiting the landing of animals," &c., &c.

But, if he wanted an additional argument as to the powers of the Privy Council, he would point to the action of the Privy Council itself, and to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman made that evening. The right hon. Gentleman stated, in justification of the action of the Privy Council in carrying out the Act of 1878, that in the case of Portugal, when it was found that the slaughtering at the ports had failed, they introduced prohibition, and thus stamped out the disease. He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) understood that that was all his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire desired by this Motion. He might even go a step further in showing the powers of the Privy Council, for it was not very long ago that they prohibited the importation absolutely from France, for the very same reasons that prompted them in the case of Portugal. All his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire desired was, that in cases where a country was shown to be not free from disease, the importation of live animals from that country should be prohibited; and he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) maintained that the Act of 1878 fully empowered the Privy Council to do that. They themselves had exercised that power in two particular instances, and there was nothing in the Act itself to prohibit them from carrying it out in every case in which they believed there was a danger of the importation of disease from abroad. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council laid great stress upon the loss there would be to the consumers, if the course suggested by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire were pursued. They could only judge by what had happened in the past, and he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) would refer the right hon. Gentleman to the Report of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council for 1881. The right hon. Gentleman would there find that it was stated that, though there was a reduction of supply, on account of the restrictions which were then imposed—a reduction of live stock, amounting in that year to 37,992 animals—there was no marked increase produced in the price of meat. That was what happened in 1881; and they might venture to say that, if in cases of countries similarly situated to France and Portugal, the Privy Council carried out a like provision, there would not be the terrible consequences anticipated by the right hon. Gentleman. He (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had only one or two more remarks to make. One was with regard to what had always been said about the impossibility of the dead meat trade. The evidence given before the Committee of 1878 went to show that the dead meat trade did not exist, simply because uncertainty existed in the quarantine arrangements. If there was any idea that there would be a general stoppage of the importation of live animals into this country, whenever disease was suspected, all witnesses agreed that the dead meat trade would increase rapidly. Now, the second point to which he wished to allude was the appointment of a Committee. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council hinted that if this Motion had taken the form of the appointment of a Committee the Government might have assented to such a proposal. Now, the Motion had been before the House of Commons and the public very nearly since the beginning of the Session; and if the Government had intended to adopt the course which the right hon. Gentleman hinted at, they ought to have moved for a Committee. It was an absolute farce to propose in July the appointment of a Committee to sit in July for the purpose of dealing with a question to which the agricultural population of the country attached such vast importance. The suggestion on the part of the Government for the appointment of a Committee appeared to him (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) to be nothing more or less than the shelving of an inconvenient subject.

MR. DODSON said, he would not detain the House many minutes; but there was a point to which he wished to refer before they proceeded to a Division. The hon. Baronet who had just sat down (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had said they could not proceed with a Committee on this subject in July. If it was too late to proceed with a Committee of Inquiry on this subject in July, it certainly was too late to legislate on this subject. [An hon. MEMBER: There is no legislation proposed.] He (Mr. Dodson) maintained that the Resolution could not be carried out without legislation; and his hon. Friend (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had entirely misconceived and misconstrued the Resolution which he had endeavoured to interpret. In a few words, what was the basis of the Act of 1878? The general rule laid down in the 5th Schedule was, slaughter at the ports of debarkation of animals which came from abroad. To this rule there were, however, two exceptions. One was a mandatory direction to the Privy Council to admit animals free from countries as to the sanitary laws and conditions of which they were satisfied; the other was a discretionary power, conferred on the Privy Council by Section 35, to prohibit the importation of animals from time to time from specified countries, under certain circumstances. What was the effect of the Resolution of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin)? It was entirely to do away with the general rule of the Act of 1878. There was to be freedom of admission on the one hand, or absolute prohibition on the other. The hon. Baronet who had just sat down (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) stated twice, if not three times, in the course of his speech, that the effect of the Resolution of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire was only this—that the Privy Council should be directed to prohibit the importation of live animals from countries in which they had positive evidence that disease existed. But the reverse was exactly the case. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, with great ingenuity, had taken from the Schedule of the Act the words embodying the conditions under which the Privy Council was required to admit animals free from certain countries; and, reversing them, he called upon the Privy Council to prohibit the importation of animals from all countries that did not satisfy those particular conditions. These were the words of the Resolution, and he would read them for the benefit of hon. Gentlemen opposite. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen who were going to vote for this Resolution, perhaps, would rather not hear a different interpretation to that given by the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) put upon it. The words of the Resolution were—

> "The landing of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from any Countries as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied,"

as to three things. The first was, if they were not satisfied that the laws of any country relating to the importation and exportation of animals were such as to afford reasonable security against the importation of disease therefrom; the next was, that the laws thereof relating to the introduction or spreading of disease were such as to afford reasonable security against the importation of disease; and the third was, that the sanitary condition of the animals therein was such as to afford reasonable security against the importation of disease. Therefore, they were to be satisfied as to two points with regard to law, and then as to the sanitary condition of the animals; and, whenever the Privy Council were not satisfied as to these three conditions, they were to be called upon in future to prohibit the landing of foreign live animals. Now, that was an actual prohibition of the importation of live animals into this country, except in the case of countries from which they were bound by the Act of 1878 to admit animals absolutely free. He maintained that they could not carry this out without legislation. The Government would be quite ready to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), that the Privy Council should be both vigilant and firm, at home and abroad, in carrying out their powers. They would be ready to agree to the Motion for a Committee; but, without inquiry, they could not agree to the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, which would necessitate legislation. The Act of 1878 was one which ought not lightly to be disturbed. It was a compromise arrived at after careful inquiry, not between two Parties in that House, but between two competing interests, the producer and the consumer. It was an equitable arrangement; and he believed it resulted in powers being conferred on the Privy Council which, if they were properly exercised, were reasonably sufficient for the protection of the country. He would say only one word in conclusion. He did not accuse any hon. Member who supported this Resolution of any intention of establishing Protection. He was not one of those who suspected the farmers of seeking the re-establishment of Protection under the name of Reciprocity, or Fair Trade, or whatever other *alias* it might assume. He did not believe it would be from the agricultural interest that the first suggestion would come. What the farmers sought for, and what they were justly entitled to, was protection against cattle disease. Well, the Privy Council had large powers entrusted to it in that respect. They were using, and intended to use, so far as they thought they could justly do so, all the powers they had to prevent the importation of disease into this country; and he thought he might claim, since the establishment of an Agricultural Department, with which he was connected, that they had given proof of the sincerity of their intention to work in that direction. They had forbidden the importation of animals from France, and had put pressure upon Germany as to importation from that country—so much so, that the German Government had revised its regulations as to the exportation of sheep from that country; and he believed it had resulted in greater security in the case of animals exported from Germany. He had no wish to detain the House any longer, except to say that, for the reasons he had stated, the Government could not, and did not, think they would be justified in accepting the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire.

MR. CHAPLIN said, many statements had been made in the course of the debate to which, under ordinary circumstances, he should have been greatly tempted to reply. At that late hour of the night, however, he would altogether forego the temptation. One word he might be permitted to say, in reply to an observation of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Dodson). The right hon. Gentleman had said that the Motion could not be carried out without further legislation. If that were so, then further legislation let there be. But that was not his (Mr. Chaplin's) opinion; it was only the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman. All he asked for was that they should deal with all foreign countries, from which there was a fear of importing foot-and-mouth disease, precisely in the same way as they were dealing with France at the present time; and no Member of the Government had ventured to tell him what prevented them prohibiting animals from Belgium and Spain, whilst the same law prevented their landing them from France. The right hon. Gentleman complained that he had taken the words of the Schedule of the Act for his Motion. He had done that advisedly. The right hon. Gentleman said he called upon the Government to do three things negatively. He called upon the Government to do what they had a right to do at the present moment — he called upon the Privy Council to satisfy themselves as to the sanitary condition of the countries from which live animals were imported, and, having satisfied themselves, then to take certain steps—that was to say, to act in a manner different to the way in which they were acting now. The right hon. Gentleman said he was ready to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold). He (Mr. Chaplin), however, was not prepared to accept that Amendment, because it meant nothing. There had been more than one Select Committee to inquire into this question; and, in addition to that, he would remind the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, which sat for three years, and had only just finished its labours. It did appear to him that the proposal to appoint a Committee was only a plea for delay. Under those circumstances, and in consequence of the reply of the Government, he had no alternative whatever, except to take the sense of the House on his Motion.

MR. DUCKHAM, who rose amidst loud cries of "Divide!" was understood to say that he regarded the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Privy Council was most delusive. He had represented that all the animals imported were heavy fat cattle, weighing from 1,000 to 1,500 lbs., whereas by far the greater proportion were sheep.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD rose, and was also received with marks of disapprobation.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is, no doubt, aware that he has no right to make a second speech.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I did not intend to make a second speech, Sir; but, with the indulgence of the House, I wish to make an observation. [*Loud cries of* "Divide!"]

Mr. GLADSTONE: The object of the hon. Member is simply to ask leave of the House to withdraw his Amendment; and this is certainly the first time within my recollection that an hon. Member has been refused permission to make such a statement.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I wish to say that I have no objection to an inquiry; and I, therefore, ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he would only express his regret that the Government had not made up their minds to grant an inquiry sooner. He would move the Amendment which stood on the Paper in his name.

Amendment proposed,

> To leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts 1869 and 1878, and specially as to whether it is possible to take further steps for preventing the introduction of contagious diseases from Abroad, without unduly interfering with the supply of food; and also whether the provisions for preventing the spread of disease can be made more effective,"—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay,*)

—instead thereof.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 200; Noes 192: Majority 8.

AYES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hon. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Biddell, W.
Biddulph, M.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Borlase, W. C.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Callan, P.
Cartwright, W. C.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Christie, W. L.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, T.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Digby, Col. hon. E. T.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Duckham, T.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Emlyn, Viscount
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lieut.-General R. J.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. C. W. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Fort, R.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Gregory, G. B.
Gurdon. R. T.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harcourt, E. W.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hastings, G. W.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Howard, J.
Inderwick, F. A.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lacon, Sir E. H. K.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leamy, E.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Leigh, hon. G. H. C.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, rt. hon. Lord H. G. C. G.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Mac Iver, D.
M'Lagan, P.
Macnaghten, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
March, Earl of
Maskelyne, M. N. H. Story-
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Maxwell-Heron, Capt. J. M.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mulholland, J.
Newport, Viscount
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hn. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Beirne, Col. F.
O'Brien, W.
O'Kelly, J.
Onslow, D.
Paget, R. H.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.

Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Power, R.
Pugh, L. P.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Stafford, Marquess of
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Wiggin, H.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Winn, R.
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Chaplin, H.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Allen, W. S.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Bolton, J. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, H. A.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Brogden, A.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clifford, C. C.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Colman, J. J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtney, L. H.
Cross, J. K.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
De Ferrières, Baron
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Errington, G.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Findlater, W.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Flower, C.
Fowler, H. H.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grey, A. H. G.
Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Hopwood, C. H.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
Jackson, W. L.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, E.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord
Kinnear, J.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Leeman, J. J.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lubbock, Sir J.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
Mackie, R. B.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Martin, R. B.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Monk, C. J.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
Otway, Sir A. J.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Porter, rt. hon. A. M.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Ralli, P.
Rathbone, W.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Ritchie, C. T.
Roberts, J.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, G. W. E.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, E.
Smith, S.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Summers, W.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Walter, J.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
Whitbread, S.
Whitley, E.
Whitworth, B.
Williams, S. C. E.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.

Barclay, J. W.
Giles, A.

Main Question put.

Resolved, That this House desires to urge on Her Majesty's Government the importance of taking effectual measures for the suppression of foot and mouth disease throughout the United Kingdom, and it is of opinion that, while for this purpose it is necessary that adequate restrictions, under the powers vested in the Privy Council, should be imposed on the movements and transit of cattle at home, it is even more important, with a view to its permanent extinction, that the landing of Foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from any Countries as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals which are diseased.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Fawcett, Bill to amend the Post Office (Money Orders) Acts, 1848 and 1880, and extend the same to Her Majesty's Dominions out of the United Kingdom, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Courtney.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 263.]

House adjourned at Two o clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 11th July, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Select Committee*—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills (Nos. 1, 4, and 5), Mr. Whitley *nominated* Member.

Committee—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Nineteenth Night*]—R.P.

Withdrawn—Copyright * [141].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL BILL.

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Mr. WHITLEY wished to ask if it was true that Sir John Coode had been authorized, as Engineer, to draw up and examine the plans for the Mersey Conservancy Board, and under what circumstances, as Admiral Spratt was the Acting Conservator of the Mersey?

Mr. DODDS was understood to say that Sir John Coode had been so authorized.

Mr. WHITLEY said, that, in that case, he must ask that the Consideration of the Bill be deferred until to-morrow, as there was no one present to give the information he desired.

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY said, that Sir John Coode had been asked to examine the plans; but he was not aware that that was a sufficient ground for asking that the Consideration of the Bill should be deferred. It would be a very unusual and a very strong step, because the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) desired this information, to take the Bill out of the ordinary routine. The result would be to cause great inconvenience to the parties interested.

Mr. DODDS said, that it would serve every purpose if the hon. Member would ask the question on the third reading.

Mr. WHITLEY said, that, in justice to the parties locally interested, he felt bound to press for the delay of the Bill until to-morrow.

Bill, as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (DISTRICT RAILWAY) BILL.

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked for a little more time for the consideration of the Bill. Seeing that the Bill only came into the possession of hon. Members yesterday, it was quite impossible that they could give to it the consideration it required. The Bill involved very serious questions affecting the Metropolis, and to-morrow was too early a day to take the Amendments which had been introduced into it into consideration.

Mr. DODDS said, he would fix the Consideration for to-morrow, with the understanding that it should be put off again until Monday.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he should certainly have felt bound to oppose the Consideration of the Bill to-morrow.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, it would not be taken until Monday.

Bill, as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

QUESTIONS.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he has received a communication from a number of shipowners connected with the London Chamber of Shipping embodying their views relative to the future government, tonnage charges, and pilotage arrangements of the Suez Canal; and, whether he will be good enough to inform the House, how the bases of arrangements proposed by M. De Lesseps for the future management of the existing or any new Canal which may be constructed by his Company, include the objects desired by the shipowners?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I have received such a communication as is described in the first paragraph of this Question, and I believe it has also been made public, so that the world is cognizant of its contents. With respect to the relation between the bases of arrangements in connection with the proposals made by M. de Lesseps for the future management of the new Canal, and with respect to the Correspondence between such bases and the Memorial on that subject, I think I had better leave it to my hon. Friend and the House themselves to make a comparison than attempt to do it in an imperfect manner, because my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer is prepared at once to make a statement of the substance of the views we entertain, and will also be able to lay it on the Table of the House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, in accordance with the Notice I gave yesterday afternoon, I will now communicate to the House the heads of the provisional Agreement made with M. de Lesseps for the construction, by the Suez Canal Company, of a second Canal. I should not have made this communication under ordinary circumstances on a Wednesday; but for more reasons than one I think it most important that no delay should take place in making known arrangements of a financial character, such as those I am about to state. The negotiations have been for some time in progress at Paris, and have reached their present stage after personal interviews between Members of Her Majesty's Government and M. de Lesseps and M. Charles de Lesseps in London. I will now state to the House the provisional arrangement which was settled yesterday evening—

COPY of HEADS of AGREEMENT between the REPRESENTATIVES of HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT and the PRESIDENT of the SUEZ CANAL COMPANY.

1. THE Company to construct a second Canal, as far as possible parallel to the present Canal, of width and depth sufficient to meet the requirements of maritime construction, settled in agreement with the English Directors.

2. The second Canal to be completed, if possible, by the end of 1888.

The next paragraph relates to the rates and dues and the dividends of the Company; and in explanation I may say that the dividend for last year was above 16 per cent, and that for this year is expected to approach 19 per cent. The present tonnage rate is 10 francs 50 cents, falling to 10 francs next year. The pilotage rate averages about 75 cents per ton, and the tonnage rate on ships in ballast is 10 francs.

3. The Company to reduce the dues and tolls as follows:—

From the 1st January 1884, ships in ballast to pay 2½ francs per ton less than ships with cargoes.

After the profits (interest and dividend) have been distributed, at the rate of 21 per cent., half the pilotage dues to be remitted from the following 1st January.

After the profits, as above, are 23 per cent., the rest of the pilotage dues to be similarly remitted.

After the profits, as above, are 25 per cent., the transit dues of 10 francs per ton to be reduced by 50 centimes, to 9 francs 50 centimes.

After the profits, as above, are 27½ per cent., a further 50 centimes to be taken off.

After the profits, as above, are 30 per cent., a further 50 centimes to be taken off.

For every additional 3 per cent. of distributed profits, 50 centimes to be taken off, to a minimum of five francs per ton.

4. No two reductions of pilotage or transit dues to take place in the same year.

5. If the distributed profits should fall off, an increase of transit dues to take place according to the some scale, but no two increases to take place in one year.

I now come to the arrangements for increasing the English share in the management of the Canal.

6. On the first occasion of a vacancy one of the English Directors to be nominated by the President for election as Vice-President, and thereafter one of the English Directors to be always a Vice-President.

7. The English Director now acting as Honorary Member of the Comité de Direction, to become a regular Member when vacancies permit, and thereafter one of the English Directors to be always a Member of the Comité.

8. Two of the English Directors to be always Members of the Finance Commission.

9. An English Officer, selected by Her Majesty's Government, to be appointed by the Board "Inspecteur de la Navigation." His functions to be determined in agreement with the English Directors.

10. The Company to engage, in future, a fair proportion of English Pilots.

I now come to the advantages to be secured by the English Government for the Company.

11. Her Majesty's Government to use their good offices to obtain the necessary concession—

(*a.*) For the land required for the new Canal and its approaches.

(*b.*) For the Sweet Water Canal between Ismailia and Port Said, on the basis already accepted by Her Majesty's Government.

(*c.*) For the extension of the term of the original concession for so many years as will make a new term of 99 years from the date of the completion of the Second Canal. In consideration of such extension the Company to pay annually from the commencement of the new term of 99 years, to the Egyptian Treasury, 1 per cent. of the total net profits, after the statutory reserve.

12. Her Majesty's Government to lend to the Company, by instalments, as required for the construction of the works, including the Sweet Water Canal, not more than 8,000,000 *l.* at 3½ per cent. interest, with a sinking fund, calculated to repay the capital in 50 years, such sinking fund not to commence until after the completion of the works.

13. These Heads of Agreement to be at once communicated to the House of Commons. They will be developed in full detail in a resolution of the Council of Administration of the Company, the terms of which will have been settled in accord with Her Majesty's Government. That resolution will be communicated to Her Majesty's Government for formal acceptance. The agreement, however, and the acceptance of the Resolution, will have no effect until the necessary authority has been obtained from Parliament.

(Signed) Pour le President,
C. Rivers Wilson. Ch. A. de Lesseps.
J. Stokes.

London, 10 July 1883.

I shall lay this Paper on the Table to-day, and in a few days my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will lay on the Table a Report by the English Directors of the Suez Canal, explanatory of the Agreement.

Mr. BOURKE: Of course, Sir, it would be impossible for me to enter upon any discussion with respect to the very interesting and important statement which has just been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Perhaps the House will allow me to make one remark, and it is this. I am quite sure that any proposition which comes from Her Majesty's Government which is calculated to develop the policy of Lord Beaconsfield with regard to the Suez Canal will be received with satisfaction by this side of the House. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that there is at present no Question before the House. If the right hon. Gentleman desires to ask any Question he can do so.

Mr. BOURKE: Yes, Sir; that is the only remark I wish to make. I think I shall be perfectly in Order in asking a few Questions of the Government which it is impossible to consider they are not at the present moment quite in a position to answer. The right hon. Gentleman has said that the English Government is to use its influence to obtain a concession. I should like to know with whom the British Government is going to use its influence? I found this Question chiefly on the despatch of Lord Granville written some nine years ago, which contains this paragraph—

> "The Company is, as Her Majesty's Government consider, an Egyptian Company, and the rights over it of the Porte are undoubted."

Therefore, I wish to know whether the negotiations which Her Majesty's Government are going to enter upon for a new concession are to be negotiations between the Porte and Her Majesty's Government? That is the first Question. The second Question I wish to ask is, what security has been taken against any Foreign Power or Powers stopping our communications with India, China, and the East *viâ* the Suez Canal? The third Question is, will it be within our rights of peace to take military measures for the protection of the Canal? I wish also to know whether the new Canal is to be the property of the old Company, and if the seat of the Company is still to be in Paris; whether the French and Egyptian Courts are to have jurisdiction over the Canal, which is about to be constructed substantially with British capital? Then, are both Canals to revert to the Egyptian Government at the end of the concession which was alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the original concession being for 89 years? Will the arrangements that have been entered into between Her Majesty's Government and M. de Lesseps preclude any other Company of English capitalists or others from obtaining, or endeavouring to obtain, a concession of another Canal? Lastly, after all the sacrifices made by England, are we to understand that the relations of the Canal Company to Great Britain will remain substantially the same as those which have hitherto governed it, and that British capital is to be raised for making a new Canal on foreign soil without the security of Sovereign rights for the protection of the Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman can hardly suppose that these Questions, relating to matters of the gravest importance, and announced *viva voce* across the Table, can be answered specifically at the present moment. As far as I could gather the purport of them, three of them related to matters that are germane to the Agreement which has been provisionally formed, and three of them relate to questions of high policy connected with the general position of the Canal. As regards these questions of high policy, it is quite obvious, I think, that we should have communication with my noble Friend the Foreign Secretary of State before attempting to answer them. As far as regards the questions relating to the position of the Canal, I believe I may say this, that the reversion of the Canal to the Egyptian Government will remain unchanged, as under the present Agreement, and that the domicile of the Canal Company will continue to be in Paris, as it is at the present time, although with enlarged arrangements with regard to the introduction of the British element into the management of the Canal. With regard to the question whether another Canal could be formed, that, of course, is a question of high policy; but there is nothing in the arrangement with M. de Lesseps which in any manner bears upon that subject. I speak now, of course, of another Canal under separate management, and representing separate interests of a totally distinct character—because it is well understood that the construction, at the earliest possible moment, of a second Canal for the purpose of forwarding the traffic is, in truth, the basis and foundation of the arrangement now made. Perhaps, with regard to these Questions, this answer may be sufficient; but, if not, I should ask the right hon. Gentleman to be good enough to give Notice.

MR. BOURKE: I will put the Questions on the Paper, and I will consult the convenience of the Government as to when they would like to answer them.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: When do the Government propose to submit these arrangements for the ratification of the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I shall lay this Paper on the Table to-day, as I said before, and I shall lay on the Table a more extensive Report by the British Directors in a day or two. The form in which the House will be asked to express its approval will be on the appropriation of a sum not exceeding £8,000,000, and then the whole question can be raised.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is it to be a Vote of Parliament for the £8,000,000?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, certainly; the sum must be voted by Parliament.

MR. NORWOOD: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether I am correct in understanding that the Agreement does not provide for any increase of the English Directors upon the Directorate of the Suez Canal? I understood that the Vice President of the Directorate would be an Englishman; but I did not understand that the number of our Directors, which is only three in a body of 24, was to be increased.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask whether it is not intended to increase the voting power of the English Directors of the Canal; and whether you are actually restricting the number of English Directors of the Canal to the number fixed by Lord Beaconsfield's Government—namely, three? I also wish to ask as to the manner in which this money is to be raised—whether it is to be added to the National Debt of this country by a loan, and then to be lent to the Suez Canal Company, or whether you have any other means of obtaining the money without adding to the National Debt; also, whether there is anything in the shape of a guarantee to be given; whether, if you do not lend the money actually, you are supposed to guarantee the loan? If you guarantee the loan, if not raised in this country, you can do that without applying to Parliament. And that, I think, would be most objectionable. The English Government guaranteed the loan raised by the Danubian Commission for works on the Danube without coming before Parliament. The sum was certainly small; but the principle was established that the Government could guarantee a loan without coming to Parliament.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): On the financial question, I may say that the money will be obtained very similarly to the way in which it was obtained for the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares. There will be no addition to taxation; but a loan will be raised as on the former occasion. With respect to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), that we could avoid coming to Parliament by guaranteeing a loan—in the first place, I doubt the fact; and, in the second place, I greatly doubt the policy, because we certainly could not obtain the money at anything like so good a percentage of interest if we guaranteed it, instead of raising it. As to the Question of the hon. Gentleman behind me (Mr. Norwood), we carefully considered the point about adding to the number of Directors, and it was, in our opinion, of no material advantage to this country to add to the number of our Directors unless we had insisted, which would not have been reasonable, on obtaining an absolute majority of the whole Directors. We thought that the present arrangement, under which we have a limited number of Directors, with the enlarged function proposed to be given to them, was very much better for this country than a large body of English Directors. Of course, when we come to the full enjoyment of our Shares in the year 1894, the whole question of representation of this country will be different; but I adhere to the opinion which I have already expressed, that it would be impolitic to insist on any large number of Directors.

MR. CHARLES PALMER: Is it intended to administer all the affairs of this Company in Paris, or will there be a Board of Directors appointed to sit in London, so that any grievances of English shipowners may be laid before them in this country, instead of in France?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): No; we have no intention of proposing any alteration of the domicile of the Directorate. In our opinion, it would be extremely inconvenient, and not of the least advantage.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Did I understand the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that the new Canal would be the same depth as the existing Canal?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): No, Sir; my words were—

> "Of width and depth sufficient to meet the requirements of maritime construction, settled in agreement with the English Directors."

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: With respect to the voting power, we own, I think, one-half of the Shares of the Canal, and have only 10 votes at a general meeting. I wish to ask whether, considering that we have half of the Canal Shares, and are to advance the whole capital for the new Canal, the Government do not think that we are entitled to a larger voting power?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): That will not be possible, because our Shares do not bear coupons. We do not propose to change the terms of the present concession; but, of course, in 1894 we shall enter upon the full *rejouissance* of our Shares.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, no Shareholder, whatever the number of Shares he held, could have more than 10 votes, and asked whether the Government were not to have more than 10 votes—a larger voting power at general meetings?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I said at the outset I would not introduce any matter of argument, and I think the Question of the hon. Member is an arguable one. When the proper time comes all these questions can be fully discussed. Meanwhile, I merely state that we do not propose to alter the present arrangements in this respect.

MR. MONK: I wish to ask whether, as a matter of fact, the present Directors have no voting power whatever in respect to one-half of the capital which has no coupons, but that a certain number of Shares had to be purchased before the Directors exercised the right of voting?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Speaking from memory, I think that is so.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: How many Members will be upon the Finance Committee?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Two English Members will be upon the Finance Committee; but the total number I cannot at this moment distinctly state.

MR. MAGNIAC: Will the British Government have power to interfere with respect to the construction of the Canal—to see, in the interests of this country, that the money is properly spent?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have stated that the new construction will be settled in agreement with the British Directors. One of these is a very distinguished engineer, and I think that the hon. Member will feel satisfied that he will take all the necessary precautions.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Is the House to understand that this large sum of money is to be handed over *en bloc* to the Company, whether it is all required or not for the purposes of constructing the new Canal?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I am afraid that the hon. Member did not follow the words of the Agreement as I read them, which are—

> "The Government to lend to the Company by instalments, as required, for the construction of the works,"

a sum not exceeding £8,000,000. Of course, the money will only be advanced from time to time on the report of the responsible authority that it is required for the purpose.

MADAGASCAR—ACTION OF THE FRENCH—EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH CONSUL.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question of which I have given him private Notice. A report has reached me of some serious occurrence in Madagascar. I do not wish, in the present state of my information, to put the Question in any form that would give colour to it; and, therefore, I will simply ask the Government, Whether they have any information on the subject which they can communicate to the House?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, we have received, within the last 24 hours, a telegraphic communication from Zanzibar and Madagascar with regard to the occurrences in Madagascar, which is not complete, but of which I will endeavour to lay the substance before the House. This House is aware—I believe it has been made aware by my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—that Tamatave was occupied by the French on the 14th of June, and that a state of siege was proclaimed there. The British Consul was, unhappily, at the time very ill, and the information that we have received is to the effect that his illness was seriously aggravated by the political crisis. One incident of that crisis was that his Secretary was arrested in his presence. In these circumstances, he received an order from the French Admiral to quit the place within 24 hours. Before the expiration of that 24 hours—seven hours before that time had expired—he died. The French Admiral subsequently invited the British to attend the funeral. They did attend in considerable numbers. The British officers and men of Her Majesty's Ship *Dryad* and several of the French officers likewise attended the funeral. The French Admiral stopped communications between the British man-of-war and the shore. The captain was allowed, but only verbally, to protest against the proceedings, and the flags of all foreign Consuls, as we have understood, have been hauled down in Tamatave. Besides that, there is a portion of the telegram affecting another person. It says that in addition to the Secretary to the Consul one British subject, a Mr. Shaw, who, I believe, is a Missionary of the London Missionary Society, was arrested on the 16th, and remains in prison. The charge against him has not been made public; but it is surmised or presumed to be for correspondence with the enemy—using what I believe would be the French phrase under the circumstances. Inquiry has been made, but the only answer received is that the law must take its course. In announcing this grave and painful occurrence I have only now to say that we wait for further information as to the facts, and we wait also for those communications from the Government of France which the case may require, which we have intimated to the French Government that we anticipate, and which it would have been our duty to make to any

Foreign Government under similar circumstances.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the nationality of the Secretary who was arrested was known?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is a native name; but that is a mere surmise, and we have no information in the telegram on the subject.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR inquired whether there was any truth in the rumour that a British subject had been arrested in Tunis and had not been given up to the British Consul?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: We have received no information on the subject.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, in conformity with the statement which I made on Monday last, I beg to move that, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have priority this day, and each succeeding Wednesday.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have priority this day, and on each succeeding Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. THEODORE FRY said, he hoped that, as the Government were about to take the whole of the time of the House, they would give some facility for further proceeding with the Durham Sunday Closing Bill. Her Majesty's Government knew that at the last General Election they had had no stronger body of supporters than those who advocated temperance principles; and if another Session were allowed to pass without any temperance measure being passed, he was afraid that the consequences at the next General Election would be very disastrous to the prospects of the Liberal Party.

Mr. GIBSON said, that in consequence of an uncertainty as to the real intentions of Her Majesty's Government on the subject which prevailed in the public mind, he wished to know whether it was the intention of the Government to take any further action with reference to the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, the Order of the Day for the Second Reading of which had not been discharged, but had been postponed until the 23rd of July? Every Irish Member had received a large number of telegrams upon the subject, and it would relieve them from a great deal of anxiety if the Prime Minister would state that the Government would endeavour to ascertain the general feeling of Irish Members in reference to this measure before they took any further action upon this important Bill.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished to repeat the Question he had put to the right hon. Gentleman a few days ago—namely, Whether the Government would give facilities for the discussion of the following very important questions:—Our position with regard to India, where Lord Ripon's innovations were convulsing the whole country; the effect of the action of France in different parts of the world upon British commerce, and especially in Madagascar and Annam; the danger of a war between France and China; and the great question of South Africa? There were also two matters relating to home affairs which urgently required discussion—namely, that which related to the housings of the poor and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Mr. J. LOWTHER observed, that it was important that the House should understand the exact position in which it stood. He had understood the other day that the Government, in asking for the remaining time of private Members, did so under exceptional circumstances and for specific objects. The exceptional circumstances were that the Government desired to proceed with Government Bills, which, speaking generally, were of a non-political and non-contentious character. It had further been understood that this proposal for the appropriation of the time of private Members by the Government was not to be carried into effect without the general consent of hon. Members. In his opinion that was a very fair proposition, and the Prime Minister appeared to be desirous of abiding loyally by it. The right hon. Gentleman, however, was now being pressed from various quarters by hon. Members to afford facilities for the passing of particular measures which had been introduced by private Members, In these circumstances, he thought that the House should have a distinct understanding that this surrender of the remainder of the Session was for the purpose of proceeding with Government measures alone. He also wished to refer to another point. With regard to the date of the Prorogation he did not wish to commit the Prime Minister to any actual date; but he thought that it was generally understood that if the House gave up the time at its disposal for the prosecution of Public Business the right hon. Gentleman would give some indication as to how long their labours were likely to be protracted. He wished, further, to ask whether any representations had been made to Her Majesty's Government by any Foreign Powers with regard to the alleged laxity of British regulations respecting quarantine and other precautions against the importation of Asiatic cholera into Europe? He had noticed from the ordinary channels of information that considerable alarm prevailed in this respect. It was not for him to inquire the grounds for that alarm. It might be that the action of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the protection of man and beast from disease had not tended to re-assure foreign countries as to our treatment of a subject of this kind. If such alarm prevailed, he asked if Her Majesty's Government would take care that not only were proper precautions adopted to prevent the spread of the disease, but that their being adopted was sufficiently made known?

MR. BRYCE said, that the private Members would not begrudge the time which the Government now asked for, if they felt that proper use had been made of the time of Parliament previously; but the fact was that the time of the House up to this point had been very largely wasted. Why had there been so many "Counts-out" this Session? The reason was because there were no means by which important Motions could be brought on, to the exclusion of trumpery ones. The Prime Minister had said there were two methods of dealing with the time of the House, so far as disposable for private Members. The one might be called the method of chance, and the other the method of choice. He submitted that the method of chance had broken down; and he would, therefore, urge upon the House and upon the Government the great importance of considering, before next Session, whether some means might not be adopted whereby the time of the House might be applied, especially on Tuesdays and Fridays, to really useful discussions, and to the advancement of Motions in which a considerable number of Members took an interest.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE remarked, that he was not going to oppose the Motion of the Prime Minister; but, at the same time, he thought that he had a right to make one or two observations in reference to it before this surrender of the rest of the time of the Session was made to Her Majesty's Government. He wished to make an urgent appeal to Her Majesty's Government that measures of such importance as the National Debt Bill should not be passed through the House in the month of August, when they could not be properly discussed. The Session had been a very arduous one, and he must say that the Motion appeared somewhat of a sarcasm upon the time and trouble taken last autumn in passing the Rules of Procedure. What hon. Members had a right now to demand was that the Government should give a stronger guarantee than they had yet afforded to the House that in the hot weather, when everybody was exhausted, important Bills should not be proceeded with. He wished to point out that the "Counts-out" which had occurred this Session had proved most disastrous to Supply, the progress of which ought to be the first object of any Government. It was known that the first day when Supply could be taken after the Easter Recess afforded a splendid opportunity for getting Supply; but this Session the Government had allowed the House to be counted out on that day. When the House was called upon to make these sacrifices of time to Government Business it had a right to demand in return that the Government would, next Session, endeavour to get Votes in Supply at an earlier period, and would take precautions against the House being counted out so frequently.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he wished to put in a plea on behalf of the long-suffering person the private Member, and to make a suggestion respecting him. He did not rise to oppose the Motion, as he thought it not only a necessary, but an inevitable one. There was some work they must do, and some that it was desirable to do before the House separated. The credit of Parliament, as much as the credit of the Government, was involved in their doing it. It was unreasonable to ask Members to sit into September to consider Bills that could not pass, or to debate Resolutions that resulted in nothing. An unnecessary speech made then or any other time would only result in keeping them longer in London than they wanted to stop, and would not, he was sure, be popular with anyone. He could not join in the condemnation of the Government that had been uttered by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He thought that whatever might be said of their proceedings in other Sessions, they could not complain this year. The Prime Minister had never brought the power of his majority to bear upon them in matters of Business. They had never heard that hateful word "Urgency." Indeed, the Head of the Government had shown a greater concern for the liberties of private Members than the private Members had very often shown themselves. But when all this was said, the fact remained that this Motion was a curtailment of private Members' privileges. Motions like that were accustomed to be made at the end of the Session; but they used to be made at the beginning of August. They were so made in last Parliament. Then they were advanced from the first week of August to the last week of July. One Session it was the 30th of July; another, the 27th; then the 14th; then the 16th; then the 13th; until it had become, this Session, on the 1st of July. [An hon. MEMBER: Not the 1st, but the 11th.] Well, it was true that this was the 11th; but the Government had had control of all the time of the House since the 1st. The broad fact was this—that, year by year, the Government had infringed upon the time of private Members, sometimes taking a day or two, sometimes a week more than had been taken in the year previous. The result was that there was a month's less time at the disposal of independent Members than there was seven or eight years ago. The encroachment was so steady, and apparently so slight, that it was imperceptible. But if anyone referred to the records of the House he would find that in 10 years a very great change had taken place. Formerly private Members had by far the larger share of the time of the House, and so recently as 1872 the time was about equally divided. Now the Government had more than two-thirds, and sometimes three-fourths of it. During the three last Sessions the House sat 3,500 hours, and private Members had only 1,000 of these hours in which they could initiate Business, while the Government had upwards of 2,500 hours. Hon. Members were probably not aware of it, but that was the fact. It was quite true that private Members took a larger part in the consideration of Government Business than they formerly did; but they certainly had far less time for the discussion of their own special topics than they once had. His hon. Friend the Member for Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had said they neglected the opportunities they possessed, and he complained of the number of "Counts-out" there had been this Session. There was a good deal of misapprehension on that head. Private Members had been accused of a remissness they were not guilty of. These were the facts. There had been 13 "Counts-out." One of them was on a Wednesday, and it took place under rather singular circumstances. It was accidental. Another took place half-an-hour after midnight, and could not be fairly called a "Count-out." That left 11. Four of these "Counts-out" had taken place after the House had been sitting very late the previous day, or, rather, the same day. The Sittings on the occasions he referred to had been continued until half-past 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. Some Members were required to be again at Westminster at noon to take part in the Grand Committees. The House itself re-assembled at 2 for a Morning Sitting, and went on until 7. It was unreasonable to expect that Members could sit until half-past 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, and then meet —many of them at noon, and all of them at 2 — sitting until 7, and be ready for a resumption of duty at 9. In condemning Members for not attending, these circumstances should be taken into account. But three "Counts-out" had taken place on Friday nights, when the Government were as much interested in the Business as private Members were. Now, there was every reason to believe that these "Counts" had occurred with the connivance or approval of the Government. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no!] The Prime Minister did not appear to be of that opinion; but he would recollect that they had both been present more than once when the House was counted out, and when everyone could see there was no great alacrity shown by the supporters of the Ministry to keep the Business going. They all knew the occasions he referred to. The Government did not want discussions about the county franchise or about re-afforestring Ireland, and there were many ways of preventing them without appearing to do so. They all knew that on those occasions a "Count" was in the air. When they talked of "Counts-out," the reasons for them should be recollected. The chief cause was not attributable to any want of interest on the part of private Members; but it sprang from the way in which Business was arranged. There was great competition for private Members' nights—sometimes as many as 20, 30, or 40 Gentlemen balloting for places. Local, personal, and comparatively unimportant subjects just stood as good a chance of getting a first place as very important questions did. When they considered the stress there was upon Members, they could not be surprised that there was no great disposition to make a House at an Evening Sitting for the discussion of insignificant questions. He would say, in passing, that one of the Rules laid down by the Speaker was not complied with in the balloting. It was understood that men ought not to ballot in groups for their Bills and Resolutions, and yet they did so. A number of Gentlemen interested in a question all balloted for it at the same time. The result was that they got more than their share of nights, and they had a great advantage over an individual Member, who observed not only the letter, but the spirit of the Rule. What he wanted the Government to do was to devise some means by which the House would have an opportunity of selecting its Business. They had no control over it as it stood now. There were many ways in which this could be done, and he supposed every Member who had thought upon it would have a plan. The present was not the time to discuss such plans; but he might say that it was unreasonable for the same subject to be submitted and talked about Session after Session. He held that when a matter had been fairly brought before the House one year, it should not be in the power of Members to bring it forward next year to the exclusion of other proposals of equal interest. It was in that direction —limiting the number of times that a subject could be debated—that relief might be found. They ought to reckon, not by the Session, but the Parliament. There was no matter that more required the attention of the House than this—the apportionment of the time of Members in the way that a majority of the Members desired. But the Government were not guiltless themselves of misappropriating the time of the House. The Session commenced with a long array of Bills in the Queen's Speech. Twenty or 25 were set down on the programme. Some of them were read a first time, some a second, and some got into Committee. A good deal of time was spent in pushing them forward to this stage, and then they were abandoned. Nearly 20 Bills during the present Session had been dropped in this way, and the time occupied with them—equal, at least, to a Parliamentary week —had been really thrown away. When they were introduced again, all the work would have to be done afresh. They would have to go through the same form as they had already gone through. He called that bad economy. The Government, instead of providing 25 Bills, should have produced only a sufficient number to keep the House working. They should go on with them day by day until they were passed; and then, if time permitted, they could submit another half-dozen, and deal with them in the same way. If this method were adopted, they would never have such a block as had recently taken place. Throwing such a number of Bills into the legislative mill only produced confusion. There, as elsewhere, it was "more haste, less speed." He thought that that was a matter the Government might with advantage consider before next year. It was said this Session had been exceptional. All Sessions were exceptional. It would be an exception if the Session was not exceptional. It was certainly an exception to see three of the main Bills of the year supported by all Parties in the House; and yet that was the case. The Bankruptcy Bill, the Tenants' Compensation Bill, and the Corrupt Practices Bill were supported by men of every shade of politics. They might differ in detail, but they agreed in principle. It had been customary for hon. Gentlemen sitting behind him to indulge in a lot of meaningless accusations against groups of Members in that House about obstructing the Business. Again and again Gentlemen in that part of the House, as well as on the opposite side, had been charged with Obstructive practices. He hoped those who made such charges would bear in mind what was taking place that day. They were really giving to the Government—a month before the usual date—all the time of the House; and there was and had been no resistance, except in detail, to the leading measures of the Session. There had not been Obstruction; and if any delay had arisen it had been in consequence of the manner in which the work had been arranged, or in consequence of the very unusual pressure that Members had had to labour under.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It does seem to me, Sir, that the discussions which, from time to time, take place in the House with regard to the cause of the delay in the conduct of Business, are not very edifying to the outside world. They are, perhaps, rather calculated to diminish the respect with which the House is held when we spend so very large a portion of our time in wrangling amongst ourselves. As to the causes which retard the progress of Business, there has been in the past a very simple formula, which has explained everything. It has always been Obstruction; and by Obstruction was meant the conduct of Gentlemen on this side of the House. But whenever we have come really to grapple with this question we have discovered many other causes at work, some of which were not preventible, and others which were. No doubt there are faults which belong to us all. But we ought not to let a discussion like this close without considering how much is owing to the mismanagement of the Business by those charged with the conduct of it. There is no doubt that every year the difficulty of conducting the Business is greater and greater; and allowance must be made for this. But it is the business of the Government to manage the affairs of the House so as to reduce the difficulty to a minimum; and I venture to say the Government fails signally in that duty. Take, as an instance, the application to get the time of the House on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. There have been no fewer than three discussions on this subject of the time of the House being given to the Government, when it might all have been concentrated and dealt with in one day. If the Government had only made up their minds sooner what measures they were to give up and what not, and held out a fair prospect of the time at which the Session would close, they might have had this extra time given them at an earlier period. Even now we cannot feel that the statement of the Prime Minister the other day was a final statement. It is impossible to believe the Government can accomplish the whole of the programme which was then announced. It is all very well to say we do not want to sacrifice our measures too early; but keeping them on the Paper leads only to wasting time, and the Goverment ought to make up their minds without the necessity of any discussion of this kind. I hope what has been said will lead to our giving up the pleasurable excitement of attacking one another all round, and endeavour to set ourselves to the task of getting through the necessary Business of the House in a proper manner, and within a reasonable time. I am quite sure if this is done the Government will receive the co-operation of the House; but if they endeavour to keep measures before us which they know must be abandoned they will keep up a state of irritation which is not good for the progress of Business or the character of the House.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, when the right hon. Gentleman commenced his remarks by saying that wrangles amongst ourselves were far from edifying, and led to discouraging observations by the public at large, I thought the preaching of the right hon. Gentleman excellent; but the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to repeat these wrangles, and to dwell upon them at as great length as anyone. The other observations, made at greater length, were not of a wrangling description at all. [Mr. Warton: Oh, oh!] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport is so habitually accustomed to interfere with the course of Business in this House that I am not surprised at his interruption. The right hon. Gentleman says he thinks the manner in which the Government have proceeded with regard to their request of the time of the House illustrates their want of ability in the management of the Business of the House, which he looks upon as the main cause of the evils under which we live. The right hon. Gentleman says the practice of the Government is to say Obstruction is the great cause of the difficulty. If the right hon. Gentleman did me the honour of attending to anything that falls from me, he would know that I always said that the main, the great cause of our difficulty, and that which gives power to Obstruction and makes Obstruction worth pursuing, is the great increase in the Business of the House, which goes on increasing year by year. I do not agree at all with the right hon. Gentleman as to what he has said in regard to the particular instance he has mentioned. What we felt was, that we were making an appeal to the House at an unusual time and under exceptional circumstances, and that we should not attempt to take the House by surprise; because, if we had attempted to do so by proceeding in the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman recommends—namely, that at once we should have made that demand—I believe we should probably have spent the whole night discussing, in a temper not favourable to the progress of Business, the unreasonable conduct of the Government. The great matter on these occasions is to proceed with the general concurrence of the House, when an extraordinary demand is made on it for its time. That is the object we have in view; and I am happy to say, notwithstanding what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, that we have had the general concurrence of the House, and that the House has admitted the fairness and equity of the spirit in which we have proceeded. The only other person, besides the right hon. Gentleman, who has introduced invidious remarks, is the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke), and he, too, is very learned on this subject, and has given an instance of the gross mismanagement of the Government. He says the first day after the Easter Recess is a splendid day for obtaining Votes in Supply; but, instead of that, the Government allowed the House to be counted out. The right hon. Gentleman is entirely wrong, and does not know the most elementary facts of the case. The House met on Thursday after the Easter Recess; and the House went into Committee of Supply, and continued in Supply until 1 o'clock in the morning, and obtained a number of Votes.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I alluded to Friday night as the first Supply night after the Recess.

MR. GLADSTONE: Then what does the right hon. Gentleman mean? He says he alluded to Friday night, but Friday was not the first night after the Easter Recess. Thursday was the first night.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I mean the first Supply night, not the first Government Business night.

MR. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman quoted from an authority as to the importance of the first night. There was a Motion down as to Parliamentary Representation on Friday, and the question was whether the House would be occupied all night with that Motion. It was not whether they should go into Supply or not; and, if the Motion had come on, the right hon. Gentleman, little as he knows of these matters, must have known that it would take a long time. To part from these subjects, which I am very sorry to have been obliged to allude to, and turn to other matters which are not controversial, the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) has made a speech on subjects of great interest and importance, to which the Government will give their best consideration. We could not arrive at any decision now, and an academic discussion would not be of any great practical advantage. One point I will mention. The hon. Gentleman has referred to what we undoubtedly very much lament—namely, that on several Fridays this year the House has been counted out. The practice of late has been to lay the whole responsibility of keeping a House on Fridays on the Government. Undoubtedly it is the duty of the Government to use every effort to make and keep a House on Fridays. I was present on one or two occasions on Friday night when the House was counted out, and I ask the hon. Gentleman to tax his memory as to what was the proportion of Members on the two sides of the House, and he would agree with me that the Opposition, who at any rate constitute two-fifths of the House, made a contribution of not more than one or two Members towards making up 40. I only refer to that because I do not think it possible for the Secretary to the Treasury to secure—for he cannot command—the attendance of Members except of those who are in Office; and I believe he has usually had 15 to 20 Members who are in Office on the Treasury Bench on these occasions. But the matter must rest on the judgment of the House, and if the Opposition did not attend at that time, I do not blame them. The reason is the extreme severity of the labours of the House. That is the real reason; and for the Government's sake, instead of finding fault with one another, let us recognize this fact. No addition is made to human strength, and no addition is made to human time. The Business of the country most rapidly increases, and together with the necessary Business of the country, the disposition on the part of the House, and the spirit in which the Government is conducted, leads to a great enlargement of its functions and to the intervention of private Members. There is one subject I would venture to point out, because I think I can do it without reproach. We have now got to pay the price for the manner in which our time was disposed of before Easter. There was a full month which, so far as the general Business of the House is concerned, was entirely lost—one fortnight on the debate on the Affirmation Bill, and another fortnight on the Address. With regard to the debate on the Affirmation Bill, the blame of that is laid by the Opposition upon us, and it is laid by us on the Opposition. We say they created the difficulty which we then endeavoured to enable them to escape from, and they say we made a most improper attempt to alter the fundamental principles of the Constitution. I am only referring to that now as a misfortune. With regard to the causes we are not agreed; but we have got to pay the price, undoubtedly, of that expenditure of time, whoever be responsible for it. But the other subject is one of importance, and stands in a totally different category, and I do put it to the House, without reproach to anybody or anything, that there cannot be a practice more inconvenient with regard to Public Business than if that innovation which has lately crept in of indefinite discussion upon the Address were to harden into habit. That fortnight in February will, infallibly, have to be paid for by a fortnight in August or September, and I hope hon. Members will, with reference to the opening of the next Session, bear this subject in mind. They do not then see the consequences of that expenditure of time. If we are in earnest in the endeavour to save time, I am sure there is one way in which that anxiety can best of all be exemplified, and that is by recurring to the practice which prevailed through times of the greatest political excitement—namely, the practice of disposing of the Address on the day on which the House met. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) has made the speech of a Leader of the Opposition, and he seems to be in some kind of competition with the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It is quite evident that the Session, according to the view and appetite of the hon. Member, who is young in point of Parliamentary experience, ought to last all the year round, in order to enable him to do what he seems inclined to do—namely, to take the whole management of the Executive Business of the country into his own hands. I am able to comfort the hon. Gentleman in regard to two of his subjects in this way. He complains that the Government have taken the whole time of the House, and that there will be no time to discuss either the question of Indian affairs or the conduct of France, I believe, with regard to Madagascar; but on Friday the 3rd of August, the hon. Gentleman has the most demonstrative proof that we have not taken the whole time of the House, because he has himself put down a Notice for the discussion on that day of Indian affairs. I presume he will then enter upon that discussion, and should he be moderate in the time he occupies, there is another hon. Member sitting on this side of the House who comes behind with a Question with regard to the affairs of Madagascar; so that, in those circumstances, there will be some comfort for the hon. Gentleman. I must not be drawn by the speech of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) into the rash attempt to name at this moment a date for the Prorogation. Until we are clear of the main and greatest subjects before us, it would be vain to do anything of the kind. With regard to the progress of the Corrupt Practics Bill in Committee, or the progress of the Agricultural Bills, nothing can be more rash than to say how long they are likely to take. When we have got rid of these questions, then, perhaps, we may become a little bolder in our calculations. With respect to Government Bills, I do not think we have been very indefinite, because we have sacrificed eight Bills of great importance; and with regard to three other Bills of importance we have also stated that we hold them to be disposed of entirely according to time and convenience, and these are really the majority of what I may call the disputable or controvertible Bills in the hands of the Government. I agree with what the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) says as to our position with regard to legislation in the hands of private Members, that so far as regards the time of the House we have taken we are not at liberty to dispose of it for the furtherance of private legislation. I do not mean to say that the hopes of private legislation are extinguished for the year. Members are at liberty, if they think fit, to keep their Bills on the Paper, and to avail themselves of such opportunities as the closing days of the Session may afford. Indeed, there are usually a few days towards the end of the Session when private Members have a very good chance of passing some of their Bills. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) referred to the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, and the mode of proceeding that had been adopted. With regard to that Bill, and also to the Ballot Act Continuance Bill, I was precluded by the Forms of the House from at once moving the discharge of the Orders, because I believe the proper course is to keep those Bills on the Paper until the Bill for their continuance had been introduced. Of course the right hon. and learned Gentleman may take advantage of that circumstance in any way he likes; but the course of the Government has been distinctly defined. I do not think I can give any further declaration with respect to the Bills of the Government on the present occasion.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I also asked about precautions against cholera.

MR. GLADSTONE: The question was two fold—first of all, Had we received any remonstrance from Foreign Governments with regard to what had been done or not done in Egypt? There are no such remonstrances of any kind whatever. Then with regard to precautions, if the right hon. Gentleman refers to the instituting of quarantine in this country with reference to cholera, I believe I am accurate in stating that no quarantine has even been established in this country for the purpose of excluding cholera since 1832, and the reason why it has not been done since is because on that occasion it was found to be an entire failure. I do not know that it is necessary for me to detain the House any longer.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that the Prime Minister had spoken of the accumulation of Business; but he begged to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that that accumulation was quite artificial, and was due to two causes. It used to be the habit of the House to require a statement on every Bill proposed to be introduced before the House admitted it to the Notice Paper. The omission of that practice had been very injurious, and had led to the gross accumulation of measures with which the House knew it could not deal. Hon. Members indulged themselves in promises to their constituents to introduce Bills when they ought to know that they had not the slightest chance of passing them. That was a fictitious practice, and highly derogatory to the House of Commons. In this respect even the Prime Minister could not be held to be guiltless, because previous to his accepting Office he put forth a programme which he had been unable to fulfil. It appeared to him that the House was wanting to itself, and that independent Members did not consider the duties of their positions, otherwise they should claim that before Easter, and again before Whitsuntide the Order Book should be examined, if not by the Government, at all events by a Standing Committee of that House, which should undertake the task of reporting to the House the measures which it deemed to be pressing, and with which the House could properly deal within the time allowed to its deliberation.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that the public were getting disgusted at the waste of time in these discussions about the transaction of Business. Under Party Government, Conservatives naturally thought Liberal legislation mischievous, and Liberals thought the same of Conservative legislation. Hence, the method adopted was a premium on delay. A large amount of work was proposed to be done which there was no chance of carrying through, because it was perfectly well understood that the House would rise by a certain date. The true remedy was, that at the beginning of the Session, the Government, to whatever Party it belonged, should put down an amount of work which could not take up too much of the time of the House, and that work should be considered before the Session closed. That would be a self-acting closure, and everybody would be interested in getting through the work.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked whether it had occurred to the hon. Member who had informed the House that the public were getting sick of the waste of time in the House, that he had himself not long ago contributed very much to that waste of time of which he complained? He rose, however, now, not for the purpose of opposing the proposition which had been made, but to enter his protest against the Government taking so much of the time which should be at the disposal of private Members. With reference to the Resolution which had been passed last night on the subject of the importation of foreign cattle, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said that it would be impossible to carry it without further legislation. He had accordingly given Notice that morning that on Monday next he would ask the Prime Minister in what way the Government intended to give effect to the Resolution; because, as the House had passed it by a majority, he presumed that the Government would take steps to give effect to it. He expected, therefore, that the Government would introduce some Bill for that purpose, and in these circumstances their plans might have to undergo some modifications. He would not now move the adjournment of the debate; but he hoped the Prime Minister would consider the question, and give some further information on Monday.

Mr. STEVENSON said, he rose to express his dissatisfaction that the Government were making no provision for the promotion of temperance legislation, which would inflict the greatest disappointment on the promoters of the Temperance Cause, who were the most loyal supporters of Her Majesty's Government. It made very little difference to private Members whether their time was taken up by the Government or not, because the present state of matters was a continual triumph for the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, who had no following whatever in the country. He sometimes thought that the friends of Temperance on this side of the House would fare better if they were in Opposition, for they were hindered by their unwillingness to hamper a Government which they were proud to support. There ought to be some process of selection by which the time at the disposal of private Members might be given to Bills which were considered of importance, instead of being sacrificed to Bills of not the slightest consequence. A Member ought to be entitled to give Notice that his Bill should have precedence, and the question ought to be decided at once by a Vote of the House. The Bill for Sunday Closing in the county of Durham had passed a second reading, and if a Saturday were given to it, its passing would be secured. He hoped even yet that before the Session closed something would be done to meet the views of the great Temperance Party. If nothing were done, it would cause great disappointment in the country, and would do serious damage to the Government.

Mr. ONSLOW wished to ask the Prime Minister if he still intended to carry out the suggestion he threw out a few nights ago, to take the Navy Estimates on Monday and the Agricultural Holdings Bill on Tuesday, in the event of the Corrupt Practices Bill being finished on Friday? The Prime Minister also threw out the suggestion that there would be a Morning Sitting on Tuesday; and he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he intended to have one?

Sir JOHN HAY said, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question with reference to Scottish Business, which he was sure it would be recognized was considerably in arrear. The matter to which he wished to call the attention of the Prime Minister was the new Local Government Board for Scotland. He was not now going to discuss the value of that measure; but he had received several communications on the subject, and believed that it would greatly expedite the consideration of the measure if, instead of taking up the time of the House in discussing it during the remainder of this Session, the Bill itself were submitted to the Conveners of counties in Scotland, so that they should have a general opinion derived from Scotland with reference to the value of the measure. By that arrangement, the measure, if it was to become law, would do so with more general assent than if it were passed through the House without the opinion of Scotland having been taken in the matter. With regard to the Business of the House, he believed the real cause of all the delay was the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule. He said that on the authority of the evidence which the Speaker had given before the Parliamentary Committee on that point; and so long as the Half-past 12 Rule was continued so long should they have a block of Business, and the real cause of that block ought to be known to the country.

Mr. VILLIERS STUART said, he hoped that some effort would be made by the Government to carry the Bill relating to the condition of the Irish labourers. In his opinion, in view of the previous failures of the Government to deal with the question satisfactorily, they ought to give the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) facilities to carry the Bill introduced by him—namely, the Labourers' (Ireland) Bill.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Prime Minister whether he would fix a day for bringing forward the proposals regarding the Suez Canal?

Mr. MOORE said, he would endorse what had been said by the hon. Member for the county of Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart). He hoped the Government would give the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) facilities to carry his Bill dealing with the question of labourers' dwellings in Ireland, as that Bill was certainly a step in the right direction.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON said, that as to the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, the expression of opinion from Irish Members on Monday night only feebly represented the feeling of the country on the question. Since he entered the House that day a bundle of telegrams on the subject reached him from Ireland; but he would only trouble the House with one of them, which was as follows:—

"The surrender of the Sunday Closing Bill unfortunate for the Government. Will Chief Secretary not redeem his pledge? Strong feeling here. Press hard. Thanks for help."

Mr. CALLAN: Will the hon. Member state who is that telegram from?

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON said, he preferred not to give the hon. Member for Louth the information; and very probably, under similar circumstances, the hon. Member would not be very ready to give him information.

Mr. CALLAN: I would certainly give the hon. Member the information.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON said, he would rather not state who the telegram came from; but the hon. Member was perfectly at liberty to have the telegram in his hand afterwards if he desired to see it. The reason he read the telegram was to express his belief that, in his opinion, the Irish Government was as anxious as he was that this Bill should be carried. The Irish Sunday Closers absolved the Chief Secretary from all responsibility in the matter, and he felt that measure was dropped because of the natural competition which took place at that period of the Session between the Bills the Government desired to pass. The Irish Sunday Closing Bill did not receive that consideration from the English portion of the Government which the Irish portion of the Government bestowed upon it. This valuable Bill was sacrified to meet the exigencies of English measures. ["Oh, oh!"]

Mr. CALLAN remarked that he really had no desire to see the telegram read by the hon. Member for Armagh. He knew very well the source from which it came. It came, of course, from the Irish Sunday Closing Association.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON: I rise to Order. It did nothing of the kind.

Mr. CALLAN: Well, at all events, the publication of the telegram was rather extensive, because the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) showed him (Mr. Callan) a telegram which was precisely in the same terms, and which undoubtedly came from the Irish Sunday Closing Society in Dublin. The executive of this Society had been compared to the three tailors of Tooley Street. It consisted of three Scotchmen—Mr. Henry

Wigham, Mr. David Drummond, and of Mr. Russell—who came over to Dublin to endeavour to introduce their Scotch habits. The hon. Member was proceeding to discuss the merits of the Sunday Closing Bill, when——

Mr. SPEAKER rose and said, the hon. Member was not in Order in debating the Bill.

Mr. CALLAN said, he would not pursue the matter further; but he should have a full opportunity of doing so when the Bill was brought forward in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, and he only trespassed on the time of the House now because the hon. Member for Armagh (Mr. J. N. Richardson) talked about the unanimity of the feeling in Ireland in favour of the Bill. Now, in his opinion, the unanimity was all the other way.

Mr. EWART said, he held that public opinion in Ireland, with a very small exception, was quite in favour of the measure, and he believed that the announcement of the Prime Minister that he intended to drop it had caused a great deal of disappointment throughout the country, as the Government had pledged themselves to pass it. He hoped, under these circumstances, that the Government would reconsider its decision of abandoning the measure for the Session.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) was not quite accurate in his representation of what took place. He had never spoken of an expectation that the Committee on the Corrupt Practices Bill would last till Friday, for he hoped the discussion would close to-morrow. He could not make any definite arrangement about Tuesday. An arrangement had already been made that the Navy Estimates should be taken on Monday; but it was impossible to state on what day the Suez Canal discussion would be reached until they had closed the Committee on the Corrupt Practices Bill, and were near the close of the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill. The Government would then make the best arrangements they could, and also inform the House whether they saw any prospect of going forward with the three important Bills which were at present held in reserve. It would be a violation of the understanding between the House and the Government if any exception were to be made in favour of legislation in the interests of Irish labourers this Session.

Mr. C. H. WILSON said, he regretted the fate of the English Sunday Closing Bills; and also that all hopes of further temperance legislation were at an end for this Session. He would, however, warn the Government that it would not be to their advantage to alienate the sympathies of the Temperance Party, which was one of the strongest supporters of the Ministry. He appealed to the Government to promise to help forward temperance legislation next Session, so as to allay the rapidly increasing discontent in the country.

Mr. WARTON said, he was glad to find the Prime Minister prepared to stand by his pledge, and he charged with immorality those who had urged him to depart from it. He hoped that if the Prime Minister should have Saturday Sittings at any time he would reserve them exclusively for the transaction of Government Business.

Mr. ECROYD said, he believed the Temperance Movement had been greatly prejudiced by the course adopted this Session of bringing in a number of Bills relating to separate counties. He hoped that next year the Temperance Party would concentrate their efforts on the passing of a single measure for the whole country; and he, for one, should be disposed to give it a frank and fair consideration.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have priority this day, and on each succeeding Wednesday.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[Bill 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 10*th July.*]

[NINETEENTH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

New Clause:—

(Employment of hackney carriages, or of carriages and horses kept for hire.)

"A person shall not let, lend, or employ for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, any public stage or hackney carriage, or any horse or other animal kept or used for drawing the same, or any carriage, horse, or other animal which he keeps or uses for the purpose of letting out for hire, and if he lets, lends, or employs such carriage, horse, or other animal, knowing that it is intended to be used for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

"A person shall not hire, borrow, or use for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll any carriage, horse, or other animal which he knows the owner thereof is prohibited by this section to let, lend, or employ for that purpose, and, if he does so, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

"Provided, That nothing in this section shall prevent a carriage, horse, or other animal being let to or hired or used by an elector for the purpose of conveying himself to the poll,"—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. H. H. FOWLER moved to leave out in the new clause the word "let" in line 1. The clause would then read—

"A person shall not lend or employ for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, any public stage or hackney carriage."

The clause was aimed against the practice of lending carriages by job-masters on the day of the poll. There would be great difficulty in framing a clause—the present words would not do—so as not to interfere with the legitimate rights of a carriage proprietor to use his cabs and omnibuses on the day of an election. People must be entitled to ride in cabs and omnibuses; and what he wanted to submit to the consideration of the Attorney General was, whether this clause could not be confined simply and solely to lending, not touching the question of letting, assuming that that had been dealt with by the 6th clause? For the purpose of raising the question, and in order to clearly understand what the Attorney General proposed to do, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) formally moved to omit the word "let" in line 1.

Amendment proposed to proposed New Clause, to omit "let" in line 1.—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'let' stand part of the Clause."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that he stood between two fires in regard to this matter; because the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had an Amendment on the Paper to leave out the words "lend or employ." He (the Attorney General) should certainly prefer to allow the word "let" to remain in the clause.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON suggested that they should put in the word "or" after "let," and strike out the words "or employ." Such an Amendment, he believed, would answer the purpose of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). A man would then be enabled to employ omnibuses and other carriages on the day of election in the ordinary course of business.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, his Amendment stood next on the Paper; but he would move it in a different form from that in which it appeared. "To lend" and "to employ" were two totally different things. Lending in this case meant lending for the use of a candidate; but employing meant that a man in the course of his business employed a carriage. Now, in the North of England there were a great many Carriage Companies, and there was no doubt whatever that during elections there would be a great number of men going about; and the Companies would, in the ordinary course of their business, let out their carriages to people at a certain price. There was not the smallest doubt that where there was a demand there would be a supply. Surely, they did not intend to prevent a Tram Car or Carriage Company using its own carriages for its own purposes? Such people ought to be allowed to employ their carriages, because it could not form a means of corruption in any way. He should like to alter his Amendment. As it appeared upon the Paper, his Amendment was, to leave out "lend or employ;" he would, however, move to insert after the word "let," "or." He would afterwards move, in the event of this being carried, to strike out the words "or employ."

Amendment proposed to proposed New Clause, to insert after "let," the word "or."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'or' be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he could not accede to the right hon. Gentleman's wishes. He (the Attorney General) really believed that all the right hon. Gentleman wished was provided for in the Proviso—namely—

> "Provided, That nothing in this section shall prevent a carriage, horse, or other animal being let to, or hired, or used by an elector for the purpose of conveying himself to the poll."

What the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire wanted would be carried into effect—namely—that if any person wished to go to the poll in an omnibus he would be allowed to do so. If the Committee consented to strike out the words "or employ," they would be departing from what they carried yesterday.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not think he had made himself quite clear. He did not, by this Amendment, wish to disturb the vote of yesterday. Hon. Members who were acquainted with Lancashire, especially the South-Eastern Division, would know that there was a large Company in Manchester called the Manchester Carriage Company, and another in Bolton called the Bolton Carriage Company. It might happen that many voters in and about Manchester might be, on the day of election, at work in Bolton, or in other towns, and *vice versâ*; there would, therefore, be great traffic from town to town. Probably the tramway cars running from place to place would be quite full, and the Carriage Company would think it right to put on an additional number of omnibuses, for precisely the same purpose as the ordinary running tramway car and omnibus. Now, that would be the employment of carriages for the purpose of carrying voters to the poll. He did not see that such a state of things ought to be prevented, and it was to carry out this view that he had moved the Amendment. Perhaps, however, it would be wise to put the word "employ" in the Proviso; and, therefore, he would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS, in moving to strike out the word "lend," admitted that the Amendment was distinctly contrary to the vote they came to the other day. In this clause they were striking at one set of persons, and leaving another set completely untouched. He could not understand what danger there would be in allowing persons to lend their own carriages and horses. Any brewer might lend all his carriages and his horses; but if the clause was kept unaltered, a man whose trade it was to let vehicles would not be able to carry on his business on an election day. He considered they were putting an invidious distinction upon a job-master. He moved to leave out the word "lend."

Amendment proposed to proposed New Clause, to leave out, in line 1, the word "lend."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'lend' stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was quite right when he said that this Amendment would reverse, if accepted, the vote of yesterday afternoon. Letting or hiring would be covered, to a great extent, by Clause 6. He (the Attorney General) quite agreed that the brewer might send out his carriages; so might a private gentleman. They, however, were not persons who let carriages for hire. The evil they wished to meet was letting for hire. The right hon. Gentleman had said that they were making an invidious distinction of job-masters; but it was patent that if they meant to strike a blow at corrupt practices they must aim at particular individuals. They had already prevented the hiring of committee rooms in public-houses. Why had they done that? Because in public-houses there were greater opportunities of treating than in any other place. They had also sacrificed the Legal Profession, to which many of them belonged; and now they proposed to reach hackney carriage proprietors, because they had the greatest opportunities of letting carriages for hire. He did not think that this clause was invidious in the sense of attacking the job-master; certainly, no hardship was intended to accrue to him.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he would point out that this matter was not dealt with in precisely the same way as other matters had been dealt with in the Bill.

Let them take, for instance, the case of payment for the exposure of bills and placards. He understood that, as the Bill now stood, it would be an illegal practice to hire houses for the purpose of exhibiting candidate's bills, and that it was intended to prohibit that, because the hiring of houses for such purpose was considered a very insidious system of bribery. But they allowed the proprietor of a house to exhibit a candidate's bill, provided he did not take payment. Why was not the same argument applicable to the one case as to the other? It was said that the lending of carriages might be turned into a mode of bribery, because the candidate would give or promise, or hold out hopes of a *quid pro quo* afterwards, although he might not give it at the time. Why was not the same argument applicable to the exposure of bills? They allowed a proprietor of a house to exhibit bills; but they did not allow him to receive payment. Might it not happen, however, that there would be an understanding that, if the exhibition of bills was not paid for in malt, it would be paid for afterwards in meal? In this clause they were prohibiting a person, whose business it was to do so, to lend vehicles in any shape or form. They made an exception in the case of the exhibition of bills by those whose business it was to exhibit bills. People whose business it was to lend vehicles were debarred from lending them. He could not for the life of him see what possible distinction could be made between the two cases. There might be bribery and corruption in the one case just as much as in the other.

MR. MACFARLANE said, there was nothing in the Bill to prevent a candidate borrowing or engaging every carriage and vehicle in a borough, provided he did not convey voters to the poll in them. A candidate might pay £5 or £10 a-day for each carriage. That would be done with a corrupt object, yet there was nothing in the Bill to prevent him doing it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) thought the Maximum Schedule would stop anything of that kind.

MR. WARTON said, he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would forgive him if he said that he seemed to treat the Committee to alternative arguments, utterly regardless of what had gone before. There was a sublime disregard for consistency about the hon. and learned Gentleman which was rather misleading. If the Attorney General was very desirous of stopping every kind of improper use of carriages on the day of an election, there was another contingency he had to provide for; and that was the hiring or getting possession of, as a loan under this clause, by a candidate of a number of carriages, not for the purpose of conveying voters to or from the poll, but simply for the purpose of retaining possession of them and preventing his opponents getting them. After this clause had been passed it would be quite possible for one candidate to obtain the loan—at no expense whatever—of every carriage a job-master possessed. In that case the object of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would be completely defeated. He (Mr. Warton) wanted to know whether the Attorney General would consider that state of things? Of course, he knew that the hon. and learned Gentleman would treat the matter with the same disregard of argument that he did all matters. It was not for him (Mr. Warton) to teach the hon. and learned Gentleman his business; but the time would come when, seeing that clause in operation, he would find the mistake he was now making. They might put as many restrictions in the clause as they liked. The ingenuity of man would easily evade them, and elections would become, in fact, a battle between people who would really have to carry them out—a battle not always conducted in a fair spirit. He trusted the Attorney General would see the force of his observations—namely, that there were no words in the clause to prevent a candidate getting possession of carriages, provided he did not use them for the purpose of conveying voters to the poll.

MR. WHITLEY said, that if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) went to a Division he should divide with him. The more he (Mr. Whitley) looked at this clause, the more he was convinced that it would be thoroughly unworkable. It must have occurred to every Member of the Committee that the clause could be in many ways evaded. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr.

Warton) had cited one way in which the clause could be easily evaded. He (Mr. Whitley) did not think the clause would carry out the intentions of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General himself; and he (Mr. Whitley) was of opinion that the Committee would do well to reject the clause altogether. He could not conceive the use of passing a clause which was really unworkable.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was afraid he must divide the Committee on his Amendment. His action would, of course, depend upon the answer which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would now give him. As the clause was drawn, the letting or hiring of vehicles for the conveyance of voters to the poll was made an illegal practice; and, therefore, if it was done by anyone who could be construed into an agent it would go hard with the candidate. Would the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General either accept the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), or consent to put in "employment or hiring?"

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he thought that was very reasonable, and would consent to the insertion of the words.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Sir R. Assheton Cross, Amendment made, in line 7 of the proposed New Clause, by leaving out the word "practice," and inserting "employment or hiring;" in line 11, by leaving out the word "practice," and inserting "employment or hiring;" and in line 11, by inserting after "hired," the word "employed."

Mr. ONSLOW said, supposing a person hired a carriage to take himself up to the poll, and he met a friend who was also a voter, would the man who had hired the carriage be permitted to give his friend a lift? Really, according to this section, that would be an illegal practice.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, certainly not. He could not find any reason why it should be so.

Mr. TATTON EGERTON said, he understood the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General accepted the principle of the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Williamson); but there was one point to which he (Mr. Tatton Egerton) must call attention. If an elector arrived at a station, having ordered his conveyance to meet him, he would be precluded, if the Amendment of the hon. Member for St. Andrews were accepted, from inviting a friend he had met on the platform, who was also a voter, to drive up with him to the poll. He had, therefore, to ask the Attorney General to accept his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the proposed New Clause, to leave out, in line 13, "an elector," and insert "one or more electors."—(*Mr. Tatton Egerton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was sorry he could not accept the Amendment, though he intended to ask the Committee to accept the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Williamson). If the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tatton Egerton) were accepted one elector might hire as many vehicles as he liked for all the other electors in the constituency. [An hon. Member: A carriage.] Of course, a carriage meant any number of carriages. Where they had the singular, they had the plural.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. WHITLEY (for Mr. Williamson) moved, in line 13, after "elector," to insert "or by several electors at their joint cost."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he assented to the Amendment.

Mr. TATTON EGERTON asked whether the clause, as now proposed to be amended, would preclude an elector going in a carriage inviting a friend to drive to the poll with him?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that if the elector had hired a carriage for the purpose of conveying another elector, of course it would be an offence under the Act; but if he simply invited a brother elector to drive up to the poll with him for the purpose of giving a friendly lift, he should say that the gentleman would not be guilty of an offence.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. WHITLEY (for Mr. WILLIAMSON) moved to leave out, in line 14, "conveying himself to," and insert "being conveyed to and from." The hon. Gentleman explained that this was merely consequential upon the foregoing.

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. WARTON proposed to leave out in the Amendment just accepted the word "and," and insert "or."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) assented.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. RITCHIE said, that the clause, as amended, no doubt provided for joint hiring; and he understood the Attorney General to assent to the proposition that it would not be illegal for a person whose ordinary trade it was to run omnibuses or other conveyances for payment, to put on extra conveyances for the purpose of taking voters to the poll. He thought it would be advisable to make this clear by adding these words, "or plying for hire for the purpose of carrying voters to or from the poll." The clause would then run—

> "Provided, That nothing in this section shall prevent a carriage, horse, or other animal being let to, or hired, or used by an elector for the purpose of conveying himself to the poll, or plying for hire, for the purpose of conveying voters to or from the poll."

Amendment proposed, at end of the proposed New Clause, to add these words "or plying for hire, for the purpose of carrying voters to or from the poll."—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if they accepted this Amendment they would undo everything they had done. If they allowed a carriage to ply for hire for the purpose of carrying voters to the poll, a man would let out every carriage he had. If an individual, being a voter, wanted to go to the poll in an omnibus, there was nothing now in the clause to prevent him from doing so.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not think that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General thoroughly appreciated the Amendment. What his (Sir R. Assheton Cross's) hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) meant to provide was, that a person who owned conveyances might send an additional number out on the polling day if he thought proper.

MR. RITCHIE said, that that was just what he wanted, and he could not understand why his words met with objection. He had understood the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to say that it would be perfectly legal for an omnibus proprietor to send out his conveyances to be hired by persons, provided they paid for the hiring themselves. That was all his Amendment proposed to do. He understood the object of the Attorney General was that voters should not be conveyed to the poll without payment on their part. The hon. and learned Gentleman had accepted an Amendment which would permit a certain number of voters to club together for the purpose of hiring a conveyance to carry them to the poll. He (Mr. Ritchie) could not see any difference between doing that and allowing a proprietor of omnibuses to put on, in any districts, a number of omnibuses, where such conveyances were required, for the purpose of taking up voters to the poll for payment on their part for the conveyance. He should certainly adhere to his words and divide the Committee.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he did not understand the objection to these words. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General looked at the clause as it stood, he would find there was substantial reason for asking for the insertion of some such words as the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) now proposed. The words of the clause were—

> "A person shall not let, lend, or employ for the purpose of the conveyance of electors to or from the poll, any public stage, or hackney carriage,"

and so on. These words were obviously aimed at the employment of carriages for the services of one particular Party, and that might be quite legitimate. It was admitted, however, that in outlying districts there might be a number of voters who could only vote during the dinner hour, and that, therefore; it was, obvious that some means should be provided for conveying such voters to the poll, not at the expense of the candidate, but at their own expense. If a person who owned omnibuses and hackney carriages put on the road on an election day a number of omnibuses for the purpose of taking people to and from the poll, he would come within the meaning of the words in the first part of the clause—namely, he would be held to be a person who employed a public stage and hackney carriage for the purpose of conveying voters to and from the poll. It was because men were voters that they wanted to be carried, and it was because they wanted to be carried that the proprietors put the omnibuses on the road. The proposed words were only intended to protect the proprietors of carriages in such a case; and, in his (Mr. E. Clarke's) opinion, the words really came within the meaning of the clause.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) was quite right in saying that they had accepted an Amendment which would allow for a joint hiring; but this Amendment went further than that, for it gave the right to a man to convey not the public, but individual electors.

MR. RITCHIE begged the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that that was so. The words were, "plying for hire for the purpose of carrying voters to or from the poll." Under these words a man might go to a carriage proprietor and say—"Here, take So-and-so to the poll." The Committee would clearly see that the Amendment went considerably further than the Proviso.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought they were all agreed upon the principle, and that the only thing on which they were at variance was the words. The Proviso laid down that any number of electors might hire. That seemed to him a distinct hiring; but that was not exactly what they wanted. What they wanted was to protect the omnibuses which regularly plied for hire in the streets; and he hardly thought that the Proviso covered their employment, because in their case there was a distinct hiring by an elector.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had just anticipated what he was about to say. They were all agreed upon the principle. He (the Solicitor General) thought the words suggested went beyond what the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) himself meant. If the hon. Gentleman would leave the matter as it now stood, he (the Solicitor General) would confer with him as to whether, on Report, some words which would meet the object in view could not be inserted.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Attorney General whether a person would not be guilty of an illegal practice if, on the day of an election, he hired a waggonette for the purpose of bringing up electors to the poll at a charge of 6*d.* or 1*s.* each?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if this were a colourable charge the man would clearly be guilty of an illegal practice. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said, they were really agreed upon the principle in this matter, and he appealed to the Committee to come to a Division.

MR. RITCHIE said, he was sure his object and the Attorney General's were identical in this matter. It would be easy, later on, to arrange words to carry out what they were both agreed upon; therefore, he would withdraw his proposal.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped that an Amendment would be proposed by the Attorney General on Report, or, better than that, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would seriously consider between this and Report whether it was worth while to leave the clause in at all. If the hon. and learned Gentleman reconsidered the matter, and bore in mind that the clause was not to affect the candidate or the seat, and saw the way in which it would be worked, he would agree, no doubt, that it was no use leaving the section in. It, obviously, would be inoperative, and when the words were considered, it would be seen that it was not worth while retaining it.

Mr. GORST said, that as the clause now stood, a person who happened to be a cab proprietor or an owner of carriages, and who might have an aged father whom he wished to take to the poll, and who, under ordinary circumstances, he would drive in one of his own conveyances to the poll, would be prevented from doing such a thing. The clause was so stringent, that a man of that sort who drove his aged father to the poll would be guilty of an illegal hiring. The man might see his neighbouring brewer, who had carriages at his command, going into the street and picking up voters to take to the poll, and doing it with impunity; whilst he himself would be unable to drive his own aged father to the poll.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the case the hon. and learned Member referred to would come within the category of domestic use. At any time, and in connection with anything, it was always possible to give extreme and ridiculous cases.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Mr. NEWDEGATE: Sir, I am very anxious to bring to the attention of the Committee a clause of which I have given Notice; because, although the Head of Her Majesty's Government has announced that the Bill by which he proposes to make the Ballot perpetual will be deferred to another Session, we are still under the operation of the Ballot; and it seems that what is called the Caucus is inseparable from the Ballot. I think that I shall be able to show, notwithstanding this adjournment of the perpetuation of the Ballot, that the Legislature of the United States have found it necessary to adopt provisions, some of which do not exist in the laws of the United Kingdom—as they formerly did not exist among those of the United States. Precautions against conspiracy in electoral matters lie scattered in that vast folio, our Statute Book, and are comparatively unknown. I may say that the experience of the United States of the Ballot extends from 1777, but that the system became more general in 1800. I am speaking after having discussed the matter with American friends, and after having been in the United States, and after having read some recent works on the Ballot and on the operation of the Caucus published in the United States. The history of the Ballot in America proves that the Caucus is inseparable from the Ballot. I will not go into details; but if any hon. Gentleman is inclined to dispute my assertions, I have here my authorities. I have some American books; but I have here two works, *Forty Years of American Life*, by Nicholls (Longmans), and *United States Constitutional History*, by Sterne, an American barrister, which latter book seems to me very valuable; these are recent works published, the latter by Cassell, so lately as 1882. In these works proof is to be found of the fact that the Caucus is inseparable from the Ballot, and was one of the elements of disturbance that caused the American Civil War. Now, this Bill, according to the statement of the hon. and learned Attorney General, is not against corruption, but against expensive agency—it does not contemplate the Caucus. The hon. and learned Gentleman, on Monday, 4th June, said, with regard to this Bill—

> "For his part he should take the side of the candidate as against that of the agent. . . . It was to protect themselves from this foolish and unnecessary expenditure that this Bill was introduced; it was introduced to guard themselves not only against absolute corruption, but against the fact that candidates were being constantly preyed upon by a class of men who delighted in elections on account of the money they obtained from the candidates."—(3 *Hansard*, [279] 1701-2.)

There cannot be a more terse or distinct statement of the objects of the Bill; but the hon. and learned Gentleman seems totally to have neglected the fact that a Member of the present Cabinet—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain)—is not only a Member of the Cabinet, but is Chief of the Caucus, which has its head-quarters at Birmingham. I will read a letter published by the right hon. Gentleman, descriptive of the operation of this organization, which is by no means confined to Birmingham, but which, he states, has its ramifications in nearly 80 constituencies of this country, and the House will observe that he boasts of the success of the organization. The evil of its effects have been proved in the United States. I am persuaded that it will have similarly corrupting effects in this country, unless something is done to check them. This Caucus system seems to prevail in the Liberal Party, and my American friends assure me that, unless its corruption be stayed, it will be positively impossible for their opponents of that Party to avoid adopting it. This I should sincerely lament. It was out of this system that grievous evil grew in the United States, until it culminated in and during the Civil War, and continued until the American Legislature adopted repressive measures, of the substance of which my Amendment is the embodiment. I would not venture to trouble the Committee on this subject if I were not speaking from more than ordinary information, from knowledge obtained by having visited America, and by having kept up American friendships, and from having received up to yesterday information on this subject from the other side of the Atlantic. One American gentleman was sitting with me the other day, and I showed him this Bill and told him of the operation of the Ballot, to correct some of the effects of which the measure before the House has nominally been introduced. I acquainted him also with the existence of the Caucus system in this country. I was asking him as to the remedies for the evils of the Caucus system adopted in the United States, when he observed—"Why, you have put on our old clothes, and now ask us to teach you how to darn them." I will now, Sir, read the letter of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain). This letter is dated April 10, 1880, immediately before or immediately after the appointment of the right hon. Gentleman to a seat in the Cabinet. I need not say that in North Warwickshire we read this communication with some surprise, and have by no means forgotten the substance of it. On the 13th of April, 1880—during the formation of the present Government—this letter of the right hon. Gentleman appeared as addressed to the editor of *The Times*, headed "The Caucus"—

"Sir,—A few days after the Dissolution of Parliament it was said by a writer in the Press that the elections would test the efficiency of the new Democratic machinery, of which Birmingham is the capital. It may interest your readers to learn the result of the experiment. Popular representative organizations on the Birmingham model, sometimes called the 'Caucus' by those who have not taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the details of the Birmingham system, exist in 67 of the Parliamentary boroughs, in which contests have just taken place. In 60 of these, Liberal seats were gained or retained. In seven only the Liberals were defeated; but in three, at least, of these cases a Petition will be presented against the Return on the ground of bribery.

"This remarkable success is a proof that the new organization has succeeded in uniting all sections of the Party, and it is a conclusive answer to the fears which some timid Liberals entertained that the system would be manipulated in the interest of particular crotchets. It has, on the contrary, deepened and extended the interest felt in the contest, it has fastened a sense of personal responsibility on the electors, and it has secured the active support, for the most part voluntary and unpaid, of thousands and tens of thousands of voters, who have been willing to work hard for the candidates in whose selection they have for the first time had an influential voice.

"Among other results may be noticed the fact that the gentlemen who have commended themselves to these popular and somewhat Democratic committees have been, on the whole, more decided in their Liberalism than was usually the case with the nominees of the small cliques of local politicians whom the new organization has superseded. A long purse has not been an all-sufficient passport, and the candidates who are 'so thundering eminent for being never heard of,' have been passed over and over again in favour of others, who have won their spurs in political conflicts, and have given proof of steadfastness to their principles, and of ability in maintaining them.

"The restricted franchise in the counties, and the large area of these constituencies, have hitherto prevented any considerable extension of the plan outside the boroughs. One of these difficulties will now shortly be removed; the other may be overcome, and I expect that, at no distant date, the electors will universally demand a preliminary voice in the selection of candidates.

"Meanwhile, in ten county constituencies in which the Caucus has, in spite of all obstacles, been already established, and where contests have taken place, the Liberals have won seats in all; and it may be affirmed that in most of these cases there would have been no contest but for the energy and determination of the new element imported into the councils of the Party.

"Altogether, for good or for evil, the organization has now taken firm root in this country, and politicians will do well to give it in future a less prejudiced attention.

"I am, Sir, yours obediently,

"J. Chamberlain.

"Birmingham, April 10th."

I am, in fact, the senior Member for Birmingham, which is included in North Warwickshire; and I have made it my business, without intruding upon the privacy—I should say the secrecy—of the Caucus, to ascertain, as far as I could, its organization. I find that in England the system is precisely the same as in America. Not in essentials dissimilar from that of the "Tammany Ring" in New York. There are about 10 "leaders"—as they call them in the United States—and one chief, or autocrat, whom the Americans surname "the Boss." A Cabinet Minister is "the Boss" of the English Caucus. I observe the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) has returned to the House, and would inform him that I have just read his letter addressed to *The Times* on 10th April, 1880, in which he described the Caucus, which has its centre in Birmingham, and has extended its ramifications to nearly 80 constituencies. The right hon. Gentleman will, I hope, excuse me for not reading that letter again, lest I should weary the House, and because it has attracted a considerable amount of attention in the Midland Counties. What, Sir, is the agency established by this Caucus? In Birmingham it is commonly believed—and commonly reported—to consist of 800 persons. The Attorney General, in the Bill before the House, appears to contemplate no such agency as this, and yet these agents are acting under the right hon. Gentleman as their Chief, according to a rule of implicit obedience. What consideration, if any, they receive—for in his letter the right hon. Gentleman admits that some are paid, although, for the most part, their services are voluntary and unpaid—yet some—I know not how many—are paid. The right hon. Gentleman is here, however, to describe the organization, and, perhaps, he will give us some more exact description of its rules—if it possesses any detailed rules, which I very much doubt—seeing that the organization is in this country, just as much as in America, that of a virtual autocracy. This I have ascertained. Well, Sir, as I have said, the clause which I propose contains the substance of the provisions; it is the embodiment of the Statutes adopted in America since the Civil War for the purpose of restraining the action of Caucuses. I will presently read an extract from the Report of the Legislature of New York—which was transmitted to the American Congress—on the subject of the New York Election Frauds, in order to show the state of disorder and corruption in electoral matters, which the existence of the Caucus and of the "Tammany Ring" produced in the Empire State, the necessity of restraining which the American Congress has acknowledged by legislative action. I will now read the clause which I propose to insert in the Bill, which has been drawn by an English barrister under American advice. I propose, after Clause 2, to insert a clause against corrupt practices by persons combined for the purpose—

> "If any persons are combined for the purpose of promising, and shall promise, directly or indirectly, any personal or pecuniary advantage to any elector or electors on account of his or their voting, or abstaining from voting, for any designated candidate or candidates; or if any persons are combined to cause any elector or electors reasonably to expect that he or they will avoid any personal disadvantage on account of his or their voting or abstaining from voting for any designated candidate or candidates, such persons so combined and so acting for the said purpose or purposes shall individually be guilty of a corrupt practice, and shall be subject to all penalties relating to such an offence."

I will not detain the Committee by reading the American Statutes directed against the Caucus, which they treat as a conspiracy; but I give the Committee this assurance—that the clause I propose is the embodiment of these laws directed against electoral conspiracy, under which term the United States Government has learnt to class the Caucus, which system has lately been, and for the first time, imported into the United Kingdom. I may, for the purpose of proving to the Committee that I do not misrepresent American Statutes, read the heading of some of the provisions which have been adopted at Washington since 1870 to restrict the operations of the Caucus. When the American Legislature at last became aware that this, which was at first a small system of interference, chiefly with municipal government and affairs, had, since the commencement of the present century, grown into a conspiracy, which took a large share in producing the disorganization which caused the Civil War, for this conspiracy had so corrupted that it threatened to break up the whole electoral system of the United States. We find the following headings attached to certain of the Revised Statutes of the United States, one dated 31st May, 1870—"Intimidating voters by bribery or threats;" another of the 20th of

April, 1871—"Conspiring to prevent, accepting, or holding office under the United States," &c.; another of the same date—"Conspiracy to prevent the support of any candidate." I will not detain the Committee by reading more of these headings; but will merely assure the Committee that my clause embodies, not the penalties, which are much more severe in the United States, but the purport of the American Statutes, by which Congress has found it necessary to restrain the operations of the Caucus. I trust that the Committee will forgive my being unwilling to bring any accusation against a Member for Birmingham, whether he be the right hon. Gentleman or another, unless I have sufficient grounds for doing so; and I am prepared to prove the accusation I bring, either in this House or in any Court of Law. I turn again to the Attorney General, and I appeal to him whether the provisions of his Bill are such as are calculated to control an organization commanding 800 agents—for they are nothing but agents—in Birmingham alone? I appeal to him whether he has considered the effect of the extension of this Caucus system to 80 other constituencies? I should be very loth to see my hon. Friends on this side of the House forced to adopt any analogous system. I am the senior ex-Whipper-in of this House. I know the organization of the Carlton Club, and I believe I understand the organization of the Reform Club; and I know that they are totally different from, totally unlike, the organization of the Caucus. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade boasts of this Caucus system as a new organization in this country. It is not new elsewhere; for the Congress of the United States, the Legislature of that great Republic have proved, by their legislation, what bitter experience they have had of the operation of the Caucus system. Thirty years ago this system was growing in the United States. I will give to the Committee from *Crockett's Tour*, published about that time, page 206, a passage, illustrative of the circumstances which marked that period of the growth of the Caucus. This is the description, supposed to be spoken by a man who has joined a Caucus:—

> "I'll be a voter, and this is a big character, able to shoulder a steamboat, and carry any candidate that the Caucus at Baltimore may set up against the people. What's the people to a Caucus? Nothing but a dead ague to an earthquake."

Well, that is plain speaking; but the evidence given before Congress is equally plain; the Committee will find that it is no imposture, no sham. This Caucus organization has proved that it acquires the power of controlling elections, of carrying its candidates in defiance of the real inclination or opinion of the majority of the constituency attacked. It is the deepest system of electoral corruption—nay, of fraud—that ever was set up; it is more arbitrary and more vicious, and in the United States, where thoroughly known, it became thoroughly detested. It has been proved in America that the undue influence of the Caucus is worse and more powerful than any influence that can be exercised by large employers of labour, or by the landowners—nay, than by any money-lender. Mr. Sterne writes that this dominating conspiracy has been proved in the United States to be capable of becoming most arbitrary and most effectual, and that in many cases it has forced upon the constituencies representation which the majority have thoroughly disliked. The Congress of the United States have dealt with this system, as I have shown, because it was proved to demonstration that it is fraught, not only with corruption, but also with intimidation; in short, with every means that can be used to produce misrepresentation of the people. And now, with the permission of the Committee, I will read an extract from a Report upon the New York Election Frauds received in the third Session of the fortieth Congress of the United States. This Report shows what the work of the Caucus has been in the States, but more particularly in the City of New York; this finally drew the attention of the Congress of the United States to the subject, and produced the enactment of the stringent clauses against conspiracy, aimed at effecting misrepresentation of the real will of the people. The Report says—

> "The State of New York has been prolific in election frauds at various times; while Louisiana, Maryland, and other States have presented many phases of the same evils. But, appalling and startling as these have been in our past history, they are all surpassed in some respects by those perpetrated in the General Election,

in the State, and especially in the City of New York, on the 3rd of November, 1868. These frauds were the result of a systematic plan of gigantic proportions, stealthily pre-arranged and boldly executed, not merely by bands of degraded desperadoes, but with the direct sanction, approval, or aid of many prominent officials and citizens of New York, with the shrewdly-concealed connivance of others, and almost without an effort to discourage or prevent them by any of those in whose interest and political Party Associations they were successfully executed, who could not fail to have cognizance of them, and whose duty it was to expose, defeat, and punish them. They were aided by an immense corrupt and corrupting official patronage and power, which not only encouraged, but shielded and protected the guilty principals and their aiders and abettors. These frauds are so varied in character, that they comprehended every known crime against the elective franchise. They corrupted the administration of justice, degraded the judiciary, defeated the execution of the laws, subverted, for the time being, in New York State, the essential principles of popular Government; robbed the people of the great State of their rightful choice of electors of President and Vice President, of a Governor and other officers; disgraced the most populous city of the Union, encouraged the enemies of Republican Government here and everywhere to deride our institutions as a failure, and endangered the peace of the Republic by an attempt to defeat the will of the people in the choice of their rulers."

THE CHAIRMAN: I have been very unwilling to interrupt the hon. Member, but he has read very copious extracts relating to American affairs; and I wish to call his attention to the fact that, looking at the time he has been occupied in reading extracts alone, so far as I can make a calculation it would take three whole working days to dispose of the Amendments on the Paper at a similar rate of progress.

MR. NEWDEGATE: I thank you, Sir Arthur Otway; I am always grateful for advice from the Chair, as I hope every Member of the House is. I think I have said enough to show what the Caucus system has become in the United States before it was restrained by law. I could show the Committee by reference to history how it began, by action upon the municipal organization of the large cities and States, how it extended its evil influence to the electors of the Legislature, and at last extended to the highest officials. I do not wish to exaggerate this comparison. I admit that the Constitution of the United States was more open to this conspiracy than is that of the United Kingdom. The authors to whom I have referred admit this, as do the American friends with whom I have conversed upon this subject. They all said that since this system has obtained an extensive hold, already in this country, if it remains unchecked, it must entail the necessity upon those assailed—who, in this case, are the Conservative Party—the necessity of adopting some similar organization to counteract the operation of the system of conspiracy, which has its centre at present in Birmingham. They further assert that between the two organizations we shall have the worst features of electoral corruption very soon exhibited, and among these that crushing of the independent choice of Representatives which has been experienced in the United States, unless we, in some degree, by our legislation adopt the precautions against this system of conspiracy in electoral affairs, which the Congress of the United States has found absolutely necessary in order to save the representative system of the United States. I thank the Committee for having allowed me to bring these American experiences before them. I have done so, because I wish to impress upon them the force of the observation of my friend, that as you have put on the old clothes of the United States you must learn how to darn them. If you will adopt the Ballot and will not restrain the Caucus, it seems to me and to the American friends whom I have consulted inevitable that in great measure the corrupting influence of this system which has been experienced across the Atlantic must extend to this country, and we shall thus, in all probability, sacrifice that free representation of the people which, thank God, has for centuries existed in the United Kingdom.

New Clause:—

(Corrupt practices by persons combined for that purpose.)

"If any persons are combined for the purpose of promising, and shall promise, directly or indirectly, any personal or pecuniary advantage to any elector or electors on account of his or their voting or abstaining from voting for any designated candidate or candidates; or if any persons are combined to cause any elector or electors reasonably to expect that he or they will avoid any personal disadvantage on account of his or their voting or abstaining from voting for any designated candidate or candidates, such persons so combined and so acting for the said purpose or purposes shall individually be guilty of a corrupt practice, and shall be subject to all penalties relating to such an offence,"—(*Mr. Newdegate,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, if the hon. Gentleman would allow him, he would at once deal with his proposal. There were 66 new clauses now on the Paper before the Committee. Therefore, if he dealt with each as it arose, shortly, he hoped hon. Members proposing them would not think that he was treating them or their views with discourtesy; but would take it that he only desired to save time. He would adopt that system with regard to the clause just proposed by the hon. Member (Mr. Newdegate). He would ask the Committee not to assent to the second reading, for the reason that, so far as he could judge, there was nothing in the clause which was not already the law of the land, and they would enact over again what was already on the Statute Book. The hon. Member told them that his Amendment had been drawn by American draftsmen.

MR. NEWDEGATE: No; I am aware some provisions analogous in purport to that of the clause I propose exist in the Statute Book; but these provisions are scattered and incomplete; they are deficient, and are not generally understood. This clause has been drawn by an English draftsman from the American text; its purport is complete and intelligible.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, then the English draftsmen had not had regard, in drawing up the clause, to what was already the law of England. Under the circumstances, he would suggest to the hon. Gentleman that he should be satisfied with the interesting discussion which had taken place, and which had occupied the Committee for nearly 50 minutes, and would not press his Amendment.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that if the hon. and learned Gentleman was not satisfied that the terms of the clause were necessary, in order to deal with the offence of corrupt practices by persons acting in combination, and that there already existed some Statute which touched the subject, and which explained to the public what they had to avoid, he would withdraw the clause, and endeavour to meet the views of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. H. B. SAMUELSON moved, after Clause 7, to insert the following clause:—

(Soliciting electors to give written promises of support to be illegal practice.)

"No person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at any election, solicit or induce any elector to write or sign any paper or document, directly or indirectly, announcing his intention to vote for any candidate, or pledging him to vote for any candidate, or to refrain from voting. Any person soliciting or inducing any elector to sign any such paper or document shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

The hon. Member said that certain Amendments had been proposed, during the discussion of the Bill, with the object of putting a stop to a practice strongly objected to by a number of electoral reformers—namely, the custom of canvassing; but it was found to be impossible to prevent anything like verbal canvassing. His Amendment was directed against what he ventured to say was the worst form of canvassing—namely, against asking the voter to commit himself by signing and delivering a promise under an implied, if not a direct, threat of incurring consequences in the event of his refusal. In the case of canvassing by word of mouth, if the elector wished to avail himself of the protection afforded to him by the Ballot Act, there were many ways open to him. It was always possible for him to return an evasive answer, such as—"We would not be found far wrong when the day of the election came, or that "It is all right," or some other answer to the same effect. But when he was asked to sign a direct pledge to vote for a particular candidate, he was canvassed in the same manner that a highwayman used to canvass his victim—namely, by holding a pistol to his head. In the one case the man was asked to give his money or his life; and, in the other, the voter was called upon to give his vote or take the consequences; and he understood the request in that sense. He believed that this was constantly done on both sides; and, therefore, it was not necessary to place before the Committee the special cases which had been brought under his notice. The hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) asked a question in regard to a particular case which had occurred at an election not long ago, and it was stated, in the short discussion which ensued, that the practice of sending round circulars to be returned signed, conveying a pledge or promise of support to a particular candidate, had been put in force by both sides. The Attorney General said it was doubtful whether the practice might not be construed into the exercise of undue influence. At all events, it was against the spirit of the Ballot Act, because it compelled a man to say how he was going to vote instead of allowing him to record his vote in secret. He (Mr. Samuelson) thought it was most undesirable that the practice should be allowed to continue, because it was not only a costly practice, but a very useless one. Hitherto, both parties had been in the habit of sowing these notices broadcast through the constituency; and if neither was allowed to do so in future each would be in the same position, and they would only be deprived of that which very often was a misleading piece of information. Another point to which the Amendment was directed was the unfairness which was now practised. It was manifest that it was unfair to write to a voter, and ask him to sign his name, and give a written promise to support a particular candidate at an election, when it was quite possible that in the course of a few days a very much more desirable candidate might be brought out on the same side. But if that were to happen, and these circulars had been sent out and signed, it would be impossible for any side to give a solid vote for a candidate whom they might really prefer as more thoroughly representing their opinions. Then, again, the issuing of these circulars afforded a ready means of employing undue influence, even where it was not intended. They were generally issued by a central committee. When a voter received a circular, he would scan the list of the names of the committee, and he would often find upon it the names of persons to whom he was bound by ties of self-interest, such as the employers of labour, landlords, influential customers, or others who would have an indirect influence over him. He knew very well that a list of the circulars sent out was kept, and that it was narrowly scrutinized; and he knew also that if he did not sign the circular presented for his signature, his not signing it would be taken as equivalent to a declaration of his intention to oppose the candidate on whose behalf the circulars had been sent out. Consequently, he was placed in this position:—Even if he agreed with the circular, he violated the spirit of the Ballot Act, because he declared in what way he was going to vote, when the intention of the Legislature was that the vote should be given in secret. Then, if the voter happened to be a person of a corrupt disposition, he was pledging himself as one of those who were ready for their *quid pro quo.* Then, again, if he disagreed with the circular, and, nevertheless, found it necessary to sign it, he would feel compelled to vote against his conscience, and in that way would frustrate the intention of the Ballot Act and the object of the election, because the election was intended to ascertain the real feeling of the people, and coercion of this kind prevented the real feeling of the constituency from being ascertained. Then, again, if his political feelings were stronger than his honesty, the voter would be driven into the position of having signed a pledge, and then of breaking his word and telling a lie. Having promised to vote for one candidate, he would go to the poll and vote for another. If the Amendment were passed, he did not think it would affect the possibility of ascertaining the opinion of the constituency as to the prospects of any given candidate, because that could always be done by the only legitimate method—namely, holding a public meeting, at which the qualification of every candidate might be discussed, and at which a deputation might be appointed to wait upon the candidate who appeared to be the choice of the constituency as represented in such county meeting. Very often a requisition was sent to induce a candidate to stand. But a requisition of that kind proved nothing. Many hon. Gentlemen, who had been induced to stand on the promise of support contained in a requisition, found that they were only leading a forlorn hope, and that after all they were defeated. He thought the prospects of a candidate could be just as well ascertained at a public meeting; and every voter would have the opportunity of reading the addresses of the candidates, which would either appear in the public prints, or be posted in various places, or be circulated amongst the voters. For these reasons, and because he thought it was unnecessary that these requisitions should be sent out, and because he further thought that canvassing of this kind tended to defeat the spirit of the Ballot Act under which elections were now carried on, and because it had a demoralizing tendency, he begged to move the clause of which he had given Notice.

New Clause:—

(Soliciting electors to give written promises of support to be illegal practice.)

"No person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at any election, solicit or induce any elector to write or sign any paper or document directly or indirectly announcing his intention to vote for any candidate, or pledging him to vote for any candidate, or to refrain from voting. Any person soliciting or inducing any elector to sign any such paper or document shall be guilty of an illegal practice,"—(*Mr. H. B. Samuelson,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Captain MAXWELL-HERON wished that he could impress upon the Committee the value which such a clause as this would have been to an individual like himself at the last General Election, and, he believed, generally to candidates who contested county constituencies in the Liberal interest. He said the Liberal interest, because it was well known that the influence which greatly preponderated in the counties was that of the Party whose opinions were influenced by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. Now, what was it that happened in the election which he was fortunate enough to win? Cards were sent round to nearly every elector to this effect:—"If you intend to vote for Mr. Murray Stewart be good enough to sign the enclosed card and return to me." Those circulars were sent, in some cases, by the law agent of the Conservative candidate, and in others by his political agent. What was the consequence? The tenant farmer who held his farm under a Conservative, or, for that matter, under a Liberal, because the effect would be the same by whichever Party the practice was adopted—the tenant farmer who did not wish to declare his politics, but desired to keep his political opinions secret, and to go to the poll unbiassed by anything that might be brought to bear upon him, found himself placed in a difficult position; because what would the effect be if he signed the card? In some instances he would have to tell a falsehood if he intended to go to the poll and vote according to his political views. But what was the effect if he did not sign the card? The effect in that case was that he became a marked man. He was immediately known to all the agents, whether Liberal or Conservative, who attempted to use this evil influence, as being a man likely to entertain opinions that were not in consonance with theirs. What was the other alternative? If he did not sign the card and stayed away from the poll altogether he affected the fortunes of his own Party. At the last election in the county which he had the honour to represent, it was quite certain that more than 200 tenant farmers abstained from going to the poll, because they would not vote against their consciences, and they would not sign a card calling on them to vote against their principles. Nevertheless, by the course they pursued, they made it patent to the world what their opinions were. He knew that there were Associations in the counties which were supposed to look after the interests of the electors; but what was the use of an Association in a county like his, where four-fifths of the land belonged to the Conservatives? He hoped the Committee would seriously consider the Amendment; and he wished to impress upon the Attorney General this fact—that a Member like himself (Captain Maxwell-Heron), who had fought the battle against very long odds in a county constituency, ought to be secured by every means which could be devised for guarding his interests and those of the constituency. He was afraid, if this Amendment were not passed, it was very possible that more than one hon. Member who now represented a Scotch county would not be seen in that House again after the next General Election.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was much inclined to accept the last argument of the hon. Member as conclusive. The practice of sending out circulars, asking persons to vote for a particular candidate, was undoubtedly very objectionable, because it was contrary to the spirit of the Ballot Act, and resulted, in many cases, in the violation of expressed promises. Nor was the question one which affected one Party more than another. It was a practice which was resorted to by both Parties, in many instances, either for the purpose of sending out passes on the railway or for other purposes. But the clause, as it stood at present, would have the effect of causing a candidate, whose agent committed an offence against it, to lose his seat. He sympathized with the object of the hon. Member; but he feared that the Amendment would not be effectual in causing a discontinuance of this objectionable practice, and he should be very unwilling to extend the list of the penalties under the Act, except in cases where it was absolutely necessary. His hon. Friend would see that the clause, as it was now drawn, imposed a heavy penalty. It provided that—

> "No person shall, for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of a candidate at any election, solicit or induce any elector to write or sign any paper or document directly or indirectly announcing his intention to vote for any candidate, or pledging him to vote for any candidate, or to refrain from voting. Any person soliciting or inducing any elector to sign any such paper or document shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

Under the clause, if the chairman of an election committee or the law agent of the candidate endeavoured to ascertain from a voter how he was going to vote, the candidate might lose his seat. No doubt, that difficulty might be avoided by altering the wording of the clause, and he should be very glad to assist his hon. Friend if he could see that any good result was likely to be obtained by passing the clause; but the whole matter was one of considerable difficulty. Under the clause, if an agent went round from door to door and said to a voter—"How are you going to vote? Let me put your statement down in my book;" and if he wrote down how the voter intended to vote, the clause would not touch the act of that person; and an agent might go round from door to door and take the promise from the voter's lips as to the manner in which he was going to vote, and communicate that promise to a committee or anybody else. He entirely sympathized with the spirit of the clause, and he thought the practice ought to be discontinued, and he should like to see that object effected; but the question altogether was one of great difficulty, and he did not see how it was to be dealt with effectually by the present clause. He was sorry, in one sense, that he could not accept the clause; but, certainly, as it stood, it went much too far, and it was so framed that if any person at an election were to write to another, saying—"Let me know how you are going to vote," that simple act might cause a candidate to lose his seat.

MR. R. T. REID said, the objections raised to the clause by the Attorney General were of a two-fold character. The first was, that the act of the agent would unseat the candidate. He thought that difficulty would be obviated if his hon. Friend the Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson) inserted words at the end of the clause to provide that the offence should not be an illegal practice, but an offence against the Ballot Act. That would get rid of one difficulty suggested by the Attorney General. The second objection raised by the hon. and learned Gentleman was one partly of drafting, and one partly inherent in the clause—namely, that in the wording of the clause, as drafted, any one person asking another person in the most *bonâ fide* manner how he was going to vote would be guilty of an offence. Now, he (Mr. Reid) thought it was impossible, by any mode they could adopt in the drafting of the clause, to meet that difficulty in any way. It would be impossible to draw the clause in such a way as to be effectual, and, at the same time, not to be open to that objection; but he would suggest to the Attorney General that if a fine were imposed—say a penalty of £50—a person could be prosecuted under the clause, and if it was proved to be a minor offence the small amount of the fine imposed, as the Attorney General had pointed out in another case a short time ago, the imposition of a fine of a farthing for instance, would not injure the man either in the eyes of the constituency or in the eyes of the world.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped the Attorney General would stand firm in the resolution he had come to with regard to this clause, which, upon examination, he (Mr. E. Clarke) considered to be the climax of absurdity. He did not see how it would be possible, by the imposition of a small fine, to remove the hardship, because it was not the smallness of the fine which inflicted the hardship, but the absurdity of imposing any penalty at all. He asked the Attorney General to examine the clause and see what it suggested. If the clause were carried, it would be illegal to get up a Petition asking any man to stand for a constituency. They could not ask a person to sign an invitation to a man to stand for a constituency because they would be thereby, either directly or indirectly, promising their votes. Then, again, if a man wrote to a friend in a particular constituency, and said—"In the event of my standing for your borough, will you support me and give me your influence?" he would render himself liable to prosecution. The only meaning or object of the clause was to preserve that precious liberty of lying which appeared to be the great merit of the Ballot Act. They had now a Member of Parliament standing up in the House to propose this clause, and, at the same time, describing what an elector might do in the way of promising a vote and then evading the performance of his promise.

Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON: Not what a voter might do, but what a voter actually does now.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, the hon. Member suggested that an evasive answer would be given. "Oh!" said the voter, "I shall not be found far off; you will find me all right;" the meaning being, at that very time, that he did not intend to keep the promise he was pretending to give. It was in order to secure to the elector the enjoyment of such a right that the Committee were asked to insert this clause in an Act of Parliament. The Attorney General said that he sympathized with the spirit of the Amendment, and that he would be glad to do something to prevent the practice complained of. Now, the hon. and learned Gentleman had already done something, and the Bill would do a great deal to prevent the practice of sending out these circulars. The limitation of the election expenses in the Bill would check the expenditure of money upon many things that were of doubtful value. His own belief was that these circulars were of very doubtful value indeed; and an experienced election agent, when he found that he was limited to the expenditure of a particular sum of money, would feel himself bound to employ that sum in the best way possible for the purposes of the election, and he would be unwilling to lay it out in the issue of circulars of this description. But to make an ordinary, proper, and natural incident of an election—namely, the writing to a man for his support, an offence or an illegal practice was approaching as nearly as possible to the region of absurdity. He presumed that in future ideal elections there would be a time when it would be a criminal offence to speak of politics at all. The moment an election was announced, a candidate would be entitled to put up his name and to spend a particular sum of money; but neither he nor his friends must do anything to gain the support of anybody else.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he did not concur in the views expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. The object of the clause was to protect the voter who desired, under the Ballot Act, to record his vote in secret. He did not, however, approve of the wording of the Amendment, and he thought it might be considerably modified. Certainly the words "write or" ought to be omitted from the clause, because it would cover a letter that might be sent from one friend to another in ordinary correspondence asking for information with regard to the election. The principal evil, however, against which the clause was directed, was the sending out of circulars to every elector enclosing a stamped envelope for a reply, and calling upon them to state whether they would or would not vote for So-and-so. He himself had votes in more than one constituency, and at the last election he received a considerable number of these circulars. Now, he did not put the circulars he received into the waste-paper basket; but he always sent them back again with nothing in them. The evil involved in this practice was the evil of intimidation. A list was made of tenants or other persons likely to be influenced, and to those persons these circulars were sent, and as the replies came back, the answers were recorded against the respective names. If there was no reply, the voter was treated as being adverse, and was dealt with accordingly, and they had received the testimony of a gentleman of considerable experience in a constituency where this system was brought into play as to how it worked at the last General Election. Practically, the result of the system was this—If a man was to tell the truth, they deprived him of the protection of the Ballot, and if a man was to have the protection of the Ballot, then they compelled him to tell a falsehood. He thought the House ought not to be deterred from grappling with what was an acknowledged evil, and an evil affecting both sides. He trusted the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson) would go to a Division and test whether the Committee was genuinely determined to support the Ballot Act or not. If they divided upon the second reading of the clause, they would not be committed to its wording, and it would be open for them to amend it when it came to be considered in Committee. For instance, he thought it would be necessary to impose a different penalty, and not to make the offence an illegal practice.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he entirely differed from hon. Members on the other side of the House who talked about the spirit of the Ballot Act. He was a Member of the House when the Ballot Act was passed under the charge of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and it was intended to give those who desired to vote secretly the protection of the Ballot. But it was never intended that those who desired to vote openly should not be able to go up to the poll with their orange or blue rosettes, freely displaying their colours, and declaring the way in which they intended to vote. Whenever he (Mr. T. Collins) went to the polling booth to vote, he invariably said—"Give me a paper. I want to vote for So-and-so." He recollected on one occasion, when he did so, at the Castle of Leicester, that a policeman told him it was illegal; but his reply was—"I have a perfect right to say how I intend to vote, but you have no right to tell anybody." If he desired to vote for Mr. Holden and Sir Matthew Wilson in his own county, was he, as an independent Englishman, to be told that he should not go to the poll and show his colours, and declare how he was going to vote? The Ballot was meant to protect those who wished to give their votes in secret, and not the ordinary Englishman who desired to vote openly. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) said that whenever he received a circular asking how he was going to vote, he sent it back without a reply. Now, he (Mr. T. Collins) did not follow the plan of the hon. Gentleman; but he invariably gave all the information he could. His vote was solicited on behalf of the hon. Member for the Eastern Division of the county of York, and he at once filled up the card and returned it with an intimation that he certainly did not intend to vote for him. He did not see why the hon. Member should have been deprived of that information, and he certainly should not have thought of sending back the card in a rude and insolent way, without even the courtesy of enclosing it in a stamped envelope. If hon. Members opposite thought that that was the best way of treating the people whom they met on equal terms in social life he (Mr. T. Collins) did not, and he always gave information freely both to his opponents and his friends. At the same time, he did not think it was of much value. He did not think the card was worth the frank; but he presumed the practice was followed with the view of gaining general information. It was an entire mistake to suppose that these cards were sent out with the view of marking the list of voters, and of intimidating A, B, or C. Hon. Members knew that the wage class were quite as independent as their masters, and the tenant farmers were even more independent of their landlords in these days of depressed agriculture than the landlords were of them. The landlords were only too glad to get their tenants to stay upon the land; and, therefore, it was idle to talk about the spirit of the Ballot Act and to pass a stringent law of this kind, which would even go the length, as the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) had pointed out, of preventing a man from signing a requisition to a candidate to stand for a constituency, because, by so doing, he would be violating the spirit of the Ballot Act in declaring beforehand that he intended to vote for a particular candidate. It was simply ridiculous and unwarrantable to say that an independent man should not sign a requisition intimating that he would do his best to return a particular person; and he was satisfied that it would be utterly impossible to gag Englishmen by a clause of this kind.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that his own recollections of the Election of 1880 would probably have led him at first sight to feel rather inclined to look with favour upon any proposal which would put a stop to a practice which in his own county virtually led to a contest, and which required him to incur a considerable expenditure. His opponents sent out cards to various electors asking whether So-and-so ought to stand in opposition to himself and his Colleague for a seat which had never been contested before, and such a large number of persons signed the requisition to the gentleman in question that he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had the pleasure of a contest, and his opponent was very much astonished to find afterwards that not nearly so large a number of people supported his candidature as those who had asked him to stand. After what had fallen from his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General he hardly thought they ought to go on discussing the clause. His hon. and learned Friend had stated that with all his sympathy for the object which the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. Samuelson) had in view, he was unable to find the means of carrying it out. Under those circumstances, after a statement of that sort had been made by the Attorney General, the Committee, at all events, ought to go to a Division upon the matter, instead of discussing a proposition which the hon. and learned Member in charge of the Bill would not take upon himself the responsibility of supporting.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he was just as strongly opposed to these circulars as the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson). At the last General Election he received a circular asking him to vote for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). It enclosed a stamped envelope, and requested him to send a reply back. Well, he sent back no answer at all; but he simply impounded the stamp, and so made a penny by the transaction. The Committee had been told by his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) that the clause was unworkable as it stood. It seemed to him (Mr. Labouchere) that they ought not to pass the second reading of a clause which was unworkable, merely on the chance of his hon. Friend the Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson) being able to convert it into a workable clause, and it was better to look at the clause as it stood, and as it was submitted by his hon. Friend who moved it. It was admitted to be unworkable. [Mr. H. B. Samuelson: No.] At all events, it was so admitted by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and he had not heard anybody deny it except the Proposer of the clause, who contended that it was workable. With all his anxiety to get rid of this practice of sending out circulars, he found himself unable, on this occasion, to support the proposal of his hon. Friend.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he did not see why the discussion ought to be cut short. If it was undesirable, it was one which had emanated from an hon. Member below the Gangway, who had now, for the second time, raised this point; and if the Attorney General felt inclined to complain, he could only cry out—"Save me from my friends!" Personally, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) was not at all sorry to see the question started again, because it showed what was the animus of the false Liberals of the House. They were all in favour of these restrictions upon liberty, and it was upon that ground that the hon. Member had brought forward a clause which was so objectionable in every point of view. He was quite able to confirm the statement of his hon. Friend the Member for Knaresborough (Mr. T. Collins) with regard to the Ballot Act. No such principle was pronounced on the Treasury Bench at the time the Ballot Act was before the House, as that it was once and for ever to prohibit a man for stating what his political opinions were, either at the polling booth or anywhere else. Some hon. Gentlemen opposite were sometimes said to belong to the Whig Party. He did not know whether that was so or not, or whether there was any Whig Party at all; but if they wished to ascertain the views of that Party, they ought to consult the opinion of Lord Russell, who, upon the occasion of the passing of the Ballot Act, maintained in "another place" that the Ballot was only intended to give security to the voter, and to do away with the possibility of intimidating him without depriving him of his liberty. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) said this clause would be valuable in relieving the voter from intimidation; but he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had never heard of any case of intimidation at all. He concurred with hon. Members on that side of the House that the Bill was full of ridiculously small things, and that it constituted traps and pitfalls for honest men. If the theory of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) were carried into effect, what would be the state of things established? Nothing else than a second Spanish Inquisition affecting the hon. Member's own denomination, and, perhaps, converting the hon. Member himself into another "Torquemada." The idea was to prevent a person from giving free expression to his opinions. If that principle was to be adopted, what would become of the great Birmingham Caucus and its proceedings? He had read in the newspapers that, at the time of the last Election, circulars were sent round to all the voters directing each individual how he was to vote, in order to get rid of the minority representation. In point of fact, the Leaders of the Caucus put their heads together, and devised a plan how every elector was to vote, and then sent out circulars saying—"The Caucus don't know how you are going to vote; but you must vote as you are told." Therefore, Birmingham might be another instance, and the junior Member for that borough might be made a second "Torquemada." They had heard a great deal about balloting in the Reform Club. In that great Institution did the Liberal Party practise what they preached now? Did they never announce how they were going to vote, or canvass for votes? If so-called Liberals had any regard for liberty, they ought to vote against the clause, and denounce altogether the doctrine advanced by the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson).

MR. LEWIS said, he wished to draw the attention of the Committee to this fact—that, according to the terms of the clause as it stood, a request to an elector to sign a nomination paper might actually be an illegal practice. People talked about the spirit of the Ballot Act as if the Ballot Act was to put an extinguisher upon every elector, and not allow him to be seen or heard at an election. He wanted to know whether, if he, at the next Election, were to write to 10 chosen friends asking them to honour him by proposing and supporting his nomination—and, probably, he should select some of his most valued friends and leading supporters—would he fall under the tender mercies of the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson), and be guilty of an illegal practice? If so, he presumed that hard labour would scarcely be a sufficient punishment for the offence. This extraordinary clause only foreshadowed the eagerness with which hon. Members opposite were pursuing a phantom. They did not perceive the consequences which might even accrue to themselves; but, hand over hand, they went to show their desire for purity of election. They stopped at nothing, and they were ready to carry out their extraordinary ideas, even to the extent of preventing a candidate from being nominated at all. Now, he was not one of that foolish class who desired to prevent himself from being nominated; and he could not agree with the course recommended by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) that, disagreeing with the penalty, and also with the sense of the clause, they ought, nevertheless, to pass the second reading of it, with a hope of modifying it afterwards. He did not think the Committee ought to go through the form of stultifying themselves by even giving the clause a second reading. He should like to learn from the Attorney General whether, in his view, the signing of a nomination paper would, under the clause, be an illegal practice?

MR. JESSE COLLINGS begged to inform the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) what, no doubt, the hon. Member very well knew himself—that the nomination paper contained no promise to vote whatever. Yet that was the only important objection which had been advanced against the clause. The nomination paper simply nominated a person as candidate; and the clause dealt with a written promise to vote for a candidate after he had become a candidate. It had nothing whatever to do with the nomination of a candidate. He trusted that the Attorney General would accept the clause, which could be amended in Committee, as far as the punishment of illegal practices, and so forth, were concerned. The Bill scarcely contained any better provision in the direction of checking undue influence, which was a much more potent illegal practice by means of these cards and circulars than hon. Members had any idea of. Many of the poorer class of voters, when they had signed these cards, really thought they had as good as voted, and never went back from the promise they had given. No subsequent argument could be brought to bear upon them. He had known such instances himself; and he had been told more than once by an elector—"I have already promised, and I have, therefore, as good as voted." Consequently, this was a case of undue pressure and undue influence brought to bear upon the voter, which practically defeated the intention of the Ballot Act; and he therefore trusted that the Attorney General would accept the clause.

Mr. WALTER said, he was one of those who felt strongly about the issue of the cards which formed the subject of the Amendment; but he thought that the proposal of the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson) went somewhat too far. The cases stated by the hon. Member were cases which really went against canvassing altogether — there could be no question about that. The Attorney General, and all others who had had much to do with elections, knew very well that it was perfectly easy for the election agents, or the friends of a candidate, to go about talking to the people and saying—"Will you allow me to put your name down on my list as a person who is likely to vote for my candidate?" Well, he did not see how they were to prevent that. The Amendment of the hon. Member would not do it. He thought there was a great deal to be said against all forms of canvassing. Canvassing was unquestionably contrary to the strict spirit of the Ballot Act if they construed it literally, and ever since the Ballot Act was passed he had never asked a poor man to vote for him. In point of fact, he had made it a rule to refrain from doing so. Whenever he had to deal with an elector whom he thought he could not entirely depend upon, he had refrained from asking the man directly for his vote. He did not like to ask a man to make a promise which he might be exposed to the temptation of not performing. At the same time, he did think that the Committee should make the offence a penal one, and punish it as an illegal practice. He was certainly not prepared to go that length.

Colonel MAKINS said, he thought that the Committee ought to be obliged to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Jesse Collings) for candidly supplying them with information as to the nature of the political morality of the Birmingham Caucus. It now appeared that there was nothing to bind a man who signed his name to a nomination paper to vote for the person nominated. No doubt, the signing of the nomination paper was not an actual promise to vote; but nobody would for a moment imagine that the man who signed a nomination paper was not morally bound to vote for the candidate on whose behalf he did so. So far as a promise could be given, it was certainly given in such a case. But this clause went much further, and if a candidate were to write to a gentleman, and ask him to be one of his committee, and if the gentleman answered the letter, thereby putting his name to a piece of paper, promising to support a particular candidate, he would incur a penalty. He thought that would be carrying legislation to an absurdity; and he was quite sure the hon. Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson), if he considered the true meaning and result of the clause, would not take the trouble of asking the Committee to discuss it, much less of calling upon them to divide upon it.

Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON remarked, that anything that had been said on the other side of the House did not lead him to suppose that he ought not to divide upon the clause, because, especially after what his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had stated, he was of opinion that the clause was susceptible of improvement. No doubt, the same remark applied to the Bill itself, and especially to the condition in which it was first presented to the Committee. If they were never to vote for a clause because it was capable of amendment, then it would be almost impossible to vote for any Bill that was introduced, and especially for the present Bill, which was full of clauses that had been altered. Therefore, on that ground, it was not desirable that he should refrain from pressing the second reading of the clause; but, if it were read a second time, he would willingly accept an Amendment rendering the offender liable only to a small fine instead of being punishable for committing an illegal practice. Many of the points which had been raised in opposition to the clause would not come under the clause at all. The only thing which would be made an offence was the offence of sending out circulars to be returned signed, containing a promise to vote for a particular candidate. Of course, if a requisition were lying at a particular place for signature, any voter might go there and sign it, and would not render himself liable to punishment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 47; Noes 230: Majority 183.—(Div. List, No. 195.)

MR. TATTON EGERTON said, as he understood it, the object of this Bill was to promote, first of all, economy, and, secondly, to prevent undue influence; but he did not find in the Bill any power of restricting the particular matter with which the Amendment he was about to propose dealt. It was quite within the power of any friend of a candidate to expend money in advertising and placarding walls, and there was nothing in the Bill to touch that. He therefore begged to move the new clause which stood in his name.

New Clause—

(Restriction on publications during time of elections.)

"If any person who between the issue of the writ and the close of the poll shall print, publish, issue, post up, or exhibit, in any newspaper, pamphlet, or letter, or in or upon any building, or on any wall, hoarding, vacant space, or public place, any bill, poster, caricature, or print, having reference to the candidate or the election, other than the address of the candidate, list of committee, or advertisement of the place and date of meetings, shall be guilty of an illegal practice.

"This Clause shall be read and construed with the forty-fourth and forty-fifth Victoria, chapter sixty, section two,"—(*Mr. Tatton Egerton*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the effect of this provision would be that if any editor of a newspaper wrote a leading article in favour of a candidate he would come within the Act.

MR. TATTON EGERTON pointed out that it was provided that—

"This Clause shall be read and construed with the forty-fourth and forty-fifth Victoria, chapter sixty, section two."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) replied, that that was the Libel Act. Under this clause reporting a candidate's speech might be held to be an illegal practice. As to the question of caricatures, there was an Amendment on the Paper by the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin. He hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had to propose a new clause which he believed would meet with universal assent. Hon. Members knew that there were some people with tyrannical instincts who came forward merely to advertise themselves, and without the slightest intention of standing. They came forward, and then said if the other candidate would pay their expenses they would retire, and having spent, perhaps, £20, they seemed to think they had spent £200. Candidates were frequently blackmailed in that way. He had gathered from the Attorney General that he would accept the principle of this clause, but would make some alteration in it. He did not care about the wording, but he wished to prevent this practice.

New Clause—

(Corrupt withdrawal from a candidature.)

"Any person who corruptly induces or procures any other person to withdraw from a candidature for any election in consideration of any payment, or promise to pay any sum of money, or for any other corrupt consideration, or is so induced or procured as aforesaid, shall be guilty of an illegal practice; and any person or persons who aid, abet, or counsel such act, shall also be guilty of an illegal practice,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he entirely agreed with the hon. Member that something of this kind was necessary. He did not approve of the exact words of the clause; but they might, perhaps, be reconsidered, and the Government might bring up a new clause. He thought it was doubtful whether this should be made an illegal practice affecting the candidate's seat, but should rather be an illegal payment.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he quite took the view of the hon. and right hon. Members; but this could only be an illegal payment if done by the election agent. He had a clause drafted to carry out this idea, which he would move if the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

New Clause—

"Any person who induces or procures by any other person the withdrawal of a candidate at an election in consideration of a payment or a promise of payment shall be guilty of an illegal payment; and any person employed in pursuance of such procuring shall be guilty of an illegal payment,"—(*The Solicitor General,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR asked whether any awkwardness would arise in a case in which two persons were of the same politics and there was no corrupt action? He did not say that rewards were actually offered by the Leaders of Parties to induce one candidate to withdraw; but he could conceive circumstances under which such a withdrawal might come within this clause.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he thought there was something in that view. Very often gentlemen who had been candidates, and had been induced to withdraw, got some reward afterwards. There were cases in which gentlemen had been created Baronets; and such cases would come under this clause, because there would have been some inducement held out in the shape of some reward.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS suggested that it would be well to defer this clause in order that it might be seen in print.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had no objection to bring it up later—on the Report.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he objected to the matter being deferred to the Report. This was a matter with which many Members were practically acquainted, and he thought it would be much better to deal with it at once, although he agreed that it would be much more convenient to have the proposed words in print. The question mentioned by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had come within his own personal knowledge. On one occasion he was called upon to endeavour to settle certain differences which had arisen between two rival candidates professing the same politics. He suggested that, as they had entered into the candidature in good faith, they should appoint certain gentlemen to go through the canvass books, and that their decision should be conformed to by both the candidates, and that the candidate who withdrew should have all his *bonâ fide* expenses defrayed by the other candidate who, in the opinion of the arbitrator, had the greatest number of promises. That was a perfectly *bonâ fide* arrangement, which he felt he was quite justified in suggesting, although it was not carried out, and the arbitrament of the poll was resorted to; but so far as the suggested words of the Attorney General were capable of being judged at a moment's notice, it would almost appear as if such a legitimate proceeding as that just described would be deemed an illegal or corrupt practice. He thought that, perhaps, the words "corruptly paid" might be introduced; but he hoped the Government would endeavour to deal with the matter in some reasonable and practical way if it was deferred.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the instance given by the right hon. Gentleman would not come under the clause. He would make a proposal on the Report.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked whether a payment of money to meet the expenses of a candidate up to the moment of withdrawal would come under the maximum scale?

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought a candidate should not be allowed to buy out a rival by paying his expenses.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. E. STANHOPE said the Committee would remember that the question of providing an appeal from the finding of Election Commissioners had been discussed, and he should not revive the question; but he wished to know whether the Government would deal with that subject in this Bill? He quite admitted that the terms of the clause he should propose might not be complete; but he had put the Motion down in general terms, in order that the Government might say whether they would put something of the sort into the Bill.

New Clause—

(Right of appeal from Election Commissioners.)

"Every person who, after the commencement of this Act, is reported by any Election Commissioners to have been guilty of any corrupt or illegal practices, shall have the right of appeal to the High Court of Justice, and every such appeal shall be tried by two of the Judges on the rota of Election Judges,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope,*) —*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was desirous of having some sort of appeal; and he would consider whether the Judges would not form the best Court of Appeal. They could not expect Royal Commissioners to submit to a minor Court. Before speaking definitely on this matter, he wished to confer with the Lord Chancellor; and if the Motion were withdrawn, he should hope to be able to do something in the matter.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he had a clause to propose with reference to the proposal to send Commissioners down before the actual trial of an Election Petition to inquire into all the circumstances of the election which was challenged. His view was that corrupt practices must be prevented, not by imposing extreme penalties, but rather by making discovery almost certain. At present, the procedure of an Election Petition was certainly not in favour of discovery. The candidate seeking to oust the Member was anxious to put forward just so much as was necessary for his case, and no more; and it was the object of both parties to keep out of view, as much as possible, the corrupt practices which had occurred, and which might lead to a Commission being issued. The Judges were perfectly helpless, for they had no means of exercising an independent authority, or making independent inquiries. They could simply act on the information given by the two parties, and that was, generally, as scanty as possible, in order just to serve the purpose of the Petition. He believed that was a great hindrance to detection and punishment of corrupt practices. The Committee had done something to deal with the cost of Petitions by a new clause, which they had adopted, providing that such costs should be taxed; but it was difficult to see what the exact effect of that would be. It might only make the institution of a Petition so expensive a matter that Petitioners would be discouraged; but the real fact with regard to the detection of corrupt practices was that if immediately after an election one or two trustworthy men went down to the place, with authority to call witnesses, and examine them as to the conduct of the election, they would find out, in a few hours, with sufficient certainty, whether the election had been pure or not. It fell to his lot to be a counsel in the Macclesfield Election trial, at which the Liberal Members were unseated without his having to call a single witness. They were unseated by the sudden calling into the witness-box of the man who printed the bills and circulars for the election, and who was the secretary of one of the local or district Associations. Before he left the witness-box the seats were gone. Immediately after the election two barristers went down, armed with authority to make inquiries. They sent for the managing agent of each party, and asked him questions as to the amount of money spent, and so on. In the same way, under this clause, gentlemen would be able quickly to decide the question of a Petition. Of course, their decision ought not to be final; but they would report to the Judges whether they found that the allegations of the Petition were sustained or not. In addition to a Report, he proposed that they should send in the evidence they had taken; and, also, they should send a copy of the evidence to the Petitioner and the Respondent. Then the Judges should have power, if they found from the Report that bribery had been committed by the agent of the man elected, to make a conditional judgment, that the seat was void and the election bad. That step, however, should not be final, and he had provided that within 14 days of that conditional judgment either party might appeal against it, and after that the Judges might go down and try the case in the ordinary way. He believed that this method would lead to the immediate detection of corrupt practices, and that with an effectual promptitude which had never been and never could be found under the existing system. In the next place, it would relieve the Member from a very great hardship. At present a candidate was elected by a constituency, and an Election Petition was presented against him. It might be that some person who would be held to be his agent, had been guilty of some act of bribery or other corrupt practice which would affect the seat. The Member knew this; he knew what was going to happen; and, consequently, those who went down to defend the election knew that if the facts had only been found out, and witnesses been forthcoming, the seat could not be defended. In that case the Member would be able to surrender the seat under a conditional judgment; but he would not be exposed to the enormous cost of an Election Petition. Justice would be done; corrupt practices would receive their proper punishment; and there would be relief from enormous expense. If these results were arrived at, a great deal would have been done to assist in the work which all had at heart in this matter. In the framing of the clauses he had had the help of the hon. Member for Hereford (Mr. Reid), and he hoped the Attorney General would see his way to inserting what he believed would substantially help forward the object of the Bill.

New Clauses—

(When petition presented Commissioners to be sent down.)

"When any petition against the return of any member shall have been duly presented, the election judges shall, before trying the same, forthwith appoint two barristers, of not less than seven years' standing, as Commissioners; and such Commissioners shall forthwith proceed to the county or borough to which such petition shall relate, for the purpose of inquiry, and report as hereinafter provided.

(Powers of Commissioners.)

"The said Commissioners shall call before them and examine on oath such persons as they shall think fit, for the purpose of ascertaining if the said petition was well founded, and shall have all the powers as to examination of witnesses, the granting of certificates, and the discovery and production of documents, as belong to the Commissioners appointed under the Act fifteenth and sixteenth Victoria, chapter fifty-seven. All persons who, in the opinion of the Commissioners, truthfully answer the questions put to them, shall be entitled to, and the said Commissioners shall grant them, a certificate which shall be in the terms and shall have the effect and operation of a certificate given by Commissioners appointed under the said Act.

(Commissioners to inquire and report.)

"The said Commissioners shall by all such lawful means as to them appear best, with a view to the discovery of the truth, inquire into the matters alleged in the petition, and shall report to the Election Judges the evidence taken by them and what they find concerning the premises, and especially shall report the names of all persons whom they find to have been guilty of illegal or corrupt practices at the election, with respect to which such petition shall have been presented.

(Statement of countercharges.)

"When the respondent to a petition complaining of an undue return, and claiming the seat for some person, alleges that the election of such person was undue, he shall, within fourteen days after the presentation of such petition, deliver to the master, and also at the address, if any, given by the petitioner, a statement of the grounds of such allegation, and such statement shall be referred to the Commissioners appointed under this Act, and they shall inquire and report upon the matters alleged in such statement in the same manner in all respects as if the same were an original petition.

(Petitions as to conduct of the inquiry.)

"Any elector of the said county or borough, or any candidate at the election, may in writing petition the Election Judges either during or after the sittings of the said Commissioners, and prefer any complaint or suggestion in regard to the method, duration, or character of the inquiry or the propriety of other evidence being taken, or in regard to any other matter relating to such inquiry, and any one of the said judges may make such order therein as shall seem to him just, and the said Commissioners shall obey such order.

(Power to Election Judges to pronounce conditional judgment.)

"As soon as practicable after the said Commissioners have reported, the Election Judges shall consider such report, and the evidence appended thereto, and shall pronounce conditional judgment thereupon.

(Power to demand trial of election petition.)

"The petitioners and respondents shall be furnished by the Commissioners with copies of their report, and of the evidence taken before them, at the same time as they furnish the same to the Election Judges, or as soon after as possible, and any such respondent may, within fourteen days of such conditional judgment, or such extended time, as the court may for cause shown permit, demand that the said petition shall be tried, and thereupon the same shall be tried in the method heretofore in use before the Judges, and on such trial the Judges may confirm, reverse, vary, or alter such conditional judgment, but upon such trial the Judges shall not inquire into any matter other than those alleged in the petition, unless a demand shall be made as in the next section mentioned.

(Public Prosecutor to intervene in conduct of trial.)

"In the event of a trial being demanded the report and evidence shall forthwith be laid before the Public Prosecutor, who shall appear by himself, or some other counsel, in support of the petition or the countercharges in respect of which such trial shall have been demanded, and the Solicitor to the Treasury shall in all respects assist the Public Prosecutor therein as if the same were a criminal trial undertaken by the Treasury.

(Trial of countercharges.)

"Any person for whom a seat has been claimed in the petition, and against whom countercharges have been made, may demand a trial as if he were a respondent to an original petition, but only in respect of such countercharges.

(Effects of conditional judgment.)

"If no demand of trial shall be made, as in the preceding sections mentioned, the said conditional judgment shall thereupon become, to all intents and purposes, a final judgment upon the petition and the countercharges, if any, and shall have the same consequences and effects as a final judgment by the judges upon a trial of such petition and countercharges.

(Election Judges may make order as to costs in conditional judgment.)

"The Election Judges may in their conditional judgment make such order as they shall think fit as to the payment by the petitioners or respondents of the costs of the proceedings and the costs of the inquiry by the Commissioners, and if no such order be made with respect to the costs of the inquiry, such costs shall be borne and paid as if such Commissioners had been appointed under the Act fifteenth and sixteenth Victoria, chapter fifty-seven.

(Provisions of Acts 15 and 16 Vic. c. 57, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 125, to apply.)

"The provisions of the fifteenth and sixteenth Victoria, chapter fifty-seven, and of the Act thirty-first and thirty-second Victoria, chapter one hundred and twenty-five, and the rules made under the latter Act, shall, so far as the same are applicable to the proceedings by this Act provided, apply as if this Act were incorporated with the said Acts,"—*(Mr. E. Clarke,)* —*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clauses be now read a second time."

MR. R. T. REID said, he thought it was necessary, not only in the interest of the candidate, but also of the constituency, that the conduct of an Election Inquiry should no longer be a matter as between party and party, but as far as possible should be conducted in the same manner as a Coroner's Inquest. Great complaints had been made of the cost of Election Petition trials; but that could be avoided if there were some inquiry made at the places by impartial persons, on whose reports he believed nine cases out of ten would be determined. This scheme would be for the convenience of a constituency, and in the interests of purity, because it would no longer be possible for litigants in matters of this kind to prevent the real truth being ascertained, as they could when there were counsel on each side who called or did not call witnesses, as they thought proper. The framing of these clauses might be open to objection by the Attorney General; but he understood that his hon. and learned Friend was perfectly willing to withdraw if the Attorney General would bring forward some scheme embodying similar principles.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. and learned Member had certainly taken great care in drawing up this plan; but he did not see how he could accept it, and he did not think the Committee would consider that it should be accepted. As he understood the proposal, there were to be two Commissioners to make this inquiry; but the Petitioner and the Respondent were not to be present. The inquiry would be perfectly useless if no witnesses were to be called; and he did not think it possible that either of the parties would be satisfied. If he could see his way to accepting the scheme with any advantage, he should be disposed to do so; but he thought it would defeat the object in view, and there would practically be three inquiries—the preliminary inquiry, the Election Petition trial, and the Royal Commission.

MR. GREGORY said, the scheme would be open to the objection that the inquiry would be more or less a double trial of the same event. It could hardly be supposed that either party would be satisfied, and a new inquiry would be required. If the inquiry was to be real, the parties who were to be reported on ought to be heard; but if they were not to be heard, the inquiry would be worthless, and, in that case, would operate unfairly, because it might lead to the reporting of corrupt practices without the parties being heard, and they ought not to be exposed to that. He hoped the scheme would not be accepted.

MR. LEWIS said, this was, no doubt, a well-intentioned proposal; but he thought it was open to all the objections raised by the hon. Member (Mr. Gregory). He could not see that it would produce any beneficial results.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he thought he should not have very much difficulty in defending these clauses against criticism if that were desirable at this moment. As to any objection on the ground that these gentlemen would be unable to find out anything, that was answered by the fact that the Royal Commissioners, when they went down to a town, went with their secretary, and made inquiries of the same character as was suggested here. Of course, they would not go unless a Petition was presented alleging corrupt practices. He felt that, at this stage of the Bill, it was impossible to urge on the Government the acceptance of these clauses unless the Attorney General had come to the conclusion that he ought to incorporate them in the Bill, and take the responsibility of them. Therefore, though with much regret, he should accept the Attorney General's decision at once, and withdraw the proposal. He was sure they were not at the end of legislation upon corrupt practices; and, therefore, he had desired to submit a substantial proposal for an effectual remedy.

Mr. CALLAN said, he objected to the Motion being withdrawn. In his opinion, it ought to be negatived to show the opinion of the Committee upon the bringing forward of such proposals. He was surprised that the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. E. Clarke), who had had a large experience of election trials, should have devoted so much time to formulating such clauses; and the only way in which they should be met was by an emphatic opinion being pronounced upon them by the Committee.

And it being a quarter before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again To-morrow.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 12*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Lord Carew, after the death of his father.

Public Bills — *First Reading* — Merchandise Marks (Channel Islands and Isle of Man) * (143); Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) * (144).

Committee — Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order * (72); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (74); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5)* (100); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7)* (102).

Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) * (89); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (110).

Third Reading — Pawnbrokers * (141), and *passed*.

THE SECOND SUEZ CANAL—THE EUPHRATES VALLEY LINE.

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

Lord LAMINGTON gave Notice that he would on Friday, the 20th of July, ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether previous to the ratification of the provisional Agreement for the formation of a second Suez Canal they would consider the expediency of advancing £8,000,000 for the formation of the Euphrates Valley line of railway, which would be entirely under the control of the English Government, whereas, by the terms of the provisional Agreement, the second Suez Canal would, like the present one, remain under French direction?

MADAGASCAR — ACTION OF THE FRENCH — EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH CONSUL.—QUESTION.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, seeing the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, I will venture to ask him the Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether he can give your Lordships any information with respect to that unhappy incident at Madagascar; and whether any diplomatic steps have been taken by the Government in consequence which it may be convenient for him to relate to the House; and, also, whether the Government have taken any measures for strengthening Her Majesty's Naval Forces in those waters?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, with regard to the first portion of the Question which the noble Marquess has asked me, I have to state that we have received no information except that which has already been given in "another place," and which your Lordships have had an opportunity of reading. We are informed by telegraph that despatches are on their way; but, of course, they will not be immediately available. I may mention that as soon as I got the first telegram on the subject, I had, within a very few minutes, an opportunity of speaking to the French Chargé d'Affaires, and I told him the substance of the report I had received, and requested him to communicate by telegram with his Government, stating the concern with which I had read the report. I also requested him to ask immediately for all the information the French Government had received, and for any explanation they could give of so serious an incident. I also sent a similar message to Lord Lyons, and have received an answer to the effect that he had seen M. Challemel-Lacour, who told him that he was absolutely without information on the subject, but that he would not lose a minute in telegraphing to Zanzibar, and would use all the means in his power to obtain information; and he added that it was only extreme circumstances that would justify the removal of the Consul while in a state of illness. He told Lord Lyons that he (Lord Lyons) could not be more anxious for full information than he was himself. I had also a similar communication, but rather shorter, from the French Chargé d'Affaires. With regard to the second portion of the Question, whether we had taken any steps to strengthen our Naval Forces off Madagascar? I am sure the noble Marquess will agree with me that on that point I should not make any announcement at all that might lead to any misconstruction, more especially as I have no reason to question the readiness of the French Government to do what we ourselves would do in similar circumstances—namely, to give full satisfaction to any country for any unjustifiable incident that might happen through our means in any part of the world.

PARLIAMENT—DESPATCH OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—BILLS REPORTED FROM STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

EXPLANATION.

THE EARL OF **REDESDALE** (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he had read in one of the newspapers a statement to the effect that—

> "Lord Redesdale's proposal to refer to the House of Lords Bills that had passed the Standing Committees could not be entertained by the Government, for the case is not identical with that of ordinary Bills which have passed through Committee."

He wished to say that he had never proposed that such Bills should be removed from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, which would be contrary to all practice; what he had suggested was that they should be introduced at once into their Lordships' House, as sanctioned by those Committees and as original Government measures. They had received very great consideration by an important body of the House of Commons, and he thought they might be satisfactorily introduced into their Lordships' House and passed through it. If that was done, the House of Commons would not only have jurisdiction over the Bills which had passed through their own Grand Committees, but would have the benefit of the Amendments made as the Bills passed through their Lordships' House. There was nothing contrary to the practice of Parliament in such a proceeding, which would be quite business-like, the object of those Grand Committees being to facilitate the passing of Bills through the House of Commons. He hoped, therefore, that his proposal might receive the careful consideration of the Government.

REGENT'S CANAL, CITY, AND DOCKS RAILWAY (VARIOUS POWERS) BILL.

CONSIDERATION.

Amendments made by Committee considered (according to order).

VISCOUNT **BURY** said, he rose to move to insert a clause empowering the Company to pay interest out of capital, such clause to be inserted in lieu of Clause 34, which had been struck out by the Committee. He was aware that such a power was contrary to the Standing Order of their Lordships' House, which had been in force since 1848. That Order was made to put a stop to the practice which had been adopted by the large Railway Companies of paying interest out of capital; but those Companies had been able to evade that Order by issuing new Stock. The similar Order of the other House had been repealed, he believed, at the instance of Mr. Chamberlain; but, on the consideration of the matter on a recent occasion, that was not considered a sufficient reason by the Government for supporting an alteration of the Standing Order of this House. The object of the Orders was to suppress bubble Companies; but this Company, which had obtained their Railway Bill last year, and now applied for this Bill, conferring upon them various additional powers, was by no means a bubble Company;

it was a substantial undertaking, its capital was £8,100,000, of which a very large portion had already been subscribed, and its promoters were well known gentlemen of position. As the locking up of this large amount of capital would hamper and delay the completion of the undertaking, he appealed to their Lordships to make this Bill an exception to the Standing Order, and empower the Company to pay interest out of capital during the construction of the works. The noble Viscount concluded by moving the clause of which he had given Notice.

Moved, to insert the following clause in lieu of clause 34. struck out by the Committee:

"Notwithstanding anything contained in the Act of 1882 or in the Companies Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, the company may out of any moneys by the Act of 1882 authorised to be raised pay interest at such rate not exceeding four pounds per centum per annum, as the directors may determine, to the shareholders of the company on the amount from time to time paid up on the shares allotted to or held by them respectively from the respective times of such payments up to the completion of the railways and works authorised by the Act of 1882, or such less period as the directors may determine, subject to the following conditions; (that is to say,)

(*a.*) The aggregate amount to be so paid in interest (in this Act called 'the interest capital') shall not exceed one million three hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds in amount, and shall be deemed to be an addition to the amount of capital authorised by the Act of 1882 to be raised.

(*b.*) Any such interest due to any shareholder shall not be payable until the company have obtained a certificate of the Board of Trade to the effect that two-thirds of the share capital by the Act of 1882 authorised in respect of which such interest is to be paid have been issued and accepted, and are held by the shareholders who or whose executors, administrators, successors, or assigns are legally liable for the same.

(*c.*) No such interest shall accrue in favour of any shareholder for any time during which any call on any of his shares is in arrear.

(*d.*) Every prospectus, advertisement, or other document of the Company inviting subscriptions for shares and every certificate of shares shall contain a notice that the Company has power so to pay interest or dividend.

(*e.*) The half-yearly accounts of the Company shall show the amount of the capital on which and the rate at which such interest or dividend has been paid.

And the Company shall not, except as aforesaid, out of any money by the Act of 1882 authorised to be raised, pay interest or dividend to any shareholder on the amount of the calls made in respect of the shares held by him, but nothing in this Act shall prevent the Company from paying to any shareholder such interest on money advanced by him beyond the amount of the calls actually made as in conformity with the Companies Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845."—(*The Viscount Bury.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he felt it his duty to oppose the Motion. The proposal was in substance to adopt a Resolution which had been passed by the House of Commons; but their Lordships had already expressed their opinion that the time had not arrived for adopting in this House so great a change as that Resolution involved. Moreover, he did not see any sufficient reason why this Company should come and ask for this favour. The Bill had originally contained a power to pay interest out of capital, and that power had been struck out in accordance with the Standing Order; but now the Company asked for power to pay 5 per cent interest on the capital proposed to be raised by this Bill. He admitted that this was certainly no bubble concern; but, in his opinion, to adopt the proposal now made would really be to sanction a principle that might be adopted in other Bills. The proposal contained in the clause was altogether contrary to what had been sanctioned by the House of Commons, and the clause as now drawn was not compatible with the terms in which it had originally been submitted to the Committee. The House would perceive, therefore, that the Committee had no choice but to strike the clause out of the Bill.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he agreed with what had been stated by the Chairman of Committees. When the subject was discussed the other day, the two points raised were whether the time for any change in the Standing Orders had now come, and whether facilities should be given in the case of Bills that had been brought forward in the hope that the change would be made. The present question was not the abstract merits of the clause, or of the principle on which it was based, but whether a special exception should be made for the benefit of this particular Bill, about which, as far as he could see, there was nothing whatever of a special or exceptional character.

EARL CAIRNS said, that when the Standing Order was discussed the other day, he should have been satisfied if the House had made a special and temporary provision to meet the case of Bills introduced in the expectation that the Order would be altered. The promoters of these Bills had very great reason to complain of the course taken by the House, because they were, unquestionably, led to expect that the desired change would be made. That was the hope held out to them by Mr. Chamberlain, who, as President of the Board of Trade, was naturally the chief person to be consulted. Holding that Office the right hon. Gentleman had necessarily expressed an opinion on the subject, and could not, being the Head of the Railway Department, have spoken in the House of Commons as a private individual. If the right hon. Gentleman could not induce his Colleagues to support him, he was not fit to be President of the Board of Trade; if he was fit for that post, the Government, as a Government, ought to have indorsed his policy. Mr. Chamberlain stated that most of his Colleagues, including the Prime Minister, who was no mean authority, agreed with him; and the promoters of these Bills naturally understood from that that such was the view of the Government, and that they were entitled to go into the market on the faith of the intended change. If Mr. Chamberlain was satisfied to be thrown over by his Colleagues, that was his affair; but the promoters of the injured Companies had a right to complain of very hard treatment.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he would remind the noble and learned Earl that Mr. Chamberlain expressly said that he did not speak on behalf of the Government.

EARL CAIRNS: No; but he said that most of his Colleagues, and particularly the Prime Minister, agreed with him.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: But still he did not speak on behalf of the Government as the Government. [*Laughter.*] Noble Lords might laugh; but he repeated that Mr. Chamberlain made it clear that he did not speak on behalf of the Government. He (the Earl of Kimberley) adhered to the argument he had previously put forward, that the Government, as a Government, ought not to interfere in this matter of the Standing Orders of the two Houses. If the Government interfered, then it must become a Party question, and such an event was highly undesirable on a matter of this kind. He failed to see in what way the promoters of these Bills had suffered hardship, as at the beginning of the Session it was impossible for them to have had any reason whatever to suppose that the Standing Orders would be altered. It was true that the House of Commons had, by a very small majority, made the alteration; but the House of Lords had refused to do so only three or four weeks afterwards, and it was not likely that much injury had been done to the Companies in so short an interval.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I understand the noble Earl bases his defence of the Government on the consideration, that if the Government did interfere in such matters as the regulation of railways under the Standing Orders of the House, it would be necessary for them to appeal to their supporters, and that it would not be possible for them to suffer a defeat. I think he exaggerates the sensitiveness of the Government. According to our recent experience, they are able to undergo defeats on many subjects without in the slightest degree affecting their existence, or even their complacency. There have been five or six subjects of no small—some of high—importance, upon which they have suffered defeats in the House of Commons, and they are more flourishing than ever—apparently in consequence of their defeats. Indeed, they remind me of the ancient and somewhat ungallant proverb—

"A woman, a spaniel, and a walnut tree,
The more you beat them the better they be."

Reference has been made, rather unfortunately, to Mr. Chamberlain, who seems to be engaged in re-making our British Constitution. He is altering dogmas that have been accepted for years and generations, and we follow the process with some natural interest. We wish to know if the old system of Party Government and Ministerial responsibility, under which we have been governed so long, is to be maintained, or whether we are to get into that system of divided responsibility which prevails in another country, under which Governments can drop any individual Member of whom they do not approve without their collective responsibility being affected? Now, I venture to say that it is quite new to be told that on that matter which concerns a Department of the Government, and concerns it specially, the Chief of that Department can give his own opinion in Parliament, can state that he has with him the Prime Minister and most of his Colleagues, and yet that the responsibility of the Government is in no degree engaged. There is nothing whatever to separate this case from other Departments of the Government. The distinction which the noble Earl attempted to establish with respect to Standing Orders and other questions has no validity whatever. Why, Parliament was assembled last autumn on the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government, and under the strongest pressure on the part of the Government, in order to make most important alterations on the Standing Orders of the House of Commons; and no one will maintain that these Standing Orders were not put forward on the responsibility of the Government, and pressed with all the vigour of Party discipline. I see nothing to separate that case from such a case as this. If the noble Earl the Colonial Secretary opposite was to come down and tell us that his opinion was that New Guinea ought not to be annexed, and that the Prime Minister and most of his Colleagues were of that opinion, but that it was not the opinion of the Government, and we were to find out subsequently that in the opinion of the Government New Guinea was to be annexed, we should be somewhat surprised, yet the proceedings upon this Standing Order are hardly less anomalous. I think too much emphasis cannot be laid on the strange abandonment on the part of the Board of Trade of this its special duty, or the strange abandonment by the Government of that Department of the Government to which this duty is specially assigned. With respect to the matter before the House, I think my noble Friend at the Table and the Government have taken the responsibility of dealing with this question. My noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns) offered a compromise a short time ago; but it was rejected, and we must leave with the Government the responsibility of dealing with this matter in its own way.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he thought that the noble Marquess, who had not addressed the greater part of his remarks to the Question before the House, had confounded too very different things —namely, the Standing Orders affecting Private Business and the Standing Orders affecting Public Business. The Standing Orders of the House of Commons affecting Public Business were naturally of the greatest importance to those to whom the House looked for the conduct of Public Business; but the Standing Orders affecting the Private Business of Parliament appeared to him to stand in an entirely different position. The character of that Private Business was such that he thought it would be a misfortune if it were mixed up with those considerations by which Parties were divided, and if the Government of the day took a greater part than it had been accustomed to take in the regulation of those matters which related to Private Business. Private Business was very extensive and important, and was conducted in a semi-judicial manner; so that, while every Member of the Government, and indeed of the House, was entitled to advise on the Orders, it would be wrong for the Ministry, as a whole, to assume a control over them. With respect to the proposed Standing Orders now before the House, he admitted that, both officially and from his great knowledge on such subjects, the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain on a matter of that sort was entitled to great consideration—as was also the opinion of his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns)—but when Mr. Chamberlain did not advance his opinion as an official opinion, and especially disclaimed speaking for the Government, even though he might say that he believed some of his Colleagues, or most of them, shared his views, yet, when he disclaimed speaking for the Government, he did not think it was very reasonable for noble Lords to insist that what he said was to be taken as spoken for the Government and as President of the Board of Trade. As a matter of fact, whether he made a mistake or whether he did not in what he said as to the opinions of others, it was quite clear that he did not so speak, and he took pains to make it understood that he did not so speak. He thought their Lordships would not be unable to perceive that it was impossible that Mr. Chamberlain could have consulted all his Colleagues and taken their general sense, and then have spoken on the subject merely as expressing the opinion of some individuals. Noble Lords in that House were perfectly free to consider the matter without bias, especially as none of the Bills affected by the recent decision could possibly have been introduced in the expectation that the Standing Orders would be altered in either House of Parliament; at all events, neither House of Parliament had done anything to justify such an expectation. And of all the Bills that were supposed to be thus affected the present Bill was the very last of which such a thing could be said, as it had not been sent up from the other House where the Order had been modified, but had originated in their Lordships' House, and in the very teeth of the Order which they had just refused to change.

VISCOUNT **BURY** said, that, after the expression of opinion he had just heard, he would not trouble the House to go to a Division. At the same time, he wished to observe that Mr. Chamberlain's opinion had long been known, and no one imagined, when the Bill was being prepared, that his opinion was not that of the Government. A Bill was to be brought in dealing with continuous brakes, and the noble Lord (Lord Sudeley) who represented the Board of Trade in that House had promised to support it. Did the noble Lord represent himself only or the Government? Of course they would attach more importance to that promise if it were made on behalf of the Government than of a private Member.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—THE RECENT DISASTER ON THE CLYDE.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF **LONGFORD** (in the absence of Viscount SIDMOUTH) asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether a Report in reference to the causes of the recent catastrophe on the river Clyde will be laid before Parliament?

EARL **GRANVILLE**, in reply, said, that Sir Edward J. Reed, whose reputation was well known as a great shipwright, had been deputed by the Government to hold an inquiry into the matter. The Report which had already appeared in the daily papers was not the official Report, which had not yet been given. There would be no objection to lay it on the Table when it appeared.

MERCHANDISE MARKS (CHANNEL ISLANDS AND ISLE OF MAN) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to prevent the fraudulent marking of merchandise in the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man—Was *presented* by The Lord BELPER; read 1ª. (No. 143.)

MERCHANT SHIPPING (FISHING BOATS) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1854 to 1880, with respect to fishing vessels and apprenticeship to the sea-fishing service and otherwise—Was *presented* by The Lord SUDELEY; read 1ª. (No. 144.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 12th July, 1883.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Canals [No. 252].

SUPPLY — *considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 17 to 24, and 27.

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended* —Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway).

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Manchester Ship Canal, and *passed.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) * [230], and *committed* to the same Committee on which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills (Nos. 1, 4, and 5) are to be referred; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) * [238]; Mersey River (Gunpowder) * [262].

Select Committee — *Report* — Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment.

Committee — Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7] [*Twentieth Night*] —R.P.

Committee — *Report* — Prison Service (Ireland) [248]; Companies Acts Amendment * [246]; Sea Fisheries (Ireland) [31].

Further Considered as amended—Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations) [228-264].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

SIR **CHARLES FORSTER** moved—

"That Standing Orders 223 and 243 be *suspended*, and that the Bill be now read the third time (Queen's *Consent*, on behalf of the Crown and Duchy of Lancaster, to be signified)."

Mr. WHITLEY said, he was glad to see the President of the Board of Trade in his place, because the right hon. Gentleman would probably be able to answer an inquiry which he had made yesterday. The question he desired to put to the right hon. Gentleman was one of great importance. In Liverpool the Conservators of the Mersey were looked up to as the protectors of the interests of the Conservancy. Admiral Spratt was the Acting Conservator of the Mersey; but it had been stated that Sir John Coode had been appointed to advise and assist the Conservators; and he wanted to know what were the scope and object of Sir John Coode's appointment? If they were simply to advise the Conservators of the Mersey there could be no possible objection; but if Sir John Coode's evidence was to be given before the Committee of the House of Lords in aid of the promoters of this Bill, it was felt that the interests of the Mersey would in some degree be jeopardized. Therefore, he wished to know what were the scope and object of Sir John Coode's appointment, and if he had been appointed with the consent of the Conservators of the Mersey?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) would be aware that the Mersey Conservancy consisted of the First Lord of the Admiralty, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, assisted by the Acting Conservator, Admiral Spratt. When this Bill was first promoted the Promoters sought to throw a great responsibility on the Conservancy, in requiring their approval to the works to be done in the estuary; and the Conservators felt, after consulting with Admiral Spratt, that they required further experienced advice before they could give any satisfactory opinion on the matter submitted to them. They, therefore, insisted that the Promoters should agree to the insertion of the clause by which they would undertake to pay the expense of any professional assistance which the Conservators of the Mersey might think fit to call in. That clause had been agreed to, and it was in accordance with its provisions that the Conservators of the Mersey had now appointed Sir John Coode, as an engineer of wide experience in similar matters, to advise them and assist Admiral Spratt. He was not at all connected with the Promoters of the undertaking; but he would be employed in a consultative capacity on behalf of the Conservators of the Mersey.

Mr. WHITLEY expressed his satisfaction with the explanation.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time (Queen's *Consent* signified), and *passed.*

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (DISTRICT RAILWAY) BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered.

Mr. MARRIOTT, who had a Motion on the Paper that the Bill be considered on that day week, said, he did not propose to move the Resolution which stood in his name; but he thought the House would permit him to call attention to a few facts in connection with the Bill. It would be in the recollection of the House that the Committee, some three years ago, gave certain powers to the Metropolitan District Railway Company to make ventilators on the public land; but it was not until those ventilators were absolutely put up that the attention of the public was called to their inconvenience. As soon as the inconvenience was felt the matter was brought before the House. As was well known, the House had always a strong objection to interfere with anything a Committee had previously decided, and very rightly so; but when this question was submitted to the House special Instructions were given to consider the matter in connection with another Metropolitan District Railway Bill which was submitted to the House. It was then expressly stated that, as a matter of principle, there were strong objections to undoing the work of a Select Committee. But, in this particular instance, so great was the inconvenience occasioned that the House considered it right to depart from its usual course, and the usual course was departed from by a majority of 110 in a crowded House, and powers were given to the Committee to close the ventilators in the different streets of the

City and upon the Thames Embankment upon reasonable terms. He should now like to call the attention of the House to what the Railway Company did after these Instructions had been given by so large a majority of the House. When the Bill came before the Committee the Railway Company simply defied the House. They asked the Committee this question —"Are you going to pay any attention to the Instruction which has been given to you by the House of Commons?" The Committee took time to consider, and then said that they were going to pay attention to it. Whereupon the Railway Company rejoined—"Then, we will drop our Bill, and you cannot, therefore, carry out the Instructions of the House." They did drop their Bill, and the Instruction could not be carried out. But the authorities of the City of London and in the Metropolitan area, after beating about in order to see what further steps they could take for stopping the nuisance occasioned by these ventilators, and after a consultation between the City of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works, came to the House and stated their case, declaring that the only way to get rid of the nuisance was to promote a Bill, and to ask the House to suspend its Standing Orders with regard to it, thereby making it a Public Bill. The House was so convinced of the nuisance, and so desirous of adhering to the opinion they had previously expressed, that they at once gave this power of suspending the Standing Orders, and two separate Bills were brought in—one by the City of London, in regard to ventilators within the jurisdiction of the City, and the second by the Metropolitan Board of Works, in regard to the ventilators which had been constructed upon the Metropolitan area. Those two Bills were referred to a Select Committee; and he must here say a word in regard to the action of the Railway Company, because he thought the conduct pursued by the Company would receive the condemnation of all who respected authority. When Bills went before a Committee of the House it was supposed that the Committee would listen to nothing but the arguments addressed to them by the counsel representing all the parties concerned; that they would hear the evidence laid before them, and then decide upon the merits of the application. But he regretted to say that the Metropolitan District Railway Company took a course unprecedented by any Railway Company in the United Kingdom, because they resorted to out-of-door agitation, in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Committee. There might have been seen in Pall Mall and all over the streets huge placards, with advertisements, announcing—"Awful slaughter!" "Wholesale slaughter of the working classes!" "£40,000 of the ratepayers' money going to be thrown away!" and other devices, never resorted to before by a Railway Company.

MAJOR DICKSON rose to Order. He wished to ask the hon. and learned Member if he had any proof that the Railway Company were responsible for these placards?

MR. MARRIOTT said, he had this proof—that when the time came for stating their case the Railway Company put forward their engineer, and did not put into the box either the Chairman of the Company or the General Manager. He had, further, this authority for the assertion he made—that the advertisements appeared in every station on the District Line; and he was sure that if the Committee had been able to examine and cross-examine the Chairman and the Manager of the Railway Company, they would have been able to ascertain where the money came from, and it would at once have been admitted that, at any rate, the Company paid for the advertisements. He did not think that any further proof was necessary. If the assertion was untrue, let the Railway Company come before the House and deny it. The agitation did go on, and it was conducted in the most obnoxious and objectionable form. The Railway Company tried, by outward pressure brought to bear upon the Members of the House, to influence the decision by getting up a workman's grievance. They represented themselves as the champions of the working classes; whereas everybody in the House knew that every beneficial institution the Railway Company had introduced had not been at the instance of the Railway Company themselves, but at the instance of the House. Even while their Bill was passing through the House, it was necessary to watch them, and to bring in clauses to protect the interests of the working classes. When he saw the

Railway Company holding themselves out as the champions of the working classes, and defying the City and the Metropolitan Board of Works, he was reminded of the old proverb of "Satan reproving sin." The House of Commons had always taken up the rights of the working classes, and it was absurd and ridiculous to assume that the District Railway Company were their champions, and that the House of Commons was against them. He believed the House would concur with him that such conduct on the part of the Railway Company was highly reprehensible and objectionable. He did not think, however, that it had any effect upon the Committee, the Chairman of which he was glad to see present in his place. He felt certain himself that it had not. He now asked the House to inquire for a moment what it was that took place before the Committee. Two of these ventilators were situated in the City of London. One was extremely dangerous, and the other very harmless. The City of London only objected to one of them, and the Committee ordered that one to be closed. Therefore, the City of London were perfectly satisfied with the decision of the Committee, which ordered the ventilator in Queen Victoria Street to be shut up. But with regard to the Metropolitan Board of Works, their case was altogether different. There were eight ventilators to which the Board objected; but the Committee decided that only two of them should be shut up, that one should be altered, and the other five should be left untouched. He was glad to see the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works in his place, because he believed that, acting for the ratepayers and on behalf of the public at large, the Metropolitan Board were greatly dissatisfied with the decision arrived at. They looked upon these ventilators as a source of danger to the public, and as a nuisance in many ways. The Committee had requested the Railway Company to suggest a clause by which the nuisance might be abated, and the Railway Company suggested that the whole matter should be referred to arbitration. In regard to the nuisance, although he could not give evidence, he would make a statement for himself, and he believed that that statement would be fully corroborated by other hon. Members. Those who walked up and down the Thames Embankment before the attention of the House of Commons was called to these ventilators would be aware that volumes of steam and smoke used to issue from these apertures. ["Oh!"] He was speaking of what took place three or four months ago. No doubt, as soon as the matter was brought before the House those large volumes of smoke practically ceased, and very little would be seen to issue from the ventilators as persons walked up and down the Embankment. Why was that? It was evident that the Railway Company did not wish the nuisance to be seen so long as the rod of the House was held over them; but if this Bill passed there would then be nothing to prevent these volumes of smoke from coming out again, and, if any objection were raised, the reply would be that the ventilators had been sanctioned by Parliament. If the Railway Company wished really to abate the nuisance, let the ventilators be placed under the Railway Commissioners. There were three Railway Commissioners, who had not very much to do; and if this Railway Bill were subjected to the authority of the Commissioners, with power to interfere in the case of any nuisance that might be created, the public, no doubt, would be satisfied, because if the matter went before the Railway Commissioners it was quite clear that the nuisance would very soon be abated. But the question for consideration now was, what the House would do. The House had taken the matter on themselves, and the only question was whether they ought to reject the Bill in the amended form in which it had come down from the Committee. In his opinion, one-half or a quarter of a loaf was better than none; and as the Bill had still to go through the House of Lords, he would venture to let the matter stand where it was, the House retaining to itself further action, if necessary, in the next Session of Parliament. If that were the opinion of the House, he would ask permission to withdraw the Resolution which stood in his name on the Paper, and he would allow the Bill to pass for the present.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman move any Amendment?

MR. MARRIOTT: No.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he did not wish to inquire into the manners and morals of the Railway Company. He considered that the whole question of what the Railway Company did, or what they were supposed to have done, was entirely decided. The only question before the House, and the question constantly present to him, was whether these ventilators were necessary for the health of the persons who travelled by the railway. He was entirely convinced that they were, and he exceedingly regretted the action which had been taken by the City of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works. He was satisfied that there would be great and growing discontent even in regard to this partial action on the part of Parliament in shutting them up. In the interests of those who travelled on the Metropolitan District Railway, he desired to say a word. As soon as the subject had been discussed, he had been waited upon by representatives of the working classes in London. As a matter of fact, the borough he represented —Southwark—was not materially served by this railway. Fortunately for the people of the South of London, they generally travelled upon open railways, where it was not necessary to have special means of ventilation; but the working classes of the South of London felt very much for their brother workmen, who complained seriously of the course pursued in respect to this railway. He was told that there were no less than 200,000 working men in London who were prepared, if they had had an opportunity—which, however, was refused to them—of being heard before the Committee, of stating their views upon the matter. In the absence of the information which they could have given upon the subject, the Report of the Committee was necessarily an *ex parte* one; and, therefore, he contended that it did not take into account various important considerations which ought to have been before the Committee in relation to the question of public health. Now, what had been done in regard to these ventilators? They had been constructed in comparatively innocuous places, and a great deal of sentimentality had been uttered in regard to them. The House had been told of pestilential vapours, injurious both to man and vegetation, constantly issuing forth in puffs of smoke and steam. But they were evils which existed only in the vigorous imagination of his hon. and learned Friend. He (Mr. Rogers) confessed that he had not seen anything of the kind. The fact of the matter was that the whole amount of steam which came out of the ventilators was not half so noxious, and certainly not one-half as visible, as that emitted from one of the steamboats that plied up and down the Thames, and which they did not wish to interfere with at all. The steam and smoke from these steamboats certainly created a very considerable nuisance. But the nuisance from the ventilators was very trifling indeed. In point of fact, the particular kind of coal used on this railway was one by which very little smoke was created. Of course there was a certain amount of steam emitted; but it was quickly dispersed into thin air, without any injurious consequences to health or vegetation. The Committee which sat upon the Bill had closed three ventilators—one at the instance of the City of London—and he regretted exceedingly that the opportunity escaped him of attacking that Bill which enabled the City to close that ventilator. He was informed, on good authority, and he had spoken to several of the guards and permanent officials of the railway since the ventilator had been shut up, that the closing of that shaft would very much interfere with the pointsmen and engine drivers, and that, in future, there would be great risk of danger to persons who used the railway in that direction. He presumed that the ventilator was closed on account of a general disinclination on the part of the City of London—for he could explain it on no other ground—to have light let in upon their proceedings.

MR. R. N. FOWLER rose to Order. He wished to ask whether his hon. Friend was justified in attacking the City of London on this question?

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he presumed that the Commissioners of Sewers, who promoted the Bill, were part of the City of London, and he regretted that the worthy Alderman was unable to accept a good-humoured jest upon the Corporation as to what went on in the City. With regard to the other two ventilators which were to be closed, there was no doubt that when they were shut up a good deal of the space now rendered comparatively pure would be vitiated. In regard to the general course taken by the Metropolitan Board of Works, it would be observed that just beyond the point where the last ventilator of the Railway Company was opened within the jurisdiction of the City there were a great many spaces which had been utilized on the line of the railway itself, and which might have been employed for building purposes. That was to say, that part of the space belonging to the Company had been devoted to the good of the public, showing that the Railway Company had not been altogether influenced by selfish considerations. He should like to know what was the reason that the ventilator had been closed in Parliament Square? He believed that the only reason assigned was that it was an historical spot. No doubt Tothill Fields was an historical spot; but that did not seem to him to be an adequate reason. The circumstances of the case rendered it absolutely impossible that the Metropolitan Railway could make openings in the streets except with the sanction of the House of Commons, and two years ago Parliament went into the question deliberately, and, whether rightly or wrongly, did give that sanction. He thought Parliament acted rightly when they preferred to consider the public health rather than sentimental considerations. The sanitary condition of the railway as soon as the ventilators were opened was, he believed, somewhat remarkably improved; and he regretted very much that this compromise had been entered into, because he believed that it would be injurious to the people who travelled by the Underground Railway. Although after what had been decided on previous occasions it was unlikely that he should carry the Motion, he, nevertheless, felt it his duty to move, as a protest, that the Bill be considered on that day three months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months." — (*Mr. Thorold Rogers.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he quite concurred with the remarks of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott). The Metropolitan Board of Works—and he believed their feeling was shared by the great majority of the inhabitants of London, and also by the majority of that House—could not help expressing great surprise at the decision of the Committee after the repeated votes which had been given by the House of Commons; but as the Committee had given due consideration to the matter, he could only say, on behalf of the Metropolitan Board of Works, that they were prepared to accept the decision of the Committee, and to go on and take the Bill up to the House of Lords. At the same time, they reserved to themselves the power of doing whatever they thought fit in the House of Lords, dependent on the action of the Railway Company. They were prepared to take what they could get now, and to reserve to themselves the power next year of doing what they might think necessary, if they found that the health of the inhabitants was suffering from these ventilators, and he was very much afraid that that would be the case. The hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Rogers) had been good enough to introduce the question of the steam issuing from the ventilators. He did not know whether the hon. Member had listened to or read the Evidence before the Committee. If he had, he did not think the hon. Member could have asserted that the smoke from a penny steamer was much more objectionable than that which came from these ventilators. He would give the House an extract from the Evidence given before the Committee, of which his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Stansfeld) was Chairman. It was stated to the Committee that 10 tons of coal were used every day on the railway, and that that coal gave forth 600,000 cubic feet of carbonic acid gas, which went all over the River and the Gardens, and destroyed the trees and flowers and every description of vegetation. It was quite evident, therefore, that the hon. Member could not have read the scientific evidence which went to prove the amount of damage actually done. His hon. Friend said that he represented the opinions of the working classes. All he (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) could say was that he had had as many representations from one sort of people as from the other, and that he had received a considerable number of persons who represented the working classes. He knew, however, how much value to attach to the testimony placed before him, because he was well aware that there were a certain number of people who, instead of representing a class, only represented themselves. He hoped the House would allow the Bill to pass, and would accept the decision of the Committee, although they were not getting one-tenth part of what they ought to have got. On behalf of the Metropolitan Board of Works, he was prepared to accept the conclusion of the Committee; but the Board reserved to themselves the power hereafter of taking further steps in the matter.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that, with the permission of the House, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered;* to be read the third time.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—⟡o⟡—

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 8) BILL.—[BILL 230.]

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. John Holms.*)

MR. WARTON moved, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time upon that day three months. He strongly protested against the course which had been taken in regard to these Electric Lighting Bills. The general Bill was hurried through the House last year at the end of the Session in a way that prevented the House from devoting to it the consideration which it required. To the 1st clause of the Bill he himself had down on the Paper four Amendments, which were absolutely necessary in order to make the clause intelligible. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who was in charge of the Bill, relying on the majority at his back, as he always did, refused to allow any of those Amendments to be inserted, although he (Mr. Warton) had moved that the Bill be re-committed, in order that they might be considered. The Government majority was invoked on that occasion, and the proposition was rejected. Curiously enough, when the Bill went to the House of Lords those very Amendments were inserted; and when the Bill came down again to the House of Commons they were accepted, without remark, by the President of the Board of Trade. He regretted that the President of the Board of Trade should be so impatient to have the regulation of everything, whether it was an Electric Lighting Bill or a Bankruptcy Bill. He (Mr. Warton) thought the House had better wait until they saw how these schemes for electric lighting were likely to work before they hastily pledged themselves to a number of Bills giving a monopoly to various Electric Lighting Companies. His only fear was that they might regret the precipitancy of their legislation a short time hence.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. STEVENSON said, he could not think the hon. and learned Member was really serious in moving the rejection of the Bill. It must be remembered that it had been introduced in conformity with an Act passed by the House last Session, after the whole question had been fully considered by the Select Committee; and there were now before the House a considerable number of Bills, which had been introduced in conformity with the provisions of that Act. It must be remembered that the Notices for this Bill were given in November last; that the Board of Trade had held local inquiries, and had heard evidence from all quarters; and these Bills were now brought before the House, after great deliberation and discussion, in the shape of Provisional Orders by the Board of Trade. Exceptional facilities had been given a few days ago to the opponents of these Bills, and any persons interested in the matter would be entitled to be heard before the Committee. He trusted that the House would adopt the usual course of sending the Bill to a Committee; because it would be a very hard case indeed that the inhabitants of London should be deprived of the advantages of the electric light, or that the Companies which were willing to supply them should be impeded in their operations. If the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Vestries, which constituted the local authority, could not agree among themselves they could go upstairs before the Committee and settle their disputes. It was not at all right that the House should be called upon to settle them upon the second reading of the Bill. He sincerely hoped that no hindrance would be imposed by the House at this time of the Session to the trial of this very important experiment, so far as the inhabitants of London were concerned.

Lord ALGERNON PERCY wished, as shortly as possible, to state some reasons why he supported the Amendment for the rejection of the Bill. One reason was the great inconvenience occasioned by the action of the Board of Trade in including in the Bill districts which had agreed to the Orders, and other districts which had not, because it necessitated a district which was opposing one Order to oppose the whole Bill, and go to considerable expense in appearing before the Committee. He regretted that the plan adopted should put the parties to such great inconvenience and expense. He did not understand why the Orders which had been opposed could not have been dealt with by separate Bills. This Bill affected two portions of the locality controlled by the Board of Works for the Westminster district, which, according to the Electric Lighting Act of 1882, was the lighting authority for that district. The Order had been granted in direct opposition to the wishes of that Board, and no opinion had been expressed in its favour, or, indeed, as to the desirability of electric lighting at all by the inhabitants. The two districts were Victoria and South Kensington, both of them rich and important districts; and if a monopoly were given to a Company to light those districts great difficulty would be thrown in the way of the local authorities in obtaining a well-considered scheme for lighting the whole district, because the rich districts—the best for paying and trade purposes—would be taken up and the poorer portions of the locality left out. He thought the Government and the Home Secretary would agree with him that it was important that the poorer parts of the district, for police and moral purposes, should be as well lighted as the richer. The Board had received applications from two other Companies who were prepared to light the whole district—one of them the Edison Electric Lighting Company, and the other the Metropolitan Brush Electric Lighting and Power Company, and they had also received applications from private individuals for licences under which the whole district might be lighted, and a revision of the terms would take place at the end of every seven years. They, therefore, objected very strongly to having a certain portion of the district taken away and given to a particular Company, when other competing Companies had given notice of their desire to deal with the whole district. He submitted that the intention of the provisions of the Electric Lighting Act of 1882 was to encourage electric lighting on terms agreeable to the local authorities, and that the Board of Trade should only step in and grant Provisional Orders where the opposition of the local authorities was of a vexatious character, and contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants. That, however, was not the case in this instance. The Electric Lighting Act of 1882, in Section 3, dealt with and contemplated the granting of licences, and then Section 4 went on to deal with the question of Provisional Orders. The Board of Works of the Strand district, acting on that clause, had already granted licences for the lighting of their whole district, and the present Bill utterly upset and superseded their authority and their opinion in the matter. It might be said that, according to the wording of the Act, the licence had to be confirmed by the Board of Trade; but he submitted to the House that the intention of that provision was only to protect the interests of the consumers, and that it was not intended to supersede entirely the opinion of the local authority. Nevertheless, according to the present Bill, the wishes of the local authorities were entirely superseded, and the power to light these districts was handed over to Companies who would practically have a monopoly and the power of charging exorbitant prices for 21 years, instead of there being a possibility of revising the terms at the end of every seven years. For this, among other reasons, he hoped the House would not consent to the second reading of the Bill, or, if they did, that it would only be on the understanding that the opposed Orders were struck out.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the noble Lord who had just sat down had given some reasons for objecting to this particular Bill now before the House; but the hon. and learned Member who moved the Amendment had given no reasons whatever in support of it, except the general fear, which, no doubt, governed his whole conduct in the House, that they were proceeding too fast, and his desire to stop all legislation, which appeared even to extend to Provisional Orders. Under these circumstances, he (Mr. Chamberlain) would confine his remarks to the objections of the noble Lord. If the Bill were read a second time it would be allowed to go to the Hybrid Committee already appointed, before whom all objections to it would be very properly and fully heard. The noble Lord had an idea respecting the intention of Parliament in connection with the Electric Lighting Committee which was not at all warranted by the facts. The noble Lord appeared to think that Parliament intended that these Provisional Orders should only be granted with the goodwill and consent of the local authority. On the contrary, it appeared to him (Mr. Chamberlain) that the object of Parliament in passing that Act was, in the first place, to protect the community at large against anything in the nature of a permanent monopoly, such as in the case of gas and water; and, in the second place, to protect these important experiments from being stifled in their inception either by want of enterprize or by competing interests, or by the prejudice of the local authorities. When the Board of Trade had to consider the applications made to them they found a very general wish on the part of the local authorities that they should be left entirely alone. That was not an unnatural desire; but if the Board of Trade had yielded to it, this important experiment, instead of having a beneficial result, would absolutely have been stifled in its inception, and there would have been no chance of any further progress being made. Under these circumstances, what the Board of Trade thought it best to do was to hear the authorities and all their objections, either to particular Companies or to the proposed terms of an Order. These objections were carefully weighed and considered, and, as far as possible, were attended to by the Board of Trade; but where they took the form of mere general refusals on the part of the local authorities to allow any wires to be laid down in their districts for the purpose of electric lighting, and a desire to have the whole matter left to them to say when and where the experiments should be made, the Board of Trade thought it their duty to pass over such objections on the part of the local authority, because they did not think it fair to the ratepayers, or to the probable consumers, or to the Company who were willing to provide electric lighting, to allow the local authorities to stand in the way of the experiment and to prevent it from being carried out. As to the Westminster Board, they, and they alone, among the local authorities, although they had been invited again and again to appear before the Board of Trade and state their objections, had refused to attend, and their opposition had to be dealt with in their absence. The case was carefully considered, and it was owing to their own *laches* that the particular objections of the Westminster authorities were not able to be heard and fully considered. They had now another opportunity of appearing before the Select Committee, and of being represented by counsel, or in any other way, before the Committee, in order to object to the granting of an Order. The noble Lord complained that opposed Orders had been placed in the same Bill as Orders which were not opposed. The Board of Trade could not tell beforehand whether an Order was opposed or not, and it would have been very convenient if they could have done so. For instance, he found to-day that a notice had been given at the last moment to oppose an Order which up to that time had been unopposed; and, considering that circumstance, he should no longer resist the Motion of his hon. Friend behind him (Sir George Campbell), but would consent to refer the Electric Lighting Provisional Order Bill (No. 6) to the same Hybrid Committee. That

Committee would be able to hear the evidence in all of these cases.

Mr. J. R. YORKE regarded the speech of the right hon. Gentleman as a very extraordinary one, because it seemed to be based on the supposition that the measure passed last year was intended entirely to prejudge the question whether electricity, or any other form of lighting, was to be the lighting of the future in the Metropolis, or any other part of the country. There really seemed to be an *onus probandi* now to prove that the country was not given over entirely to electric lighting as the lighting of the future. In regard to the Westminster Board of Works, the President of the Board of Trade must be aware, from the correspondence which had taken place between the Board and himself, that they had repeatedly objected to being forced against their will, and without any manifestation of feeling on the part of their constituency, to adopt any particular system of electric lighting. At the present moment it could scarcely be assumed that electric lighting had yet reached its final stage of development; and if it had not reached that final stage of development, that it was to be at the discretion of the Board of Trade how far experiments were to be made in various parts of the country. In this instance the district, of which the Westminster Board was the local authority, was to be the *corpus viri* which was to get very little benefit in case of success, and to pay the whole cost of the experiment; and the arrangement itself was to be concluded for 21 years. The whole of the richer portion of the district would be handed over to the Company it was sought to establish; and if at any future time the local authority, acting by means of a licence or a Provisional Order, sought to grant privileges to any other Company who desired to introduce a different system, they must be told that they must either work by means of another Company who had a present monopoly, or that they must buy that other Company out, and proceed with their own experiments at a great disadvantage. He contended that where they had a great district like Westminster, and when there had been no manifestation of opinion on behalf of the inhabitants favourable to the immediate introduction of electricity, where also they had a local board which was altogether unfavourable—he did not even think there was a minority of one in favour of the experiment being tried at the present moment—it was most objectionable that the President of the Board of Trade should step in and override and supersede all expression of popular feeling. The right hon. Gentleman said—"I will select the Company I will hand you over to; you shall be bound neck and heels for 21 years; no one else shall have the opportunity of trying a rival system; and if you try a rival system you must introduce it under every kind of disadvantage." It was said that they were to have an improved system of local government for the Metropolis next year. If they were to have municipal reform in London, he certainly thought they should postpone the consideration of this question until they had a larger and more responsible body to attend to the introduction and development of so important an element in the future as the electric lighting of the Metropolis. The Westminster Board were unanimously supported by their constituents in opposing this Order; but the Board of Trade had most emphatically shown their contempt for the existing local authority by altogether disregarding and overriding their opinion in a matter in which they had the unanimous support of the ratepayers. Having done this, they might, at any rate, allow the matter to stand over for the comparatively short time which it was understood would elapse before a comprehensive system of Metropolitan Government was introduced. He could not imagine a more fit and proper subject to be referred to the higher intellect of the body proposed to be established than the consideration of the important question it was now proposed to settle by the mere *ipse dixit—sic volo, sic jubeo*—of the Board of Trade. Seeing that the opinion of the local authority had been emphatically expressed, and that it was endorsed by the constituency, he should support the Amendment.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, he thought the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had misinterpreted the remarks which had been made by the President of the Board of Trade. All that this Bill did was to enable those who wished to adopt electric lighting to have an opportunity of doing so. His hon. Friend said that they ought not to have the power of doing this without inquiry. He quite agreed with the hon. Gentleman that it ought not to be done without inquiry; but they had already had an extensive inquiry last year by a most able Committee, who went into the whole question, and had it carefully investigated with the assistance of the Board of Trade. Surely, as far as inquiry was concerned, there had been a great deal of it, and the time had now arrived when they should put this invention into practical operation. They were told that these Bills were intended to give a monopoly to particular Electric Lighting Companies. He thought that was a misuse of the word "monopoly," because if any Electric Lighting Company which obtained an Order under these Bills did not carry out the work in a proper manner, or if it could be shown that other Companies could do the work so much more cheaply, there was nothing in the Bill to prevent other Companies from coming in. But, if they were to wait until the era of enthusiastic inventors was over, they would never practically get anything done at all. If they passed these Orders, the public would have the benefit of them. It must be remembered that the electric light had to compete with candles, lamps, and gas; and, therefore, it was to the interest of the Electric Companies to provide the public with electric light on as reasonable terms as possible. The House was told that the Bill referred only to the richer districts, and left out the poorer ones. Now, his own belief was that the poorer districts would be those which would be most valuable for Electric Lighting Companies to take up, because they would be the districts where electric lighting would be most continuously required. The electric light would be at work during the whole year in the houses and workshops of the poorer districts; whereas the richer portion of the population went away from London during a considerable part of the year. In the interest of the poorer members of the community, he begged the House to allow the Bill to go forward. It was not simply a question of lighting, but of fresh air as well, as hon. Members knew very well who had experienced the improved atmosphere of the Library, and other parts of the House into which the electric light had been introduced. There were thousands of workpeople who had to work in close and confined rooms in the Metropolis; and it was important, for sanitary purposes, that they should have the advantage of this system as soon as possible. The people of Westminster, who were said to object to the inclusion of their district in the Bill, would have an opportunity of stating their objections before the Committee to which the Bill was to be referred; and, therefore, he hoped the House would agree to the second reading. He thought that the Resolution passed the other day dealt a somewhat severe blow against the system of Provisional Orders; but, as it had been adopted in one case, he presumed it would be done in regard to the rest of these Bills. Therefore, if the local authorities of Westminster, or of any other locality, had anything to say against these Bills, they would have a full opportunity of ventilating their views before the Committee upstairs.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, the hon. Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) had expressed a hope that the House would agree to the second reading of the Bill. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) regretted that it was not in the power of the House to agree to those portions of the Bill which were unopposed, and that there was no way of separating the opposed from the unopposed parts of the Bill. On behalf of his constituents he thought he was entitled to be heard against the proposal to include the Southern district and the Westminster district in this Bill. There was no evidence whatever that a single constituent in this district desired to have these powers forced upon him. The ratepayers of Westminster looked with great distrust upon the effect which the exercise of these powers would produce. The local authorities of the district, whose duty it was to make the necessary provision for the lighting of the district, objected altogether to the provisions of the Bill, so far as Westminster was concerned. In one case, the local authorities had already granted a licence for seven years to another Company, which licence would be destroyed by this Company if the Bill passed. He thought it was most undesirable that the experiments about to be made should be tried, not only against the wishes, but at the expense of the inhabitants of this part of London; and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would consent to exclude these particular Orders from the Bill. If that were done, there would be no opposition to the second reading of the measure; and he believed it would be perfectly possible to proceed with the Orders that were opposed in a separate Bill, when, of course, the local authorities interested in the question would be able to oppose them directly in the House. He strongly objected to any attempt to impose heavy charges upon the ratepayers in opposition to their wishes; and there was a strong feeling in the locality that the provisions of the Bill ought not to be forced upon the inhabitants against their consent. He thought it was a very strange exercise of the power of the Board of Trade to call upon the ratepayers of the Metropolis to appear in a Committee Room to oppose a Bill which would practically give a monopoly to some three or four Companies. It seemed to him to be quite unreasonable that this power should be exercised by the Board of Trade at the expense of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. As he had said, the effect of passing these Orders would be to give a monopoly to particular Companies, and, in the case of the Westminster district, to exclude all other Companies. He thought everyone must see that it would be a most unwise and improper course to allow any Company to take up a single portion, or one or two isolated portions, of a large district like that of Westminster. They could well afford to wait for another year for the further development of electric lighting; and, on behalf of his constituents, he might say that they were perfectly willing that the experiments which the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) said were in course of being made should be made in the interim, so that they might next year have the advantage of the best inventions.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was surprised to hear the somewhat contemptuous tone in which the President of the Board of Trade had spoken of local authorities. As regarded the question of general policy, he quite agreed that a great deal might be said in favour of trying the experiment of electric lighting. What he objected to was, that Provisional Orders should be passed in favour of three or four monopolist Companies, who, within one month of the passing of the Bill, would have obtained possession of the best parts of the Metropolis, and the power of portioning them out among themselves. About one-half of London was proposed to be given over to the Metropolitan Brush Company, which had been started as a Limited Liability Company, with a capital upon which £3 per share had been paid up, notwithstanding which the shares of the Company were at present, he was told, in the market at a few shillings a share. He thought that fact showed that the Company were not in a favourable position to undertake extensive works. It seemed to him, however, that the floor of that House was not the proper arena for discussing the details of these questions. The President of the Board of Trade had done what he (Sir George Campbell) had asked him in the first instance to do—namely, he had consented to refer the Bills to a Hybrid Committee, where the evidence of all who were interested in the matter would be heard. A well-constituted Committee would be able to sift the good from the bad, to accede to those local authorities who wished to allow the experiment to be tried in their district, and to exempt those local authorities who were opposed to it. This Bill proposed to confirm an Order for the introduction of electric lighting into the area of Kensington. The Vestry of Kensington represented him as his local authority, and they had passed a formal resolution, asking for delay. But the Board of Trade replied—"Either do this yourself, or let somebody else do it." Upon that intimation, the Vestry said—"We do not understand the matter sufficiently to oppose the Bill, and therefore we will throw the responsibility upon you. We have not consented to the introduction of your scheme, and you are unreasonable if you choose to force into the district these Provisional Orders. The responsibility rests with you, and not with us." He should vote for the second reading of the Bill, on the understanding that it would be referred to the Hybrid Committee already appointed.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he did not desire to discuss for a moment the merits of these Provisional Order Bills; but, having been a Member of the Committee to whom the question was referred last year, he thought it was only right that he should say a few words. The Act of last year, undoubtedly, contemplated that in many cases licences would be given by the local authorities under certain safeguards then provided; but it also contemplated the possibility that there might be some local authorities—he did not say it in any disagreeable sense—who would obstruct, and who would not desire that electric lighting should be introduced at all into the districts connected with them, however much individual ratepayers, like himself (Mr. Stanhope), might desire it to be introduced. Such obstruction might have the effect of putting off the introduction of electric lighting until an indefinite period. Therefore, the Committee of last year introduced the system of Provisional Orders, by which the Board of Trade was to have power in certain cases, by granting Provisional Orders, to supersede the authority of those who were concerned, and to empower Electric Lighting Companies to introduce the system. At the same time, it was intended to surround that permission with such safeguards as the Select Committee of last year considered to be adequate. It was proposed that the Board of Trade should have the power of doing, in regard to these Provisional Orders, what they did in the case of other Provisional Orders—namely, that they should give full notice to all the parties concerned of their intention to hold a local inquiry, so that they might hear the views of the people most interested. As far as he could learn, in the present case, the Board of Trade had fulfilled all the requirements of the Act, and had called upon all the persons who were interested in these Orders to state their cases before them. In the case of Westminster, he was informed that the local authorities had refused to state their case; and, if so, it was somewhat hard that they should now come down to the House and ask the House to reject the Bill on the second reading, having persistently refused to state what their opposition was to the Provisional Orders proposed to be granted by the Board of Trade. He thought the House would agree with him that there was no reason whatever for departing from the ordinary course which the House adopted in these cases —namely, of reading the Bill a second time and referring it a Hybrid Committee, before whom the whole case might be heard.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he was unwilling to take up the time of the House again; but, in common justice to the position which he occupied, and having had a great deal to do with the President of the Board of Trade in reference to these matters, he felt bound to say that the attacks which had been made by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), and his hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke) upon the Board of Trade, were not at all fair. The Board of Trade had displayed the greatest courtesy and the utmost possible consideration towards every local authority. In his (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg's) official capacity, he had been in communication with the President of the Board of Trade upon the subject, and he had invariably been received with the greatest courtesy, and he believed every member of the District Boards would say the same. Of course, there was a great deal of divergence of opinion on the subject. One Vestry wanted one thing, and another Vestry wanted something else; indeed, many Local Boards appeared not to know their own minds. He thought it was a great pity that the Westminster authorities refused to appear before the Board of Trade. All that the Metropolitan Board of Works wanted in the matter was, that there should be power to revise the charges for the electric lighting every seven years. He did not know how his right hon. Friend regarded that proposition, and he admitted that the whole question was a very difficult and complicated one.

COLONEL MAKINS said, the course pursued confirmed the propriety of the action taken by himself last year in opposing the Electric Lighting Bill when it was rushed through the House in a Saturday afternoon's Sitting. He expressed a fear at that time that the effect of such hurried legislation would be to take some hundreds of thousands of pounds out of the pockets of inventors and place them in those of needy patentees, causing an enormous loss which for many years would not be replaced. Nevertheless, the Bill was passed, and this was the natural outcome of it. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade gave a pledge, when the Bill of last year was passed, that all those who were interested in the matter should be fairly heard, and he believed that that pledge had been fulfilled in the spirit in which it was made, because all persons had been invited to attend before the Board of Trade. But that fact did not alter the principle which underlay these Bills —namely, that the ratepayers, and those who were fairly elected to represent them, were not to deal with their own concerns except with the approval of the Board of Trade. That principle, however, had been accepted, and it was too late to complain now. He fully understood the suggestion made by the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), that opposed Bills ought not to be included in the same category as unopposed Bills. He wished to put a technical question to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, which he thought was of importance to those who had an interest in the matter. He wanted to know why it was that each Order contained in the Bill had not been printed separately? If any person desired to obtain a copy of a particular Order, he could only do so by paying 3*s*. 6*d*. for the whole 10 Orders contained in the Bill; whereas, if each Order had been printed separately, he might have obtained it for 6*d*. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take that matter into consideration, and see whether, in future, he could not print each Order separately, so that the expense to the ratepayers who were affected in particular districts would not be so heavy as it was at present.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA remarked, that in passing the second reading of the Bill, they would confirm the principle of it in regard to every Order contained in it. He objected to the grouping together of several Provisional Orders in one Bill of enormous dimensions. He believed that one of these Orders confirmed a grant to the Swan Company of power to lay down wires for the lighting of the Southern district of the Metropolis. He was informed that the Strand Board of Works had themselves applied to the Board of Trade for an Order to empower them to light their own district, and they had made a provisional contract with another Company—not the Swan Company —to supply the light; but, notwithstanding, there was an Order contained in this Bill in reference to the Strand as if nothing whatever had taken place on the part of the Strand Board of Works, who were the local authorities; and the object of the present Order was to confer on a separate and distinct Company precisely the same powers which the Strand District Board of Works claimed for themselves strictly under the provisions of the Electric Lighting Act. He ventured to say that there never had been a more objectionable proceeding on the part of the Board of Trade or any other Public Department. He should, therefore, oppose the second reading of the Bill if it went to a Division.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 212; Noes 91: Majority 121.—(Div. List, No. 196.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time.

Lord ALGERNON PERCY begged to move the Resolution which stood in his name, and which, he believed, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was prepared to accept.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Bill be *committed* to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills (Nos. 1, 4, and 5) are to be referred:

"That all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the said Committee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions."—(*Lord Algernon Percy.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 9) BILL.

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 6) BILL.

Ordered, That the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill be referred to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills Nos. 1, 4, and 5, are referred:

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill, or Orders, be referred to the said Committee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions.—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to give Notice that I will to-morrow ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, When and in what form he proposes to bring the proposal regarding the Suez Canal under the notice of the House, so as to give the House an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it? Taking into account the great interest which is felt on the subject, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman could tell us to-day what the general course will be?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I cannot now say on what it day it will be brought forward. As to the form, I should prefer to answer the Question after Notice.

QUESTIONS.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL BILL.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is proposed to take a Vote this Session in the Navy Estimates (Greenwich Hospital Vote) to give effect to the provisions of the Greenwich Hospital Bill, should it become an Act of Parliament; and, if he will inform the House what portion of the Greenwich Hospital funds will probably be appropriated annually to this purpose?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: It is proposed to provide in the Greenwich Hospital Estimate, 1883-1884, for the expenditure contemplated by the Greenwich Hospital Bill. For the pensions to widows and allowances to children of men who lose their lives in the Service the sum to be taken for 1883-1884 is £1,200. It is intended to provide for not exceeding 200 boys in orphan schools and similar institutions at an annual cost for each boy estimated at £20.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—STATISTICS.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there has been any increase of venereal disease amongst the troops in the districts protected by the Contagious Diseases Acts since the abolition of compulsory examination?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, the admissions to hospital of soldiers affected by contagious diseases had risen from 11·89 per 1,000 in the four weeks prior to the abolition of compulsory examination, to 17·40 per 1,000 in the four weeks since the abolition.

In reply to Mr. HOPWOOD,

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that no new system had been introduced in the examination of the men.

CROWN LANDS ACT, 1866—SALES OF CROWN LANDS—THE MANORS OF ESHER AND MILBOURNE.

MR. BRYCE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the sale of the Manors of Esher and Milbourne by the Commissioners of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown to Lieutenant General Sir Henry Ponsonby, K.C.B., as a trustee for Her Majesty, mentioned in the Sixteenth Report of those Commissioners, has yet been carried out; whether, if the sale has been carried out, any stipulations have been made binding the purchaser not to take advantage of the manorial rights for the purpose of inclosing any part of Esher Common or of Oxshott Heath, tracts of great natural beauty which have long been open to the public; and, whether he can inform the House by whose authority it is that persons are now being turned off parts of Esher Common that have long been enjoyed by the public, on the allegation that such places are private property and no longer parts of a Common?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to my hon. Friend's first and second Questions, I have to state that the sale of the manors of Esher and Milbourne has been carried out, and that the conveyance contains no stipulations such as my hon. Friend's Question indicates. Officially, I have no means of answering my hon. Friend's third Question; but I have communicated unofficially with Sir Henry Ponsonby, and I learn from him that since Her Majesty has acquired the property at Claremont, &c., there has been no attempt to deprive the public of any rights over Esher Common.

Mr. BRYCE: Is it intended?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): It is a matter over which I have no control; but I believe that there is no such intention.

AFGHANISTAN—SUBSIDY TO THE AMEER.

Mr. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any contributions in money or in arms are in course of payment, or promised, to the Ameer of Afghanistan; and, if so, what is the amount of such contributions, and on what terms and with what object they are being made?

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked whether it might now be assumed that the proposed visit of the Ameer to the Viceroy during the coming autumn would not take place?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Communications have passed between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the subject referred to by the Question of the hon. Member for Stafford; but Her Majesty's Government are not at present in possession of official information which enables me to make any statement on this matter. I may say, however, that the relations existing between the Indian Government and the Ameer are of a satisfactory nature. I can only state that the contemplated visit of the Ameer to the Viceroy will very much depend on his own wishes.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE SHANNON FISHERIES.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the necessary precautions have been taken to maintain a sufficiency of water in the fish-pass at the sluices and dam recently erected by the Board of Works at Killaloe, county Clare; and, if not, whether he will cause stringent orders to be issued on a matter so seriously affecting the fisheries of the Shannon?

Mr. COURTNEY: My hon. Friend need be under no apprehension on this score. Care has been taken that the fish-pass should afford a sufficiency of water at all seasons of the year.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ROSCREA PETTY SESSIONS DISTRICT.

Mr. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that there is not a single Roman Catholic Magistrate in the Roscrea Petty Sessions District, and that even the Resident Magistrate and the Sub-Inspector of Police are Protestants; and, whether the Government will take steps to remedy this state of things in a district where the population is almost exclusively Catholic?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I believe the facts are as stated. I cannot, however, give any undertaking that the Resident Magistrate or Sub-Inspector of any district will be of a particular religion; but with regard to the Local Magistrates, I will draw the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the hon. Member's Question.

Mr. CALLAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman draw the attention of the Lord Chancellor to all the districts in Ireland where a similar state of things exist?

[No reply was given.]

LAW AND POLICE—EXPULSION OF IRISH RESIDENTS AT DARWEN, LANCASHIRE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there is any, and, if so, what, foundation for the following paragraph published in the "Manchester Evening News" of June 29th, headed "Banishing the Irish"—

> "The last of the Irish families have left Turton, near Darwen, as requested by the English section of the inhabitants. There was no demonstration made, though large crowds assembled, the Irish taking the expulsion quietly. Some thirty families have been ejected. At one house twenty-eight persons were turned out, but these included lodgers. There is not a single Irish man or woman now in the town?"

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had addressed a letter asking for information to the authorities at Lower Darwen; but he found that Turton was not within their district. He would make further inquiries.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—POST-MORTEM EXAMINATIONS.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, at the recent assizes, the Longford Grand Jury disallowed the fee of the doctor who performed the post mortem examination at the request of the county coroner, on a pauper who died in the Granard Workhouse, and that the judge summarily sanctioned the disallowance, remarking, "The money (£1 1*s*.) is not worth scuffling about;" whether it is the fact that the doctor in question was specially called in by the coroner instead of the union medical officer, in consequence of the death having taken place in the workhouse; and, if it is the Law that this gentleman is to have no remuneration for services performed at the request of the proper authority because the grand jury chose to disallow his fee, and the judge does not think the amount worth discussion?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that the Grand Jury of Longford, after a careful investigation, disallowed medical fees recommended by the Coroner, and amounting to five guineas, and, as to one guinea of the five, the ruling of the Grand Jury was brought before the Judge for review. The Grand Jury thought that the evidence of the union medical officer was sufficient. His Lordship thought so too, and declined to interfere in such a matter, as he was perfectly entitled to do.

EMIGRATION AND PASSENGER SHIPS —SCANDINAVIAN EMIGRANTS.

MR. MOORE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If any and what steps have been taken to remedy the state of things at Hull complained of in the Parliamentary Paper of last Session entitled Scandinavian Emigrants?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he was informed, since the issue of the Parliamentary Paper referred to, that improvements had been made on various details, whereby the Scandinavian emigrants arriving at Hull were better attended to, and more expeditiously forwarded to their destinations, than formerly. He had received no complaints during the present emigration season, and he had no reason to believe that intervention was necessary.

SOUTH AFRICA — THE REPUBLIC OF STELLALAND--MURDER OF MR. J. W. HONEY, A BRITISH SUBJECT, BY DUTCH BOERS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, On what evidence he stated that Mr. J. W. Honey, who was murdered by Dutch Boers on the Transvaal Frontier last February was "one of the freebooters of Bechuanaland," and also on what authority he stated a man named Ireland to have been Honey's murderer, whereas Honey was last seen in the power of four Dutch Boers; whether these four were Diedericks, "Captain of Police," and his son; Celliers, "the General;" and Adrian le Rey, a notorious Boer bandit, who murdered ten Kaffirs during the siege of Potchefstroom; whether these four and Niekerk, "the Administrator," whom he stated to have issued the proclamation which described Honey as an outlaw, were the "self-constituted Government" of the "Stellaland Republic," which consists of Dutch freebooters, who have lately, in defiance of the Transvaal Convention, robbed Montsioa and Mankaroane of their territories; whether Mr. Honey, when he heard of the charges against him, went to the aforesaid persons, and demanded proofs of the charges; whether he was taken by them before the Dutch Landrost of Christiana, and by him completely acquitted, and the charges described as wholly baseless; whether the aforesaid "self-constituted authorities" thereupon took Honey by force into the so-called "Republic of Stellaland," and foully murdered him on the road to Vrijburgh; whether Her Majesty still remains Suzerain of the Transvaal; and, whether the British Government in any way recognizes the "Republic of Stellaland" or its "authorities?"

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The hon. Member must be aware that except the first and last paragraphs I am unable to answer his Questions, as I have already twice stated that, beyond the copy of the Proclamation alluded to, we have no official information. I may take this opportunity of correcting an evident misunderstanding of my answer the other day as to the authority who sent us this Proclamation. It was our own Resident at Pretoria who took it out of *The Volksstem* newspaper. The evidence on which I stated Honey to have been one of the freebooters is the term used in this Proclamation of outlawry in which he is styled "one of our Volunteers," and is there charged with theft and treason. That a man named Ireland was his murderer I stated on the authority of a telegram sent to the Cape Government by Mr. Bethell, the White counsellor of Montsioa, who said—"Ireland, the murderer of Honey, is now at Griquatown." The British Government do not in any way recognize the Republic of Stellaland or its authorities. The date of the Proclamation is February 12th.

MERCANTILE MARINE ACT—IRISH LIGHTHOUSES.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to the statement that the Commissioners of Irish Lights had spent on their lighthouses £82,000, and had received for light dues only £21,000, the balance of £61,000 having to be paid over to the Commissioners from the dues collected in England and Scotland, to enable them to carry out the work of lighting the Irish coast, Whether the £21,000 referred to was collected solely in Irish ports; whether the light dues for Irish lighthouses collected in English and Scotch ports are all placed to the credit of the Irish Lights Commissioners in the accounts of the Mercantile Marine Fund; whether the alleged deficiency of £61,000 appears after the accounts have been credited with the amounts due on account of the benefits which the Irish lights confer upon vessels which pass them on their way to English and Scotch ports; and, whether a Return of the dues collected for Irish lights for each year since the passing of the Mercantile Marine Act will be laid upon the Table of the House?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The sum of £21,000 referred to was collected solely in Irish ports; but it includes sums collected in respect of English and Scotch lights as well as Irish lights. Light dues collected in Scotch and English ports in respect of Irish lighthouses are not placed to the credit of the Irish Lights Commissioners, nor are the Irish Lights Commissioners debited with the sums collected in Irish ports on account of English and Scotch lights. The deficiency of £61,000 is the difference between the actual amount of light dues collected in Ireland and the amount expended on lighthouses in Ireland. A Return of the amounts collected for Irish lights cannot be laid on the Table of the House, as the Board of Trade have not the materials for making such a Return.

EGYPT—SANITARY CONDITION OF ALEXANDRIA.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the statement in the "Times" of Tuesday the 10th is true, that the slaughter houses from which all meat is supplied to Alexandria and to the troops are in a most filthy state without proper means of flushing or cleansing; acres of ground around them are full of unburied and half buried débris, entrails, and carcases, exhaling a most offensive odour; the establishment is within a short distance of Ramleh, and the Sanitary Sub-Commission, who have made a minute inspection, states that it constitutes a source of danger to the troops; and, if this statement is correct, what steps are being taken for the protection of the health of the troops as well as of the town of Alexandria, the 46th Regiment having now 116 sick out of 803 men at Ramleh?

Lord EUSTACE CECIL wished to ask the noble Lord, before he answered that Question, what steps had been taken for the protection of the troops at Cairo; and, whether a Commission had been appointed to inquire into the state of the slaughter-houses and sewers in that town?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have received two telegrams from the General Officer commanding in Egypt. The first is as follows:—

> "Percentage of sick at Alexandria and Ramleh is seven, of which one-fifth are enteric and other febrile cases, chiefly among Cornwall Regiment; venereal, one-third of sick; no sickness to cause alarm; much fever must always be expected at Alexandria at this season."

The second telegram adds—

> "Slaughter-house two miles to leeward of Ramleh has nothing to do with sickness of Cornwall Regiment."

I have also consulted Major General Harman, who recently commanded the troops at Alexandria. That officer reports—

> "These slaughter-houses are nearer to Alexandria than to the barracks at Ramleh. The smell from them is very offensive, mainly owing to the hides and horns of slaughtered animals being kept for dressing. It is an exaggeration to state that acres of ground around them are full of unburied and half-buried *débris;* although it is a fact that the surroundings are not kept as clean as they ought to be. I do not myself think that any danger need be feared in Ramleh from the slaughter-houses."

As to the Question of the noble Lord, I stated some days ago what communications had passed between the War Office and the General Officer Commanding in Egypt, and I said that generally the military authorities are prepared to deal with any outbreak of cholera that might appear among the troops. I think that any Question relating to the sanitary state of Cairo ought to be addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked whether any steps were being taken to prevent the nuisance and danger that arose from these slaughter-houses, which were admitted to be in a very unsatisfactory state?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I understand the Report of the Commanding Officer at Alexandria to be, that there is no danger to the health of the troops from the slaughter-houses. No doubt, as their attention has been called to the matter, the military authorities will take any steps in their power to abate the nuisance.

THE RIVER THAMES—PIMLICO PIER.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether the Board has given its sanction to the removal of the Pimlico Pier from the site where it has so long afforded convenience to the inhabitants of the district; whether the Pier on the south side of the river, opposite to the Pimlico Pier, which is supposed to cause the necessity for the removal of the Pimlico Pier, has only recently been placed there, and therefore ought itself rather to be moved if inconvenient; and, whether before the removal of the Pimlico Pier takes place, he will cause an inquiry to be made into the wishes and claims of the residents in that neighbourhood to have the pier continued in its present site, on the faith of which houses have been built and occupied in that locality?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I beg to inform my right hon. and gallant Friend that two communications have been received by the Metropolitan Board on this subject—the first from the Steamboat Company applying for the Board's consent to the removal of the Pier; the second from inhabitants of the vicinity in opposition. The Board replied in both cases to the effect that having no jurisdiction in the matter they had no objection to offer to the proposed removal. I believe the Pier on the south side of the River has only recently been placed there; but I can express no opinion as to the expediency of its removal. With regard to the last part of the Question, seeing that the Board have no jurisdiction over the position of the Pier, I do not think it would be advisable to enter upon the inquiry suggested by my right hon. and gallant Friend.

POST OFFICE—THE INDIAN MAILS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Postmaster General, If, during the prevalence of cholera in Egypt, and the consequent difficulty of bringing the Indian Mails through Italy, it is intended to carry the Mails through the Suez Canal in the vessels which bring them from India, instead of sending them by rail to Alexandria and from thence by another vessel?

MR. FAWCETT: As regards the mail which reached Suez last Monday and is now on its way, orders have been given for it to be brought on by the Indian Mail Packet to Plymouth, the vessel passing through the Suez Canal without communicating with the shore. No definite decision has yet been arrived at as to future arrangements; but I can assure the hon. Member the subject is being very carefully considered.

TURKEY IN ASIA—THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What steps Her Majesty's Government has taken to protect the interests of the British and Asiatic commerce, in consequence of the hindrance which the Turkish Government has placed upon legitimate exercise of the rights of the Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company at Bagdad; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will maintain the rights of navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates granted by Firman in 1838, and exercised since that period?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have protested to the Turkish Ambassador in London, and through Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, against the action of the Vali of Bagdad in forcibly stopping the traffic of the Company's steamers on the Tigris, and have reserved all rights against the

Porte for the consequences. They must await the answer of the Porte before anything can be decided as to what further steps it may be necessary to take. The right to navigate the Tigris was not granted by any Firman, but has been exercised under an arrangement obtained by Sir Stratford Canning in 1846, and confirmed by Vizerial letters addressed to the Vali of Bagdad in 1846, 1861, and 1862.

MERCANTILE MARINE—HARBOUR OF REFUGE (SCOTLAND).

MR. BAXTER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can now state the names of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the best site for a harbour of refuge on the north-east coast of Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Captain Sir Frederick Evans, Hydrographer to the Admiralty; Lieutenant Colonel P. Smith, R.E., Admiralty Director of Works; and Captain Sir George Nares, Professional Member of the Marine and Harbour Departments of the Board of Trade, have been appointed as a Sub-Committee of the Convict Labour Committee to visit points on the East Coast of Scotland, and report on the most suitable position for a harbour of refuge to be constructed by Scotch Convicts.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAILS BETWEEN LIMERICK AND KILRUSH.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Postmaster General, Whether complaints have reached him as to the disadvantages incurred by certain portions of West Clare, owing to the non-establishment of the usual summer second post between Limerick and Kilrush; and, if so, whether any steps can be taken to remedy the public inconvenience caused by the disputes between the Railway and Steamboat Companies, which have hitherto performed the joint service?

MR. FAWCETT: It is a fact, as stated by my hon. Friend, that the second post between Limerick and Kilrush has not commenced for the summer because of a disagreement, as I am informed, between the Railway and Steamboat Companies. I am sorry it is not in my power to do anything to bring about an amicable settlement of the matter in dispute; but I need not say that as soon as the Companies arrive at an understanding, the Post Office will lose no time in re-establishing the second post.

LAW AND POLICE—THE CALAMITY AT SUNDERLAND.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked the Vice President of the Council, If it is true as stated in the evidence at the recent inquest at Sunderland that the tickets for the fatal entertainment in the Victoria Hall were in certain cases distributed through elementary school teachers; whether any other similar cases have ever been brought under his notice; and, if he can take any steps to prevent a repetition of such a practice, by requesting managers to prohibit the circulation of tickets in elementary schools for entertainments where admission is only made by payment?

MR. MUNDELLA: I have inquired respecting the distribution of tickets for the entertainment at the Victoria Hall, Sunderland, and I find that advertisements—not admission tickets—were distributed by teachers in public elementary schools to the children under their charge. I regret to find that this practice has prevailed in the district for many years. I entirely concur in the censure conveyed in the presentment of the Jury at the Coroner's Inquest—

> "That the masters of the various schools were not justified in allowing the children under their charge to be canvassed by Fay or their teachers, and the attendance of the children in effect secured, by free tickets being given to teachers, without some arrangement being made for the proper supervision and control of the children by teachers when at the entertainment."

This seems to me a scandal and a breach of good order and discipline that our schools should be made the recruiting ground of itinerant conjurers, or the purveyors of any description of public entertainment. It is impossible to lay down rules for the guidance of local authorities, school managers, and teachers that shall be applicable in all circumstances and in every contingency. Moreover, there is great danger in attempting to do so, as it might be argued that what was not prohibited was permissible. I propose, however, to send a Circular to Her Majesty's Inspectors calling their attention to what has happened in this case and to the verdict of the Jury, and instructing them to let it be known at the forthcoming inspections that any such invasion of the schools as I have referred to will be regarded as an infraction of the Code as it relates to discipline, and will be considered in the merit grant, and that children attending any school treat or entertainment of any description promoted by teachers or managers must do so under the care and guidance of their teachers.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE MONAGHAN ELECTION.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the authorities has been directed to the issue of a placard on the day of the polling in Monaghan, purporting to have been published in Mr. Healy's interest, and containing reference to Her Majesty similar to that in the alleged "Invincible" placard for which *The Kerry Sentinel* was seized; whether the police have made any inquiries to detect the authors; whether a secret inquiry will be held in reference to its publication; and, if the Government are prepared to make it an offence under the Corrupt and Illegal Practices to print, post, or issue any placard which, while purporting to emanate from a particular candidate, is really published with a view to damage the candidature of such candidate?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that on the day of the polling two placards containing a disloyal reference to the Queen were posted near Clones; but the same offensive expression used in the placard for which *The Kerry Sentinel* was seized was not used here. The placards may fairly be said to have purported to have been published in the interests of Mr. Healy. The Constabulary have been making inquiries on the subject; but hitherto without result. It does not appear to be a case for the application of the Prevention of Crime Act. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, it is open to the hon. Member to submit for the consideration of the House any proposal of the character indicated.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE CIRCULAR THEORY OF STORMS.

Mr. EARP (in the absence of Dr. Cameron) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is correct that the Meteorological Society have abandoned what is generally known as the circular theory of storms, as propounded by Sir William Reid, Piddington, and others; and, if so, whether public notice of the fact has been sent to the commanders, officers, and others of our Royal and Mercantile Navies, and to the examiners at the Local Marine Boards?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I have no authority over the Meteorological Society; but I communicated with the Secretary, and I am informed by him that it is not true that they have abandoned the circular theory of storms, but that recent investigations have shown that some slight modifications might be suggested.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY (RE-ORGANIZATION).

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the deep and growing anxiety on the subject among the officers and men of the force, he will, without further delay, introduce and circulate the Bill by which Her Majesty's Government propose to alter the organization of the higher ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think it is important to notice the wording of this Question. Whether such an anxiety as the hon. Member refers to exists or not, there certainly is not the slightest ground for it. The scheme of the Government does not affect unfavourably the pay or promotion, the position or the prospects of any officer, and the men of the Force are not affected by it at all. The Bill will be introduced as soon as Her Majesty's Government see any chance of pressing it forward, and the statement that I now make is without any reservation whatever.

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Postmaster General, What tenders have been received for the conveyence of mails between London and Kingstown, and from what companies; and, if he will state the amounts of such tenders, and whether for land and sea service combined, or for each service separately; and, whether he can state on what day the papers will be presented to the House?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that it would be entirely contrary to precedent to give any information as to the tenders received yesterday for the London and Kingstown Service until the Government have decided what course to take upon them. When their decision is arrived at—which I hope will be in a very few days—it will be at once communicated to the House; and the contract, with particulars of all the tenders, will be laid before Parliament as quickly as possible.

EGYPT—LAW AND JUSTICE—TRIAL OF AHMED BEY KHANDEEL.

Mr. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What were the respective functions of Ballig Bey and Mr. Grosjean in the prosecution of Khandeel for complicity in the massacres of June 11th 1882, at Alexandria; whether it is true, as stated by the "Standard" correspondent, that Ballig Bey abandoned all charges against Khandeel of knowledge or of complicity with the massacres; whether Mr. Grosjean formally dissented from Ballig Bey; and, if so, in what capacity and under what code of procedure he had the right to do so; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will recommend the Khedive to mitigate the sentence passed on Khandeel of seven years' imprisonment for mere disobedience to orders of which alone he was found guilty?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Report of Major Macdonald on the trial of Khandeel, which would probably enable me to answer the first three Questions of the hon. and learned Member, has not yet been received. In reply to the hon. and learned Member's fourth Question, I cannot do better than read the following telegram from Major Macdonald, dated the 10th instant:—

> "Khandeel has just been found guilty of neglect of duty, and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude at Suakim. He has had a perfectly fair trial, the counsel for the defence having been allowed every latitude of speech—much more than he would have had in England."

Her Majesty's Government will, consequently, not interfere.

Mr. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in consequence of the acquittal after judicial investigation of Arabi, Suleiman Sami, and Khandeel, of having directed the massacre at Alexandria on 11th June 1882, Her Majesty's Government will advise the Egyptian Government to make any further attempt to discover and punish the real culprits?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to act in the manner suggested by the hon. and learned Member.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE NATIVE TRIBES.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have any information confirming the report that a great battle has been fought in Zululand between Cetewayo and Oham, and that the latter is now a prisoner at Ulundi; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take to carry out the Zulu Settlement of 1882, and to put an end to the sanguinary civil war which the restoration of Cetewayo has caused?

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received any official confirmation of the report published in the "Globe" of yesterday evening to the effect that Oham's forces have been defeated in a great battle by Cetewayo's followers, and that Oham himself has been taken a prisoner to Ulundi?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In reply to the two Questions, I will read to the House the paraphrase of a telegram received late last night from Sir Henry Bulwer—

> "July 11.—The accounts of the losses in Zululand given by the English newspapers of the 18th of May are very much exaggerated. To-day I hear that the Usutu party made an attack upon Oham's stronghold, but that the attack has failed."

This account, the House will see, appears quite inconsistent with the report to which my attention has been drawn.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT remarked that the hon. Gentleman had not answered the second part of his Question.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, it contained matter for debate.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: May I ask whether the hon. Gentleman considers that Cetewayo is responsible for this attack?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I really have not information enough to say. This telegram is all the information we have.

IRELAND—PAUPER EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that a number of pauper emigrants who were not permitted to land at New York arrived at Queenstown on Monday last, and were landed there at 4 o'clock a.m. in an utterly destitute condition, and were allowed to remain lying on the quay for several hours without receiving any assistance; whether he can state what has become of these people; and, whether the Local Government Board will take care that in future some one representing the Board will await the arrival of ships by which other emigrants returning under like circumstances are expected?

MR. TREVELYAN: Five families, of about 16 persons in all, were sent back to Queenstown. The emigration agent did not know of the expected arrival of these persons in Queenstown. They were landed about 4 o'clock in the morning; and when the emigration agent heard of their arrival he provided them with lodgings at Miss O'Brien's Emigration Home. They have all been sent back to the Unions from which they were sent out. Only one family complained of having to remain till the agent was informed of their arrival. The Local Government Board will take care to inform themselves when State-aided emigrants are to be sent back to this country, and the Emigration Committee will cause an emigration agent to look after them on their arrival.

MR. LEAMY: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, as a matter of fact, it was not stated in all the papers that these persons were coming back; and whether the Local Government Board did not in this way get information as to the fact; and, also, whether he did not consider the Local Government Board ought to take care of all emigrants who were sent back, be they State-aided or not?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes; I think the Local Government Board ought to do so.

MR. O'BRIEN: Who will pay the expenses of these returned emigrants?

MR. TREVELYAN: The expenses will be very small. I do not know on whose behalf the hon. Member speaks, whether he is anxious to save the ratepayers or the people themselves. The people themselves will not pay them; and I can assure the hon. Member the matter will be very easily settled.

NATURALIZATION—FEES ON CERTIFICATES.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there has been lately, or within a few years, any change in the fees charged for certificates of naturalisation; and, whether, what under the late Government was £1 has been changed to £5?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: When I came to the Home Office I found the question was under consideration as to raising these fees. I had no hesitation in deciding that they should be raised. One of the earliest cases that came under my notice was one of a very gross fraud. The hon. Member is aware that no man can be naturalized a British subject who has not resided five years in the United Kingdom, and who does not express his intention to throw in his lot with the country in which he is naturalized. The case that came before me was that of a man who I do not believe had been five days in the United Kingdom; but he got a certain number of people resident, I think, principally in Leicester Square, to swear that he had been resident a great many years in England. It turned out that being a man of large fortune, he had done this simply that he might disinherit his family by the English law, which he could not do by the laws of his own country. The relatives came to me in despair, but he was then naturalized, and the thing could not be undone; but I determined to take much greater precaution for the future, to ascertain before a man was made a British subject that he had fulfilled the conditions. These inquiries lead to a considerable amount of expense, and I raised the fee from £1 to £5. Now, I find in the Home Office we charge £79 10*s.* for making a man a Duke; £62 9*s.* for making a man an Archbishop; and £7 13*s.* 6*d.* for making a man a Knight; and I do not think £5 is too much to ask for making a man a British subject.

THE CIVIL LIST PENSIONS—PRINCE LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

MR. CREYKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that out of the annual sum of £12,000 at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government under the powers of 1 and 2 Vic. c. 2, for the purpose of granting pensions—

> "To persons who have just claims on the Royal beneficence, or who by their personal services to the Crown, by the performance of duties to the public, or by their useful discoveries in science, and attainments in literature and the arts, have merited the gracious consideration of their Sovereign and the gratitude of their Country,"

a pension of £250 has been granted to Prince Lucien Bonaparte; and, if so, what services he has rendered to the Crown and the Country to entitle His Highness to so considerable a grant of public money?

MR. GLADSTONE: This Question, though put by my hon. Friend, and purporting to refer to a matter of fact, is very distinctly a challenge of a proceeding; and the difficulty under which I labour is that it would not be possible for me, within the limits of an answer, to give to my hon. Friend or the House all the information, or any considerable part of the information, which I have studied to acquire. My hon. Friend will, therefore, be kind enough to suppose that what I answer is merely the heads of it, which I shall be prepared to enlarge upon on a future occasion. He asks what services Prince Lucien Bonaparte has rendered to the Crown and the country to entitle him to so considerable a grant of money as £250 per annum. Now, according to the Act of Parliament under which these pensions are given on my responsibility, attainments in literature are considered as services to the Crown and the country. I have, however, been in the habit of imposing upon myself a further limitation; because I am not sure that attainments in literature, taken by themselves, are quite enough to warrant me, according to the view I take of my duty, in giving these pensions. I will state what I conceive are services to literature as distinct from attainments. A man may have great attainments in literature, and may carry those attainments to the grave with him, without doing any good to the world; but services to literature I conceive to be strictly services to the Crown and country, within the meaning of the Act. My hon. Friend will, therefore, ask, what are the services to literature which Prince Lucien has rendered? I do not hesitate to say that, in my opinion, he has rendered very great services to literature indeed; and not only so, but he has rendered precisely the services for which these pensions are specially and peculiarly intended. The services rendered by Prince Lucien are philological services, and philological services are services of a nature indispensable to the effective prosecution either of the history of human thought or the history of human affairs. Everyone who has even the slightest acquaintance with the subject will bear me out in what I say to that effect. But, at the same time, they are services which the public, considered as customers for work, do not remunerate; and I can give a most singular and remarkable illustration of that fact, which may be drawn from recent occurrences. At the present moment, it is probably known to the House that there is in preparation an important extension of the dictionary of the English language. It is now being prosecuted upon a scale hitherto unknown to previous research; and here we are dealing with a great philological work which does concern immediate utility; and yet, notwithstanding, it has been found impossible to find any publisher who would undertake the responsibility of producing this work. The expenses connected with it, and the risks of it, have therefore been undertaken —and, I think, much to the credit of the body—by the University of Oxford. If that is the case with regard to the construction of a dictionary, the House may very well consider what it will be with regard to the case of a gentleman who does not construct a dictionary, but goes down to the minute investigation and collection of the original rudimentary facts, out of which all the knowledge required for a dictionary must necessarily be collected. That may give the House some idea what has been the work and services of Prince Lucien Bonaparte. This gentleman, I am happy to say, is a British subject, and he became one long before my right hon. and learned Friend (Sir William

Harcourt) raised the fee, and he has devoted his life mainly to the purposes of philological inquiry; and when he had a considerable fortune—which, I am sorry to say, is not now the case—he spent upon these physological inquiries sums, I apprehend, very much larger than the rather trifling amount which, beginning at 70 years of age, he can hope to derive from this pension. Not only in the collection of books, but largely in the printing of books, and in the gratuitous distribution of books to all students of philology, and to every great Institution connected with philology, the funds which Prince Lucien possessed were largely and liberally expended. I am in hopes that I have said almost enough upon this matter. But suppose I were to take one particular instance to tell my hon. Friend, by way of a specimen. I believe there are no less than 160 of these operations of printing which Prince Lucien has executed in other and happier days—at least in days more abundantly provided—at his own expense. Amongst them is the printing of the Gospel of St. Matthew in 29 dialects and languages, for the accuracy of every one of which he is personally responsible, and which represents absolutely his own work. He has printed *The Song of the Three Children* in 11 dialects of the Basque language; and he has printed the *Parable of the Sower* in 72 European languages and dialects. The House knows that comparison—comparative philology—is that to which the mind of all students is directed; and they may conceive what labours these are which could have enabled knowledge to be gathered in quarters so remote and forms so elementary as these. In this country 30 years ago, I believe—but, at any rate, long ago—Prince Lucien Bonaparte received a doctor's degree from the University of Oxford for these labours, and I believe there is hardly a country in Europe in which honorary distinctions have not been awarded to him. Now, Sir, finally, my hon. Friend says this "so considerable grant of public money." Well, Sir, the value of this considerable grant as it can be estimated for a man of 70 is something under £1,600; and I have only to say that while I do not shrink from any part of the responsibility of having awarded this pension, I am extremely sorry—and I am disposed even to say I take some shame to myself—for not having awarded it at an earlier period to this distinguished scholar.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he wished to ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a few points with regard to the direction of the Suez Canal which might be important—namely, What was the total number of Directors, and how many of them were English; what was the total number of the Executive Council, and how many of them were English; and what was the total number of the Finance Committee, and how many were English?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that most of these Questions, would be answered by documents open to the inspection of the hon. Member, and he did not think it would be advisable or necessary to answer them.

Mr. MONK asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether any negotiations are in progress with the Porte, or with the Egyptian Government, in reference to the proposed second Suez Canal; and, whether, with a view to the protection of our political as well as of our commercial interests, Her Majesty's Government will obtain for this Country such concession as may be necessary for the construction of another Canal through the Isthmus of Suez?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will answer the Question of my hon. Friend, which is important, with all the care in my power, because it bears very materially upon a clear apprehension of the important subject of the recent provisional arrangement made by the Government. The Question of my hon. Friend is divided into two branches. The first part is —"Whether any negotiations are in progress with the Porte, or with the Egyptian Government, in reference to the proposed second Suez Canal?" Sir, there are no negotiations at present in progress; but, undoubtedly, in order to give effect to that provisional arrangement, if it be the pleasure of Parliament that it should have effect, negotiations will be entered into. The position of matters is this. M. de Lesseps is in possession of a concession, under which it is in his power largely to widen, at great outlay, the present Canal, and to afford additional accommodation to trade, so far as he and his Company may think proper, charging, if they think fit, the same rates as they now charge for the passage of vessels through the Canal. That is exactly his position, that he can make this large improvement in the Canal. But it has been found—and it is certainly thought by the British Government—that by far the best and most effectual improvement would be the construction of a parallel line of Canal, because then the traffic could be conducted as on a railway, passing through one line of Canal in one direction and through the other in the opposite direction. It is not certain that the amount of land at present possessed by the Company is sufficient to enable them to make that second Canal; and that being so, and the land being the property of the Egyptian Government, it would be necessary for them, not to acquire new political concessions, but to acquire land from the Egyptian Government for that purpose. That would be the proper and primary subject of any negotiations which would be necessary for the construction of the second Canal. I am not aware that any privilege of any other kind is required, or any alteration of the concession which he possesses. So much for the first branch of the Question. With regard to the second branch of the Question—namely,

> "Whether Her Majesty's Government will obtain for this Country such concession as may be necessary for the construction of another Canal through the Isthmus of Suez?"

This Question, evidently framed with great care by my hon. Friend, really goes to the root of the subject, because it practically amounts to this—Is M. de Lesseps in possession of an exclusive right of constructing Canals in the Isthmus of Suez; and, if not, will you take measures for asserting the freedom of the Isthmus, and the right of others to construct them there if necessary? The state of the case is this. We could not undertake to obtain such a concession, for the simple reason that there is no power to give such a concession. M. de Lesseps is in possession of an exclusive right to make a Canal, as far as the Isthmus of Suez is concerned. I say nothing of what lies beyond the Isthmus of Suez; I say nothing as to the geographical definition of the Isthmus, because that is a question on which there might be some argument, though on the whole, perhaps, none of great importance. Nature has, to a great extent, defined that phrase for us. I have said that in our view M. de Lesseps is in possession of an exclusive right. So we are advised by our Legal Advisers; so the Egyptian Government were advised some time ago. On that supposition all the money was subscribed for making the present Canal. On that supposition, I believe, public opinion has proceeded down to the present time, although I am aware an opinion to a different effect has been given by two very distinguished gentlemen. But unquestionably, on that supposition, the whole of the arrangement made provisionally by the present Government with M. de Lesseps is absolutely founded. If that supposition is erroneous, we certainly could not plead any justification for the present arrangement. I think I have now stated distinctly my reply to the Question of my hon. Friend; but the matter is so important that if I have not conveyed my meaning distinctly, I shall be happy to give any further information in my power.

Mr. M'COAN: Will the Government lay on the Table a Copy of the opinion of the Law Advisers of the Crown referred to by the right hon. Gentleman?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, that would be contrary to rule. Our Advisers are confidential Advisers of the Government, and I think my hon. Friend will see that to comply with his suggestion would have a tendency to shift the responsibility from the right shoulders to the wrong. We are bound to take the responsibility of the conclusions at which we arrive on the advice of the Law Officers, and we do assume the whole responsibility.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It would be convenient for the House if the right hon. Gentleman would mention the Instrument under which the concession to M. de Lesseps is given?

Mr. MONK: Before answering that Question, will the right hon. Gentleman say whether, in the opinion of the Government, the concession for making a Canal through the Isthmus of Suez not only extends to the making a second Canal, but confers an exclusive right to make any number of Canals through the Isthmus?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not sure whether that point has been explicitly raised; but I apprehend that the powers of M. de Lesseps to make any parallel Canal would be simply limited by the land possessed for that purpose, and the only check would be the necessity to make an application for more land. With respect to the Instrument of concession, I am under the confident belief that it is already a Parliamentary Paper open to reference by any hon. Member.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: There are several Firmans. I thought the right hon. Gentleman would be able to say under which Firman it was; but I shall put a Question.

MR. BOURKE: I should like to know what is the authority of the right hon. Gentleman for saying that all the money which has been subscribed for making the first Suez Canal was subscribed on the understanding that M. de Lesseps had an exclusive right to make the Canal? Will the right hon. Gentleman also state whether he does not know that from an early period it was disputed by many eminent authorities, both in the East and West and both in England and in France, that that arrangement gave an exclusive right to M. de Lesseps, and that the concession was exhausted by the construction of the present Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: There is no authority whatever on the subject on which I have given an opinion, except that it is matter of history on which it is quite open to the right hon. Gentleman or any other person to hold an opposite opinion. It is our belief and firm conviction—nay, more, in our opinion it is almost a matter of public notoriety—that this was the understanding on which the money was subscribed, and undoubtedly this opinion was entertained by the world at large. Unquestionably, however, it forms absolutely the basis of our proceedings with M. de Lesseps.

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it was true, as stated in *The Daily Telegraph* to-day, that the British Government had informed the Egyptian authorities of their desire to render them every assistance during the prevalence of cholera, and had offered to give medical aid, which offers, however, had been declined; whether he had seen the report quoted by *The Times* Correspondent at Alexandria, from Dr. Mackie, to the following effect:—

> "In a town of which the population is stated to number 35,000 there seems to have been no organized medical hospital service; no help of any sort, for rich or poor. They were shut in the cordon, and left at the mercy of the disease, to die in numbers, and to propagate cholera;"

and whether, considering the importance it is to this country that the epidemic should be stamped out, the Government would continue to press offers of assistance upon the Egyptian Government, seeing that the British Government was the paramount Power in that country?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have no objection to answer the Question, with the exception of the portion relating to Dr. Mackie, because that Report has not reached the Foreign Office. With regard to the principal portion of the Question of my noble Friend I am quite prepared to give an answer. It is true—I stated it a few days ago—that Her Majesty's Government have proffered assistance to the Egyptian Government in regard to stamping out that terrible evil which now prevails in Egypt. Sir Edward Malet was instructed to inform Sherif Pasha, in a formal manner, apart from previous communications, that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to do all that lay in their power, and would be glad to receive any detailed request which the Egyptian Government might wish to make. In reply to offers of assistance thus tendered Her Majesty's Government were met by the Egyptian Government in a very fair and courteous spirit; but, nevertheless, the Egyptian Government did not consider that they were unable to cope with the evil which existed. I think I cannot do better than read the telegram from Sir Edward Malet, in which he conveys the reply of Sherif Pasha. Sir Edward Malet says he had communicated with Sherif Pasha, and the reply was as follows:—

> "That he must thank Her Majesty's Government for their kind offer."

He says—

> "We have taken all measures rendered necessary under the circumstances, and we have even decided to employ doctors not in the Government service, and send them to the infected places. If this should prove ineffective, we shall have a great pleasure in applying for help to Her Majesty's Government; but we do not consider such an application will be necessary, seeing that the mortality is already decreasing, even if it did not seem likely that the decrease would be localised."

That was the reply of Sherif Pasha; but notwithstanding that reply, Her Majesty's Government did not consider that they could see any advantage in going back upon the pledge I gave the House the other day—namely, that skilled assistance, especially the assistance of somebody skilled in the treatment of the disease in question in India, should be given to the Egyptian Government. Therefore, it has been decided again to renew that offer of assistance, and it has also been determined to send out to Egypt a medical gentleman of high position, having the rank of Surgeon General. I hope to be able—though I cannot give a distinct pledge—to communicate the name of this officer to the House to-morrow. He will be sent out, in the first place, to report to the Local Government Board, and particularly to the Committee on Cholera—the composition of which I announced to the House the other day—the Committee presided over by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board. He will report as to the character of the disease, and any other circumstances which he may think it desirable to state. In the next place, he will be there to support Sir Edward Malet in advising the Egyptian Government as to the proper measures which ought to be taken in the different places under the present grave circumstances undoubtedly existing. Sir Edward Malet will be instructed to inform Sherif Pasha that this gentleman's services are at the disposal of the Egyptian Government in whatever way it may be considered most desirable to employ his ability, energy, and experience.

Viscount FOLKESTONE asked whether the Surgeon General, or medical officer, mentioned by the noble Lord was to be sent from England, or whether he was available on the spot?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the gentleman to whom he had alluded would be sent from England. He was a gentleman of great experience; and he thought his noble Friend would see that in cases of this kind it was most important to have the services of some gentleman cognizant with the disease.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—DR. JORISSEN.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there was any truth in the report that Dr. Jorissen had been dismissed by the Transvaal Government; and, if so, whether he could state the reason of such dismissal; and, whether it was in any way due to, or would have any effect upon, any negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and Dr. Jorissen as Attorney General for the Transvaal?

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he should also like to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it was true, as reported, that the Transvaal Volksraad had passed a Resolution, which he would be inclined to call an insolent Resolution, in regard to the policy of the Government in Basutoland?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In reply to the Question of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), I have to say that we got a telegram last night from the Governor administrating the government at Cape Town, telling us that Dr. Jorissen had been dismissed by the Transvaal Volksraad, but no reason is assigned and no details given; but if I may hazard a surmise, I may say that I cannot believe it to be in any way due to any action of his while over here, because he was not here as the Representative of the Transvaal Government in any way. In reply to the hon. Member for the City of London, I have to say that the same official also informs us that he understands it is true that a Resolution is on its way to him condemning the action of the Imperial Government in consenting to take over Basutoland. I feel bound to say that, in my opinion, this is a very extraordinary action of the Transvaal Volksraad; and without fuller and further explanations and reasons I fail to see what concern they have in the matter.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS.

In reply to Sir John Hay,

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that after the Notice he gave with regard to the Navy Estimates on Monday, he thought it better that that arrangement should stand. With regard to Tuesday, the very slow progress that had been made with the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill had thrown some doubt upon the Business to be taken on that day, and he was afraid he was not in a position to give a definite answer on that point. The Government was certainly most anxious that they should proceed at once with the Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill after the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill; and although certainly his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) had promised —and the Government were bound by the promise—to bring to issue the question about Indian Expenditure in the middle of the month, yet he hoped the House would think that, on the whole, it would be better to postpone that for a few days rather than to allow it to interrupt the course of that important measure. He might say, with regard to the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, that as far as the Government were concerned, they would have been inclined to ask the House for a Saturday Sitting for the purpose of getting through with that Bill, but that they were given to understand that there was a very great objection in the House to that course being taken. As he should be very sorry to introduce a fresh element of discord, he was, therefore, reluctantly compelled to give that up, and to run the risk of being able to carry through the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill on Friday.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) whether it was his intention to proceed with his Motion in reference to the Franchise to-morrow evening? He understood that the hon. Member on Monday last had said that he would not proceed with the Motion; and, if so, it would give an opportunity to his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Dawnay) to proceed with his Motion on the subject of Zululand.

MR. LABOUCHERE replied, that he had said he was ready to give up his precedence on Friday on going into Committee of Supply, in order to aid the Government in getting into Supply; but he was not aware that he had said he would give it up to the hon. Gentleman opposite. He had assumed that the hon. Gentleman opposite was going to follow his good example; but the question as to whether he would give up his precedence to the hon. Gentleman was one which he would probably take all night to consider about.

MR. GUY DAWNAY wished again to ask the Prime Minister whether he would use his influence with the hon. Member for Northampton to withdraw his Motion, and give the House a proper opportunity of discussing so important a subject as that contained in the Motion next on the Paper — a subject which had been deemed of sufficient interest to merit a place in the Queen's Speech? He was sure that the natural loyalty of the hon. Member for Northampton would induce him to defer to any expression of the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. GLADSTONE: I speak under some difficulty, because neither the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton nor that of the hon. Member himself (Mr. Dawnay) is a Motion which I have any reason to regard with favour. With regard to my own own opinion, it would be most for the convenience of the House if the House were to go on with the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill. But I am afraid if the hon. Member for Northampton gave way, the hon. Gentleman opposite could not make his Motion in Committee of Supply. If my suggestion to go on with the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill to-morrow evening is not adopted, I cannot interfere with the hon. Member for Northampton.

MR. PARNELL asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he would agree to postpone the Vote for the Secret Service?

MR. COURTNEY: Yes.

JAMAICA—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it was true that although there was not at the present moment any proper Governor of Jamaica, the Attorney General and Chief Justice of that Colony were absent on leave, and who was left to administer the business of the Colony?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he should require Notice of the Question.

TUNIS—ARREST OF A BRITISH SUBJECT.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether it was true that a merchant claiming to be a Native of Malta and a British subject had been arrested in Tunis?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The facts of this case, so far as I have yet ascertained them, are simply these. An Italian, who claimed to be a British subject and a Native of Malta, had been engaged the other day in a quarrel with French soldiers, and the offence having been committed in the French camp, the French military authorities claimed jurisdiction to the exclusion of any other local jurisdiction, and also of the Consular jurisdiction, under which the man would come, assuming him to be a British Maltese subject. The man has satisfied Consul General Reed that he is a British Maltese, and the question is being treated between the two Governments. It is a question of considerable legal difficulty, but not of much importance.

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Mr. Speaker, I beg very respectfully to ask a Question of you. I wish to know, Sir, Whether it is true, as stated in some of the morning papers, that a letter has been sent to you by Mr. Bradlaugh concerning his future relations with this House; and, if that is the case, whether you shall consider it your duty to submit that letter to the House?

MR. SPEAKER: Before the hon. Baronet rose, I was about to inform the House that I had received from Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for the borough of Northampton, the following letter:—

20, *Circus Road, St. John's Wood, London,*
July 10, 1883. *N.W.*

The Right Hon. the Speaker,
House of Commons.

Sir,—On my return to London I find that an Order of the House has been served at my lodgings "that the Sergeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House." As I have since my election in March, 1882, *taken no part whatever in the proceedings of the House, except that of tendering myself in orderly manner to take my seat according to Law, and as I desire to avoid, if possible, any conflict with the House, I shall be obliged, Sir, by your informing me whether you would construe my presenting myself, in exact accordance with the statute and Standing Orders, for the purpose of taking my seat, to be a disturbance of the proceedings of the House, within the meaning of the said Order.*

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
C. BRADLAUGH.

To that letter I sent the following reply yesterday:—

To Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P.
House of Commons, July 11, 1883.

Sir,— In reply to your Letter of yesterday's date, I desire to acquaint you that, in view of the Resolution of the House of the 4*th of May last, and of the Order of the House made on the* 9*th instant, upon the reading of your Letter to Mr. Gladstone, there can be no doubt that your exclusion from the House will continue until you shall engage not to attempt to take the Oath, in disregard of the Resolution of the House now in force.*

Your obedient servant,
HENRY BRAND.

I have this day received the following reply from Mr. Bradlaugh:—

To the Right Honourable the Speaker
of the House of Commons.

20 *Circus Road, St. John's Wood, London,*
July 12, 1883. *N.W.*

Sir,—I thank you for the reply you are good enough to send me; and, while desiring to be in every way personally respectful to you, I am obliged to state that I am advised that both Orders of the House are absolutely illegal, and, unless the House by vacating the seat relieves me from what now becomes the very painful duty cast upon me by Law, I shall, in obedience to the Law, endeavour to take my seat, as the lawfully elected Member for the borough of Northampton. If the House should expel me or discharge me from the service required from me in pursuance of my return, the matter would then be one for the electors, and appealing to them I should cease to trouble the House. At present I am denied entry to the House by no Law; but the Law is sought to be over-ridden by the mere Resolution of the House, backed by the physical force at its command. To this utterly unwarranted use of force it is my duty to notify you that I must, while I remain Member for Northampton, offer every resistance in my power.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your mo. obedt. Servt.
C. BRADLAUGH.

Mr. A. J. Balfour

In addition to laying that Correspondence before the House, I have only to add that the Sergeant-at-Arms has been directed by me to enforce the Order of the House of the 9th July.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I presume that that letter is a matter of Privilege, the same as that sent to the Prime Minister last Monday, on which occasion we had a debate when the subject arose. I beg to ask you whether it is possible to found a Motion now on this question as one of Privilege?

MR. NEWDEGATE remarked, that Mr. Bradlaugh had declared that the Order of the House was illegal, as not being in accordance with the decisions of the Courts of Law. He wished to remind the House that it was only due to the interference of Her Majesty's Government that the fine which would have proved the illegality of his conduct had not been exacted from Mr. Bradlaugh. The decision of the Lord Chancellor that it rested with the Government alone to take steps to enforce the fine had not been acted upon by Her Majesty's Prime Minister. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: When the hon. Gentleman rose I presumed that he was about to speak to the point of Order raised by the hon. Baronet. The hon. Baronet asks me whether this correspondence raises a question of Privilege on which a Motion can be founded? The hon. Baronet referred to what had taken place the other day when a Motion of Privilege was raised. I am bound to observe to the hon. Baronet that the cases are quite different. When Mr. Bradlaugh wrote to a Member of this House announcing his intention to disregard the Order of the House, I was of opinion that his letter involved a matter of Urgency, and that the subject, therefore, became a question of Privilege. Urgency, however, does not apply to the present case; and, therefore, I do not consider that any question of Privilege is raised on the present occasion.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Perhaps you will allow me to ask one Question on this matter. I think it is fully understood that Mr. Bradlaugh is permitted to go into any part of this building, with the exception of this House, and, as I understand it, he is not allowed to pass the outer door of this House? He asks me to ask this Question.

MR. SPEAKER: Exclusion from the House I consider to be exclusion from the outer door of this House—beyond the outer door of this House.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £11,659, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to offer one or two observations on what he considered the unreasonableness of the Government in attempting to force this Vote through the House under the present circumstances. The Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy for the present year had not yet been furnished. When the Commission was established a provision was made that the annual Report of the Commissioners should be laid on the Table of the House within 21 days of the commencement of the Session, and for the present year this had not yet been done, although they were now half through July. He had, on a previous occasion, asked the Under Secretary to the Board of Trade to endeavour to get the Report presented as soon as possible in the Session; and the hon. Gentleman, on that occasion, assured the House that no unnecessary or avoidable delay should be permitted to interfere with its presentation. Nevertheless, it had not made its appearnce at an earlier date than in previous years, and last year it was not furnished until the middle of August, when it was of no practical use whatever. The Returns contained in the Report were of very serious national importance, and he was sure that the people at large had no idea of the growing importance of this question of lunacy in regard to England. In order to give an idea of the increase of lunacy, he would ask permission to read a few figures which appeared in the Returns. In the year 1859 the total number of lunatics in the country was 36,762; by the year 1882—that was to say, in 23 years—the number had increased to 74,842. Whereas of the lunatics in 1879, 15,000 only were in county and borough asylums, and 7,963 in workhouses; last year, although the number in workhouses had not very materially increased, the number in county and borough asylums had gone up from 15,000 to 42,000. The population in the same time had increased only from 19,650,000 to 21,460,000. The total number of lunatics to the population 23 years ago was only 18·67 in 10,000; last year it had risen from that proportion to a total of 28·34 in 10,000. He said that when the nature of lunacy was considered, such an increase, in proportion to the population, became a very serious national question, and that the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners was one which must arrest the attention and secure the consideration of Parliament. Therefore, they ought to be possessed of the information which the Commissioners had to furnish before they were asked to vote the money which was now demanded without any consideration of the great question to which he had referred. The proportion of lunatics in workhouses in 1859 was 25 per cent; the proportion in workhouses last year was also 25 per cent; but an enormous increase had taken place in the number of lunatics who were inmates of asylums, hospitals, and licensed houses, which meant that an enormous number of afflicted persons who ought really to have been kept in the workhouses had, in order to save trouble to the authorities of the workhouses, been sent off, sometimes in shoals, to the county and borough asylums; and their being so sent off involved an amount of cruelty and inhumanity which was almost impossible of belief until the whole of the circumstances of the case were examined. This question of pauper lunatics in workhouses had been pressed on the Government in the Report of the Commissioners year after year; but, so far as he was able to ascertain, without any practical result whatsoever. The evil had become so great that the Committee were now entitled to ask the Government whether they intended to take any immediate steps with the view to its amelioration? In the Report of the year before last the Commissioners said, with respect to Middlesex—

> "There can be no doubt that the question of making additional provision for the insane poor of Middlesex has again become a pressing one;"

and they went on to say—

> "The aged and infirm are very numerous, and there are a large number of them who might be adequately cared for in the workhouse infirmaries. Under present circumstances, however, there is but little pecuniary inducement to Guardians to retain such persons in workhouses, or to receive them back again from asylums, the weekly cost of maintenance here, 9*s.* 7½*d.*, being actually reduced to 5*s.* 7½*d.* only, by the 4*s.* a-week returned from the money voted by Parliament."

While in the Report of last year, at page 158, they had a very good illustration of the effect of this system. The Commissioners, in speaking of the insane in workhouses, said—

> "In our experience there is now frequently a tendency to send to the asylum patients who might be sufficiently cared for in workhouses. We have no doubt, indeed, that the effect of the Parliamentary subvention of 4*s.* a-week, allowed to Boards of Guardians for every insane patient maintained in an asylum, has, in many instances, tended to promote the removal to asylums, and has prevented the return back to workhouses from asylums of patients who could, with slightly more liberal provision in the way of food and supervision, be adequately dealt with in workhouses. The rate of maintenance in county asylums is in many districts so moderate that, deducting the 4*s.* subvention, the cost to the Guardians is less than if the insane person were retained in the workhouse."

That was the whole secret of the removal of pauper lunatics to the county and borough asylums. Then came the sequel to these observations of the Commissioners. The Report continued—

> "A remarkable example occurred last year at Halifax of the manner in which a large demand was, as we think, improperly made upon asylum accommodation for cases requiring only workhouse care. At this workhouse there have been for many years very good lunatic wards for upwards of 90 imbeciles of both sexes, and our Reports of annual visits have usually been favourable, as regards the condition and management of these wards and their inmates. It appears, however, that the accommodation in the workhouse for ordinary sick paupers had latterly become inadequate, and no further building on the same site could be sanctioned by the Local Government Board. In order, therefore, to give the necessary additional room for the sick, the Guardians decided to remove the imbeciles to the South Yorkshire Asylum at Wadsley, and to appropriate to the sick the wards thus vacated. This proceeding was objected to by the Committee of Visitors of the asylum, but could not be successfully resisted so long as the individuals to be removed could be certified to be insane, and so long as there was vacant room in the asylum. In the course of last summer accordingly 74 imbeciles of both sexes were thus transferred from the workhouse to the asylum."

That was most monstrous and inhuman. These imbeciles were a class of people who required to be treated as if they were in their second childhood, yet they were confined in lunatic asylums, made to consort with persons whose association had about it something hideous and terrible, and thus the faint glimmering of the hope of recovery, which might have been entertained before, was utterly extinguished by their transfer to lunatic asylums. The Commissioners went on to say—

> "We addressed the Local Government Board on the subject of this improper absorption of asylum accommodation, and the consequent injustice to the payers of county rate, of placing upon them a charge which, as it appeared to us, ought to be borne by the payers of local poor rates; and we expressed a hope that the Board would continue to urge upon the Halifax Guardians the propriety of making speedy provision for their imbecile poor, not requiring asylum treatment."

Such was the Report of the Commissioners last year. What the present attitude of the Commissioners was with regard to these workhouses they did not know, because the Report for the present year had not been furnished. The Report of the Commissioners contained the following extract from the Report of the Visiting Commissioner in November last, with regard to the Dudley Union Workhouse:—

> "In my Report of the 18th of November, 1880, I stated as follows:—'Attention has been drawn by the Visiting Commissioners for several years past to the overcrowding of the lunatic wards, but it continues to be as great as ever, and nothing has been done, nor, as far as I can learn, is anything in immediate contemplation, with a view to remove or abate the evil which in the male lunatic ward day-room is, indeed, becoming worse every year. In the dormitories of this ward also the beds are so close that they touch each other at the sides, and the patients have to climb into and out of their beds over the bottom. Apart from the insufficient space, it can easily be imagined how objectionable it must be for insane patients, many of whom are of dirty habits, and some addicted to bad practices, to sleep in beds actually touching each other. The above description (of a year ago) is applicable in every respect to the state of these dormitories to-day (Nov. 1881), and the day-room is more overcrowded than ever. I saw to-day 60 patients jammed together at tables not affording proper room for more than half that number taking their dinners in the greatest discomfort, though the food was good and abundant. I have never seen such persistent overcrowding without the prospect of an early remedy. On the 23rd of February last the Guardians, I am informed, stated to the Local Government Board by letter that they proposed "in a short time to build schools and other accommodation for children a short distance from the workhouse, and by making a portion of the space now occupied by the school children available for the use of imbeciles, the overcrowding complained of will be eventually relieved." Plans were, I understand, prepared early in the present year, but they are still (Nov. 1881) in the board-room, not even opened for examination, and there is, of course, no immediate prospect of anything being done to relieve the serious condition of matters above described.'"

In laying this subject before the Committee, he had used the *ipsissima verba* of the Commissioners without interposing any comment of his own, his sole object being to place the matter before the Committee strictly upon its own merits. He believed he had shown, not only the very serious growing importance of this question of lunacy, but also that the existing accommodation was utterly insufficient to meet the need of the community. He believed also he had shown sufficient ground for demurring to this Vote being forced through the House, as the Government were endeavouring to force it through, in the absence of the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners, without which it could not be sufficiently and intelligently discussed. As far as he was aware, there should be no difficulty in presenting this important Report, and he could not understand how the Vote could be taken in its entirety without it. The contention that it must be taken at once for the Service would not hold water for a moment; because, if it were necessary that the money for this Department should be voted immediately, it would be equally necessary that it should be voted for Classes III. and IV. and for the Civil Service Votes. But the Government did not propose to take any other Votes than those of Class II. The suggestion, therefore, could not be serious, because there had not been a single argument brought forward in support of it. But, if the Government were not disposed to take a Vote on Account, which he considered a very reasonable proposal; if they were not content to postpone the Vote until the House was in possession of the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners for the present year, he hoped that, at any rate, they were in a position to give some satisfactory information with regard to the difficult points in the previous Reports of the Commissioners to which he had called attention.

MR. INDERWICK said, he wished to draw the attention of the Government to one point in connection with lunatic asylums, in the hope that between this year and the next something might be done to remedy a defective state of things. It had been several times brought to his notice that a great number of the women who were inmates of asylums were insufficiently and improperly supplied with clothing. It was absolutely essential with regard to many of these asylums, and especially private houses, that great attention should be paid to the clothing of women, a matter with which men were not sufficiently acquainted. It had been mentioned, on many occasions, that the Visiting Justices and other visitors had reason to doubt whether the women, under the existing circumstances, were properly clothed, having regard to the seasons of the year. In some cases it was almost impossible for a visitor to ascertain for himself whether that was so or not. He had to take the word of the female attendants; and the suggestion he (Mr. Inderwick) had to make was that it would be desirable, in the interests of the female patients in these houses throughout the country, that there should be a certain limited number of duly qualified females appointed, either temporarily or permanently, as Inspectors, or Assistant Inspectors, who might assist in those investigations which were essential for the personal comfort and good treatment of the unfortunate women in question.

Mr. WARTON said, that the changes in this Department had resulted in a profit of £6,000 a-year. He wished to know whether a corresponding reduction was made in the Estimate, or whether the Commissioners continued to draw the same salaries as before?

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to ask whether the Government had yet make up its mind to relieve the counties of their burdens with regard to criminal lunatics? His hon. Friend the Under Secretary to the Treasury presided last year over a Committee which made recommendations with reference to this subject, and he would be glad to know whether those recommendations had been carried out, and, if so, in what position the matter now stood? Perhaps the hon. Gentleman could inform him whether any cells had been fitted up in any prison or prisons designated for the reception of criminal lunatics, or whether any steps were taken in that direction? He ventured to hope that some steps had been taken to relieve counties of those burdens, which they ought not to bear, in respect of criminal lunatics.

Mr. SALT said, the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had spoken of the great cruelty of removing imbeciles from the workhouses to lunatic asylums. Actually, the matter was quite the reverse of what the hon. Member had stated. He could assure the Committee that as soon as the removal of these unfortunate persons was effected the very greatest care was taken of them. It was, however, no question of treatment that they had to deal with; it was entirely a question of expense. They had to consider the question as to whether imbeciles of quiet character ought to be removed to lunatic asylums on the ground of expense. The hon. and gallant Member behind him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had pointed out that a great number of lunatics had of late years been transferred to asylums, and that in consequence the Lunacy Commissioners had been obliged to put undue pressure on the counties to furnish new asylums. The question here was not the kindness or the character of the asylumns, but whether there was any danger that the public might incur a much greater expense than was necessary in order to take care of these afflicted persons. They stood in need of some means to deal easily and conveniently with the persons who were not so insane as to require extensive care; they wanted some means of dealing with imbeciles, a certain number of whom could be taken care of in the workhouses, because they were able to do some kinds of work, and could be allowed to go about at large—although he must say the number of imbeciles of this description was not very large. Were they to improve the workhouses so as to retain these persons, or were they to extend the lunatic asylums? That was really the question. Or, again, were they to have separate imbecile asylums on a very extensive scale? The latter plan had been tried with regard to the Metropolis, as his hon. Friend well knew. The hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Inderwick) had referred to the question of female Inspectors. He did not know whether it would be well to import female Inspectors into the very difficult system of lunacy; but he knew, as a matter of fact, that very great care was taken of all women in lunatic asylums. In one asylum that he was acquainted with there was a matron, who was a person of great experience and of most undoubted character and ability; he knew that the recommendations which she had made, with regard to the comfort and clothing of the female inmates, had always been assiduously attended to by the Committee; and he did not believe that any greater care could be given to lunatic persons than was given by the matron to whom he referred. While he regarded the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member as worthy of consideration, he had great doubt whether any improvement of the kind desired would result from its adoption; while he believed that if any grievance actually existed under this head it could be dealt with satisfactorily in some other way.

Mr. HIBBERT said, he was glad to be able to inform the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), who had inquired as to the Report of the Committee which sat to consider the question relating to criminal lunatics, that almost the whole of the recommendations of that Committee had been adopted by his right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt), and that instructions had been given to prepare a Bill dealing with the subject which would be introduced next Session. Wherever any of the recommendations of the Committee could be carried into effect without legislation, that, of course, would be done at once. With regard to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who had referred to what had taken place in that House last year in connection with a Bill on this subject, he would point out that that measure had nothing whatever to do with the matter then under discussion. It was a Bill which came within the province of the Lord Chancellor; and, under those circumstances, he trusted the hon. and learned Member would excuse him for not going any further into the subject. With reference to the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Rye (Mr. Inderwick), that lady Inspectors should be appointed to visit lunatic asylums, the matter was, of course, an important one; but he should not be willing to give an answer with regard to it without further consideration. Lady Inspectors had, no doubt, been appointed in cases where they were fitted for the duties devolving upon them; but he was not prepared to say that the duty of inspecting lunatic asylums was one which it was desirable that they should undertake, or that they would be willing to discharge. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had called attention to the fact that the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners had not yet been received. He (Mr. Hibbert) shared the regret of the hon. Member that this Report was not issued at an earlier date; and, having that morning sent to the Office of the Commissioners for information on the subject, he had received a reply to the effect that the Report would be ready to be presented to the Lord Chancellor before the end of the week, after which time it could be obtained on application by Members of both Houses of Parliament. Therefore, although they had not the Report before them at that moment, it would be sent in earlier than last year. He trusted the hon. Member for Queen's County would be satisfied with that assurance; and the Committee might rely that whatever power he had in this matter should hereafter be exerted to insure the presentation of the Report at an earlier period of the Session. He quite agreed with the hon. Member that the Report ought to be in the hands of Members before this Vote came forward. The hon. Member had also referred to the increase which had taken place in lunacy; but, although an increase had undoubtedly occurred, he believed there were causes by which that increase might be easily explained. Those causes he did not wish to enter into at that moment, because they would become matters of discussion on a future occasion. It seemed to him that the question as to whether some arrangement could not be made for the imbeciles and idiots in workhouses was very well worthy of consideration; and he thought that, perhaps, the difficulty might be overcome by having a cheaper kind of asylum, such as that in use in the Metropolis. He believed that one or two places might be prepared for them in which they could be trained, and possibly made useful members of society. That, of course, could not be done in lunatic asylums; and although it was true that, to a certain extent, the educational process might go on, yet it was almost impossible that the unfortunate inmates could be taught to do any useful work. He hoped that when they had adopted a system of County Government the counties would combine to deal with this question. He believed the suggestion he had made would be to the advantage of the poor people themselves, and also to the advantage of the authorities, inasmuch as it would relieve the pressure under which the latter now suffered. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member as to the Middlesex, Dudley, and Halifax Unions, he could assure him that the matters referred to had been continually before the Local Government Board during the last year, and that the Board had given every assistance in their power to the county authorities for the purpose of getting the cases sent back from county asylums to the workhouses; but he regretted to say that their endeavours had not proved successful. He trusted, however, that the exertions which had been made would not be fruitless, and that they would shortly result in a more satisfactory state of affairs. He believed he had replied to the principal points raised by the hon. Member for Queen's County, whom he should be happy to supply with any further information that he might require.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Queen's County had done good service in drawing the attention of the Committee to the Reports of the Lunacy Commissioners, and to the late period in the Session at which those Reports were presented. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member that the Committee should be in possession of the Report of the Commissioners before they were asked for this Vote; and he would remind the Committee that the Vote itself afforded the only opportunity they would have of discussing the serious questions connected with Lunacy Reform. He had himself brought forward this subject on a former occasion, when he was met with great coldness and the absence of all argument on the part of Her Majesty's Government. The hon. Gentleman who had just spoken from the Treasury Bench said that next year there would be legislation on the subject of lunacy. He thought the Committee would agree with him in saying that it would be of the greatest advantage if, on the present occasion, they were able to review the lunacy legislation now existing, so that when the measure foreshadowed by the hon. Gentleman came forward the House would have the benefit of the opinions which had been expressed. The existing Lunacy Laws were full of anomalies; for instance, there were six Commissioners to look after 70,000 lunatics, while there were three Visitors for every 1,000 Chancery lunatics; yet, notwithstanding that the expense and waste caused by maintaining this system were very great, the Government attempted nothing in the way of reform; they remained, in fact, perfectly quiescent. The presentation of this Vote was the only opportunity for ventilating the reform of the existing abuses and reducing the very large expenditure which the Central Authority imposed on the local authorities in all matters connected with lunacy. He would not detain the Committee farther than to say that, in his opinion, it was wrong that the House of Commons should not have an opportunity of discussing, with ample information and at considerable length, the points which had just been referred to.

Mr. SALT said, he entirely agreed that it was a matter of great inconvenience that the Reports not only of the Commissioners in Lunacy, but of other Departments, were not presented earlier. At the time when those Reports were most needed they could, as a rule, only get Reports which were two years old, and therefore only partially to be trusted. It was very difficult to see how the matter could be remedied; but, at any rate, it could not be done by merely saying, as the hon. Gentleman opposite had said—"We will try to do better next year." But the Returns on which these Reports were based were so voluminous that they could not be checked and considered in one day, and it was sometimes absolutely impossible to get the Reports into a proper position within the time required by Parliament. The case, however, might possibly be met by getting the Returns in by the 29th of September every year, instead of the 31st of December. He put it before the Committee that the delay was not the fault of the particular Department they were now speaking of; but that it arose from the difficulty of dealing with Returns of so voluminous a character.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he understood from the hon. Gentleman opposite that the Report of the Committee which sat to consider the question of criminal lunatics was to be carried out. He gathered, then, that the counties were to be entirely relieved of persons who had become insane after their trial, and that these were to be confined in one of Her Majesty's prisons. He ventured to hope that that was not a matter which would require to be dealt with by legislation, and that the county asylums would be relieved forthwith of criminal lunatics.

MR. HIBBERT said, that one portion of the subject would require to be dealt with by legislation.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked if he was right in understanding that criminal lunatics whose term had expired would be kept in some separate asylum, and not returned to the county lunatic asylums?

MR. HIBBERT said, he thought that would have to be a matter of arrangement.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) had mistaken the impression which the remarks which he had offered to the Committee were calculated to convey. He did not intend to convey that he thought the persons transferred from workhouses to lunatic asylums were likely to suffer from any want of kindness shown to them in their misery. So far from that being his meaning, he was convinced that the labours of the members of the Medical Profession in behalf of these unfortunate individuals were characterized by kindness and benevolence in the highest degree. He was well aware that there was no class whose kindness and patience was more taxed than that portion of the Profession which was concerned in the management of lunatics. The present system undoubtedly left much to be desired; but with regard to the kindness shown in the treatment of lunatics, he did not think there was any cause for complaint. He would ask the hon. Gentleman opposite whether he appreciated the serious difficulties which arose from the want of accommodation in workhouses? The Report showed that applications for admission had been refused within a year to 227 males and 218 females. That was a very serious consideration, and showed the point at which they had arrived with regard to the deficiency of accommodation. It showed, also, that it would be necessary to enlarge the present accommodation by the establishment of new institutions; and he said it was worthy the consideration of the Government whether there should not be intermediate asylums established, so that there might be a classification quite different from that which now existed, except in the Metropolis, leaving in the workhouses those who were imbecile and harmless, and who were capable of performing simple duties about the Union, and keeping in asylums those who required more serious care and treatment, at the same time relegating to the intermediate class those who were little better than imbeciles, and who ought not to be sent to lunatic asylums, not by reason of the treatment they would receive there, but by reason of the terrible association they would undergo with persons with whom no one but the insane ought to be compelled to consort.

MR. HIBBERT said, if some intermediate establishment could be arranged for by counties, or combination of counties, no doubt they might be able to transfer to them less serious cases, and this would make room for cases which it was desirable should be treated separately in asylums. The magistrates in one county had established an asylum for chronic cases, which was worked at a small cost as compared with other institutions of the kind.

MR. DILLWYN said, he hoped his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Stanley Leighton) would continue to urge upon the Government the necessity of dealing with the large and important question of Lunacy Reform. He would not go into the question of the Vote, but would simply observe that the Government were to blame for the long delay which had occurred in dealing with this subject. He had himself taken up the question; but he did not expect that much good would result from his endeavour, because he was sure that real improvement must come from the Government of the day.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he had twice made a proposal to Parliament, which would have had the effect of carrying out the view of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Hibbert).

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £42,207, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he was desirous of receiving some information with regard to one or two items in the Vote. First, there were the Extra Receipts, which were shown to be largely in excess of the amount credited last year; that, however, was probably due to the quantity of silver coined. But there was a large increase shown by the Estimate in the item of salaries, wages, and allowances, which had risen from £16,000 in the last Estimate to £21,250, which he hoped would be explained. There was also another point of importance on which he desired to receive information. He asked whether the Government had come to any decision with regard to the large quantity of light gold in circulation—whether it was intended to take any steps to grapple with the difficulty, which was a serious one, and affected the interests of a large portion of the people? It was, he believed, in the power of anyone to refuse to receive in payment a sovereign, or half-sovereign, under its legal weight; and it would be an exceeding hardship if that power were exercised. The amount of light gold in circulation was very large; and he believed that the law placed the legal liability for the loss upon the actual possessor of the gold, although, in many cases, it was absolutely impossible for a person to say whether the gold was light or not. If the strict rights of all parties were exercised, the inconvenience and the loss which would result must necessarily be very great indeed. It was not for him to suggest to Her Majesty's Government how they should proceed in this matter; but as there was a large profit annually accumulating on the coinage of silver—he believed there was no profit on gold—it might be a reasonable suggestion that the responsibility for the loss on gold, wherever it was not intentional, should fall upon the authorities who retained to themselves the right to the profit which accrued.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that for some time during the re-building of the Mint operations were suspended, and the staff was reduced much below its normal strength; but now that they were completing the work of re-building they had to increase the number of workmen, and therefore the cost of wages was increased to the extent of £5,000. The same remarks applied to the staff, whose operations had been suspended during the re-building. With regard to the loss on light gold, he would point out that old and worn silver was received at the Mint at its nominal value. But in the matter of gold there was not a fraction of profit, and the State had to bear the whole burden of the cost of coining. Under this arrangement a person might go to the Mint with a certain weight of gold, and have the actual weight returned to him in coin. To defray the loss upon light gold, even from honest wear and tear, would be a very serious matter indeed. His right hon. Friend would probably remember that nearly 40 years ago the State imposed the loss necessarily upon the last holder. He could not conceive that the State should assume to itself the burden of loss resulting from wear and tear; and, moreover, it was perfectly impossible to detect whether a coin had been lightened by circulation or mechanically. For the reasons he had given, he thought the holders, and not the State, should accept the burden of loss.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he was sorry to find the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) putting forward excuses for the non-production of the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners; but there was another Report which was habitually in arrear, he believed, to a greater extent than that of any other Department. He referred to the Report of the Mint, which there was no reason whatever for delaying; and he trusted that the Secretary to the Treasury would take care that next year that Report should be in the hands of Members within not less than three months of the opening of the Session. He remarked that the Estimate for the Department for 1883-4 did not show clearly what was the profit to the country upon the silver coinage resulting from the fall in the price of silver; and he thought the Committee were entitled to some information as to how so large a profit as that of £75,000, entered as a receipt, had been made.

MR. WARTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury to be good enough to explain how the loss on the gold coinage was four times as much this year as it was last? He thought there should be some set off against that from the profits on silver, and the still greater profit on the bronze coinage, which latter was only worth one-third of its nominal value. But his object in rising was principally to call the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to the importance of coining a greater number of half-crowns, and discontinuing the coinage of florins. The coinage of florins was altogether a mistake, and was due to an insane idea entertained some years ago about a decimal coinage, which it was well known could never take root in this country. The florin was at best a mean coin, and was not regarded with the same respect as the half-crown; on the other hand, the half-crown was very useful, because with half-crowns and shillings you could pay any number of sixpences, which it was impossible to do with florins. He trusted the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to give an assurance that the coinage of florins would be discontinued.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, there was one item in the Vote to which he desired to draw the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury—namely, the supply of bronze and silver coinage to the Colonies. It was an item upon which, in other years, the President of the Board of Trade had moved a reduction, which had been supported by the Secretary to the Treasury. [Mr. COURTNEY said, that that was a mistake.] At any rate, the hon. Gentleman had not voted in favour of the item when the President of the Board of Trade moved its rejection. He regretted the absence of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who, in former years, had also been active in regard to this Vote, and the objections which the hon. Member had urged certainly held good now. He was afraid the hon. Gentleman, although he sat below the Gangway, was not likely to move a reduction of the Vote now. He wanted to know how the item of £1,500, which now appeared in the Vote, was ascertained; because last year, when there was a much larger amount of silver sent to the Colonies, the charge was less than £1,500. He wanted to make it perfectly clear that an unnecessarily large sum was not named in the Vote. He would also like to know from the Government the reason why there was a larger estimated loss upon silver this year than last year? Was it intended to increase the coinage of silver this year to any great extent? Last year £100 was taken for that item, and this year it was £250. He doubted very much whether in any year the amount taken for loss on silver had not been found altogether beyond what was necessary, and there was nothing in the Estimates to account for any increase in the loss on silver. He had searched in vain in the Reports issued in February last for an explanation. No doubt there had been a delay in furnishing certain Reports to Parliament, and there had been various complaints in consequence; but this Report had been furnished, and he hoped the Government would explain what their objects were in regard to silver coinage this year. So far as he understood the question—but he was not aware that he was altogether correct—there was a difference between the market price and the Mint price, which was 5*s.* 6*d.* an ounce, the market price being 51 or 52 pence at the outside, leaving a profit of at least 1*s.* 2*d.* If the Committee knew what amount of silver coinage it was intended to take in hand this year, they would be able, with some approach to accuracy, to check the Government demands.

MR. COURTNEY said, that in reference to the observations which had been made by his hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir George Balfour), the delay which had occurred in publishing the Reports had been unavoidable. In regard to the comments of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), he was afraid that he could hold out no hope as to the suppression of the florin. The coinage of half-crowns was altogether stopped for years; but afterwards it was found necessary to re-issue them, owing to a desire expressed upon the part of bankers and others, who were of opinion that it was a most convenient coin. The issue of half-crowns had, therefore, been resumed, and both florins and half-crowns were now coined, the desire on the part of the commercial community being to have both. A florin was considered a useful and very convenient coin. As to the matter of loss on coinage, to which the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had referred, that was a loss derived simply from this fact. A certain weight of gold had to be converted into coin; but in the process of making it into coin a part was lost and wasted. The same remark applied to the conversion of silver into coin, and this loss represented the waste during the process of converting gold and silver into coin. The hon. Member for Queen's County had referred to the action of his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade in former years in moving the reduction of this Vote in regard to the Colonies. Now, he did not think that he (Mr. Courtney) had ever supported that Motion. It was altogether a matter of pure bargain between the Mint at home and the Colonies, which were supplied not with Colonial, but with Imperial coin. The English shilling and the English sixpence were sent out at their nominal value, so that the Imperial Government received a sovereign for 20*s.* in silver, and consequently made a considerable gain. On the whole, there was a large profit on the transaction; and, having regard to this, it was not unreasonable that the Mint should consent to bear the cost of packing and freight. He might add that this year they were going to make more coin than usual—both silver and gold.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought the hon. Gentleman had given to the Committee some valuable information. He quite understood that the loss upon the coinage arose from waste; but that did not answer the question how it was that the loss was four times more this year than it had been before?

Mr. COURTNEY remarked, that the loss was greater, because a greater amount of coin had been made.

Mr. WARTON wished to know, in regard to the florin and the half-crown, if there were as many half-crowns made as florins? He believed that considerable inconvenience had been felt on account of the suppression of the half-crown for so many years. In regard to the Colonies, he thought they ought to get the profit as well as the loss. At present, they were charged all the waste upon the gold coinage; but they did not get the profit upon the silver.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that with respect to the supply, the object of the Mint was to supply half-crowns and florins as they were required. [Mr. Warton: In equal quantities?] No; as they are asked for.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £24,057, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.

Mr. DILLWYN said, that the increase upon this Vote was not a very large increase; but it was one which seemed to require explanation. He found there was an Assistant Commissioner in the Trade Mark Registry who received £1,000 a-year; whereas last year there was no such item in the Vote. He wanted to know whether this salary was personal to the Office; and, if so, why the Office was not filled last year, and why it was filled this year at £1,000? The next item mentioned that the maximum salary of the Office was £800 a-year. He, therefore, wanted to know, in the first place, why this officer was receiving more than the maximum salary, and whether it was an additional Office that was not filled last year?

Mr. COURTNEY said, this was a matter connected with the re-organization of the Department. If his hon. Friend would turn to page 132 he would find that there was an Assistant Registrar down at £600 in connection with the Trade Mark Registry, and this Assistant represented the same Office; but instead of being restricted to Trade Marks he was now Assistant Registrar. The fact that he received £1,000 instead of £800 was due to the circumstance that the gentleman who held the appointment was formerly a Registrar in the Law Courts, which gave him that salary; and, as a matter of convenience, it had been considered advisable to employ him, rather than to give him the pension he would be entitled to on retirement.

Mr. DILLWYN asked if one of the two offices was a sinecure, or did one officer perform double duties? He found that this gentleman was down for £600 a-year, and that he also got £1,000.

Mr. COURTNEY remarked that the £600 was for last year.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £6,970, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

(5.) £16,896, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

(6.) £36,144, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.

MR. DILLWYN asked upon what principle the Committee were taking these Votes, because he saw they were skipping over a good many Votes, and not taking them in their regular order.

MR. COURTNEY said, there were six Votes, of which this was the last, which must be taken that night. Directly these six Votes were disposed of, the Committee would resume the consideration of the rest in their regular order.

MR. SALT said, he happened to have a Notice down on the Paper in regard to this Vote, which he took to be a very large Vote, considering that it was merely for administrative expenses. If they compared the Vote with the cost of the Department at the time it was first created, in 1852, they would find that it had enormously increased. There were some Departments which had to do with the Business of the country, which must, of necessity, increase largely as they became developed and the requirements became greater; but, in dealing with an administrative Department, if they once had the Department well organized, the increase ought to be very small through the additional work which might be placed upon it. Now, this Department of Public Works and Buildings, if they examined it carefully, was purely an administrative Department. There were charges in other Votes for the expenditure upon Public Buildings, the Royal Parks, and other things of one kind or another, which amounted to a very large sum indeed. The present Vote related merely to the cost of supervision. The Motion he had placed upon the Paper was not intended to challenge the Vote in any particular way, but to challenge generally the increase in the expenditure upon Public Departments. He had no doubt that the officers of a Department performed their duties very well; and he was sure that, so far as his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works was concerned, the Department was admirably administered. But his object in saying anything at all about the matter was this—not that he expected so much to see the expenditure reduced, because he knew that was an extremely difficult thing. When they got an administrative Department up to a certain point it was impossible to reduce it. If they had a number of competent men around them, they must keep them, because they could not properly dispose of them otherwise. What he was anxious to prevent was the idea that these administrative Departments were always to be increased. He had taken this Department as a specimen, not because he objected in particular to this Department, but because it was a very good specimen, inasmuch as it was, as he had said just now, a purely administrative Department. There was nothing in the present Vote except what was for the expense of management in connection with other Business which was paid for in other Votes. It was a sort of Central Department over other Departments. Speaking from his own experience, and an experience which many other hon. Members must have had, he had found that whenever they were dealing with a Central Department they were obliged to keep a firm hand indeed upon it in order to prevent it from growing too large. A Central Department might be extremely economical and exceedingly effective; but a Central Department that was purely administrative might increase its work very much indeed, without increasing its staff, because it ought to have, in the first instance, a man at the head of the Department who was competent and capable of managing a large concern. Therefore, when the work increased it was merely the addition of a few clerks to carry it on. He had no wish to say anything that might assume the nature of an attack upon this Department; indeed, he had no wish to criticize its method of working, but he did want to see if they could not try, if possible, to check the expenditure upon the Central Departments of the Government. That expenditure had been growing year after year; and he was perfectly certain that although increased expenditure in some cases might be necessary, still, as a general rule, it would not lead to increased efficiency; and they must always remember this—that in dealing with administrative Departments of any kind whatever, whether they were Public Departments or Departments of a commercial character, it was to the interest of those who were at the head of the Departments, perhaps unconsciously, to make them as large as possible. The larger a Department was, the more the persons connected with it could lay claim to increased salaries, increased honours, and increased position. Although he did not for a single moment believe that the country was not exceedingly well served, and honestly and ably served, by its public servants; yet, whenever a public servant had it placed directly before his mind that by the increase of the Department he would obtain greater pay and additional honour, it was very difficult to induce such a man to study economy. Human nature was only human nature after all. Last year there would have been so many thousand letters sent out; this year there would be so many thousand more letters sent out; and thus the expenditure would go on increasing, being very much larger today than it was five or 10 years ago. No doubt there was a natural increase in the public work generally; but it all led to the idea of the exaltation of the Office, and the exaltation of the business generally, and consequently of increased expense; and he was perfectly certain that an increase of expense was not in all cases followed by an increase of efficiency. He did not for a moment blame the Government; but it was for the House to say that it would, so far as possible, require that its public servants—able, efficient, talented, honest, and patriotic as they were—should turn their minds not to the increase and enlargement of their Offices, but to the carrying on of the Public Business as efficiently as ever, but, at the same time, with the greatest possible economy, especially economy in details. Economy in details seemed a small thing to talk about; but it was a matter of very great importance. The economy practised in a Department coloured the whole administration of that Department. He had merely taken this Department because it was purely an administrative Department; and whether his right hon. Friend, who was well able to administer it, or anybody else, was in Office, he was most anxious that the principle should be laid down that these administrative Departments should, if possible, try to secure economy as well as efficiency. He was quite sure if nothing was done in that direction they would go on increasing their Estimates year by year, and would lose all control over them. New officers were appointed, and the expenses were increased, and the House might waste considerable time in discussing the Estimates; but nothing would be done unless they said—"Do, for goodness sake, let us feel that we are at the top of the tide of expenditure, as far as the Department is concerned." If he went into details he might show how many thousands of pounds might be saved without in any way sacrificing the efficiency of the Department; and he certainly wished to impress upon his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works that the expenses of this particular Department had enormously increased since it was first created in 1852.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was quite ready to subscribe to the doctrines which had been laid down by his hon. Friend opposite. He could assure his hon. Friend that he had no desire to exalt his Office by increasing the number of officers; and he concurred with his hon. Friend that when an Office was properly organized, it ought to be able to increase its work without any undue increase of expenditure. At the same time, he was bound to say that the work of the Department now under the consideration of the Committee had accumulated during the last four or five years to such an extent that it had been found absolutely essential to increase the staff of surveyors, and it was to the increase of the staff of surveyors that the augmentation of the Vote was due. The hon. Member, however, would be glad to hear that since the Estimates were framed this year he had in another direction been able to make a considerable diminution. He had reduced the Assistant Secretary to the Department by £1,000 a-year, which he considered to be a considerable reduction. He found that the clerks could work the Office without an Assistant Secretary, and the Assistant Secretary had accordingly been retired. Therefore, while, on the one hand, he had found it necessary to increase the staff of surveyors, on the other hand, he had been able to reduce the expenses of the Office by the retirement of the Assistant Secretary. With regard to the work thrown upon the surveyors, he need hardly remind his hon. Friend that the Post Office work had increased enormously of late years. No one could have any idea of the increase during the last few years, and certainly during the present year it had been enormous. It had been found necessary to re-organize nearly every Post Office in the Kingdom, in consequence of the introduction of the Parcels Post; and, in addition to that, the Customs and Inland Revenue Offices had been the cause of great expenditure. It was absolutely essential that these charges should be incurred, in order to increase the efficiency of the Public Service; and it had, therefore, been necessary to add considerably to the staff of surveyors.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned the burden entailed upon the Department in consequence of having to send out surveyors in connection with providing increased accommodation for the Post Office. He wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman that there were certain quarters in which a visit from the surveyor had been promised, but in which the promise had not yet been performed. There was one case to which he wished to call particular attention—namely, the case of the Post Office at Plymouth. It had long been understood and promised that a surveyor should be sent down to Plymouth to consider the position in which the Post Office there was placed; but no surveyor had yet been sent. It was not a matter on which he intended to say much upon this Vote, because the immediate question before the Committee was the grant of money for work actually done; but he should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works would say something to supplement the observations he had already made in regard to the Post Office at Plymouth.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the hon. and learned Gentleman was quite right in saying that he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had promised to send down a surveyor to Plymouth to look into the Post Office and two or three other buildings there, and he should certainly have done so if it had not been for the enormous amount of work which had been thrown upon the surveyors. At this moment there were something like 200 Offices under the consideration of the Department. He could assure the hon. and learned Member that as soon as possible he would send a surveyor down to Plymouth.

MR. SALT said, the Office had been overburdened with work on account of the additional Post Office building. He believed great economy of time, money, and temper might be brought about if some of these details were left to the Departments themselves, and if the Central Authority were occupied more with supervision. He wished to throw out a suggestion—although he would not go deeply into the matter — he thought considerable time was wasted by requiring this excellent Office to do a great deal of the work of detail which would be more naturally performed by the Departments themselves.

MR. DILLWYN said, there was a great deal in what the hon. Member had said with regard to the Surveyors, and he considered that a great deal more might be left to the local authorities in small matters. They ought, however, to look to the Chief of the Department, in whom he had very great confidence, to say whether and when surveyors should be sent out. They should not be sent out for every petty job that had to be done. The surveyor was responsible for the expenditure, and had to see that the money was properly expended.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £11,832, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked for an explanation on certain points connected with this Vote.

MR. COURTNEY said, that a charge was made on account of the examination and tabulation which had to be made in connection with the preparation of new tables for the grant of life annuities. The work had been taken in hand only recently, and from it was to be gained the result of the past experience of the National Debt Office. The Treasury were now in receipt of the Report of the Actuary of the National Debt Office, embodying the labours of that gentleman. As the matter involved many questions of extreme actuarial importance, it had been found desirable to refer the principle of the examination of the Government Actuary to an independent authority. As soon as the questions of principle involved were decided, the actual work of framing the new tables would be proceeded with with great rapidity. He was afraid the result would not be known before the

House rose; but it would be made known during the autumn.

Mr. SALT asked whether these tables were those in which the Post Office annuities were given?

Mr. COURTNEY said, they would be available for those annuities.

Mr. KENNY was understood to ask for information as to whether there was any amount included in this Vote for the administration of the Suez Canal?

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £19,784, to complete the sum for the Postmaster General's Office.

(9.) £46,985, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

(10.) £404,110, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

Mr. DILLWYN said, the Committee ought to have some information upon this subject. A total sum of rather more than £500,000 seemed to him to be a most extraordinary amount to pay for the Stationery Office. The Vote was always increasing—there was this year an enormous increase. He did not contend that it was not necessary for the Vote to increase; but, at the same time, the advance which was being made under this head was so enormous that it seemed to him necessary that some explanation should be given with regard to it. He saw an increase for salaries, wages, and allowances; but about that he would say nothing. There was an increase for paper of £4,000. That was a great deal, and he was at a loss to know what had brought about such a large increase this year. Why should they have had more paper this year than last year? Then he saw an increase of £1,000 for parchment. Surely, that was an enormous development. The total amount this year for parchment was £11,000, which was an enormous sum to pay for sheepskins. There was a large increase, again, in the item of binding, the total being £49,000. Then there was an enormous sum for small stores, of which the details were given afterwards. The increase was £1,000, the total being £54,000. They were asked to vote £120,000 on these four items alone—namely, paper, parchment, binding, and small stores. There were other increases, into which he would not go at the present moment. This had always been a painful subject—questions had always been raised as to this Stationery Vote; and the Committee, no doubt, would agree with him that they were paying far too much under it. Last year they were paying too much, and this year they were paying even more than last year.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he was well aware of the natural jealousy of the Committee with regard to this item, which was one of enormous dimensions, and which grew every year, and, he was afraid he must add, would continue to grow every year. The increase in the Vote represented, to a great extent, the activity and range of our whole life. The greater the amount of activity which was displayed, and the greater the amount of Business which had to be done in Parliament and by the various Departments of the Government, the greater would be the amount of demand on the Stationery Office. As every Department and every Office had an increased amount of work thrown upon it, so were increased demands made upon the Stationery Office, not only for pens, ink, and paper, but for printing also. That was a general observation. But then the hon. Member went through several items, and took the item of parchment, for instance, as one upon which to make special complaint. Well, in this case the increase was simply in consequence of the growing demand for stamped parchment, which was supplied by the Inland Revenue and consumed by law stationers, solicitors, and others, who required stamped parchment for deeds. The increased amount expended on this item, of course, came back in the form of extra receipts—the receipts grew in proportion to the amount of parchment supplied. The increase which took place under the item for paper was to be accounted for by the fact that the Stationery Office was now taking upon itself a great deal of the supply which was formerly undertaken by the printing contractors. It might be taken generally that this Stationery Vote would increase just in proportion to the adoption of any new business or operation. For instance, the fact of the existence of the Land Court in Ireland accounted for an increased consumption of stationery, as did also the extensive operations which had taken place abroad. Altogether, it would be hopeless to endeavour to keep the Stationery Vote at the point at which it was at present, as it must always keep pace with the increasing activity of the different Departments, which were pushed on in their business by that House. As to the complaint of the number and cost of Returns, hon. Members knew perfectly well that the Government were anxious to keep within reasonable bounds the supply of Returns, which were moved for from time to time by private Members. They found it extremely difficult to do this, and were obliged to supply a great many documents of this kind, because hon. Members wanted them for some purpose or other, notwithstanding that very little information was contained in them. Some of these Returns were resisted, although the Government in that way gave great dissatisfaction to those who moved for them; but, whatever resistance they might make, there was no doubt that the total under the Vote for Stationery would go on increasing year by year.

MR. DILLWYN said, that he had not intended in his observations to include printing for that House, although that item was pretty large.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had ascertained that the table now entered in the Estimates, and which had been prepared upon his recommendation, showing the amount of stationery supplied to the various Departments, so as to show the cost for five years, as well as the cost for printing, would soon be completed, and that then the *data* would exist for ascertaining the excesses of the Departmental demands. For instance, he found that the Admiralty and War Office expenditure under this head had increased by £5,000. It could not be said that this increase was owing to the country having been at war, because the fact was that in time of war there was less money spent in stationery than at other times. The authorities were too busy to use pens, ink, and paper. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen laughed; but he knew something of war, and that was his experience. When these tables were prepared they would be better able to criticize this matter than they were now. He wished to suggest to the Financial Secretary that it would be advisable to have the particulars arranged under the heads of England, Ireland, and Scotland, as he believed the division of these enormous sums would be useful in comparing the Estimate for one with the Estimate for another. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) would find that there was a large increase for Ireland. There was a larger amount of business being done in that country than there had been, and he was afraid that there was no chance of any diminution.

MR. EARP said, the observations which had been made upon these items rather pointed to some modification in the system of accounts. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had explained that there were many items, the increase upon which was owing to a development of the supply of commodities which were paid for by the public. This was what they might term a profitable increase. It seemed to him that in these cases the charges which were made on account of that which was a profitable business, as was the Post Office and the Stamp Office, should be debited in the accounts to those Departments. It was true that year after year attention was drawn to the heavy increasing charge in regard to stationery; and it appeared to him that they were wandering away from what were legitimate charges for the Services of the State.

MR. GIBSON said, there were two points upon which he should like to ask questions. The first was as to the Parliamentary Debates—namely, whether any final decision had been come to about reporting or non-reporting of the proceedings of the Standing Committees? He did not wish it to be understood that he desired to have the Standing Committees reported; on the contrary, if the decision rested with him he should certainly not have them reported. He did not think it was necessary that a charge should be made in regard to this matter. But the question had been discussed repeatedly in private conversation and in debate, and he was anxious to know whether any decision had been arrived at on the point. He wished to be thoroughly understood as guarding himself against expressing any opinion in favour of reporting the Committees, because he believed they had quite enough *Hansard* at present. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member (Sir George Balfour), he (Mr. Gibson) was prepared to make some statement; but as the hon. and gallant Member had gone away he should defer that statement to another occasion.

Mr. HINDE PALMER remarked, that there was a large mass of Papers distributed to Members of Parliament which must cost a large sum of money, and which was comparatively useless, as Members did not read one-half of it. He would suggest that, instead of Members being deluged with Blue Books, there should be some understanding arrived at in order that those Members who took an interest in a special subject should have the books on making application for them, or expressing their desire to be supplied with them. A great saving might be effected in this way. Hon. Members should be required to say what Papers they desired to have, and these should be sent to them, and they should not continue the practice of sending round all the Papers published to every Member. More than this, he was inclined to think that the Secretary to the Treasury might well consider that a great many Returns were moved for by private Members which were really, he should not like to say frivolous and useless, but, comparatively speaking, unnecessary, and added without sufficient reason very considerably to the expense. He did not want to say much about the Grand Committees; but he certainly thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) was justified in putting his question to the Government. He (Mr. Hinde Palmer) was certainly of opinion that there was no utility in publishing the reports of the proceedings of these Committees as a sort of supplement to *Hansard*. He did not suppose the Government entertained any such idea; but, at any rate, the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite seemed to have some apprehension of the kind, and it was, therefore, quite right that the matter should be, if possible, cleared up.

Mr. GIBSON said, he had a fear on this subject.

Mr. HINDE PALMER: Yes; the right hon. and learned Gentleman feared that the Government might intend to have the Committees reported. He thought the suggestion he had made with regard to the non-circulation of all the Blue Books to all the Members of the House well worth consideration. Whenever books were published upon a subject in which hon. Members were particularly interested, such books should be supplied to them gratuitously; but all printed matter should not be sent round to them, irrespective of its character or of the requirements of Members.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Lincoln (Mr. Hinde Palmer) was a very good one. On the part of the War Office he should like to say that they were making careful inquiries every time a Return was moved for as to what was its expense. A very large Return had been moved for only very recently by the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot); but it was found to consist mainly of extracts from gazettes on soldiers' unclaimed balances, the printing of which would be so expensive that the Secretary of State had ordered it should not be printed. The Return itself was accessible in the Library to all hon. Members who wished to see it.

Mr. SALT remarked, that the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir George Balfour) had suggested that when the country was at war the Stationery Vote was reduced. He trusted that they would not go to war in order to reduce the Votes. With regard to the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Lincoln (Mr. Hinde Palmer) respecting the non-delivery of Blue Books, there was this difficulty to be considered. When a Blue Book was printed, the printers did not know the number which would be required. A thousand copies of one Blue Book might be printed, and it might be found subsequently that 3,000 were required. There was no clue as to the number—no guide as to the quantity which should be supplied; therefore, the printer was obliged to furnish sufficient for the whole House. As to the question of the expense and convenience or inconvenience of leaving the Blue Books in circulation, or of keeping a number in the Office to be applied for, on the whole he believed the present system was more convenient and caused the least trouble. If the books were kept in the Office to be applied for, and only a limited number were printed, it would often be found that a Blue Book which was not expected to be of much interest when printed, but which afterwards became a matter of first consequence, would be so largely called for that the trouble the Office would be put to would be much greater than that experienced at the present time. There was very often a sudden rush for a Blue Book. No doubt the expense of the present system was very great, and he had often turned it over in his mind, being anxious to effect economy in detail as far as possible; but he certainly thought that the use of printing was so absolutely necessary for their daily life and their daily habits that little economy was to be effected in this matter. The enormous quantity of printed matter which they required in order to carry on their business satisfactorily would always necessitate a very large Vote under this head. But here, again, came in what he had ventured to point out just now—namely, that economy in these particulars depended more than anything upon the Heads of Departments. A really good Head of the Stationery Department would, he was certain, save the country thousands of pounds. He did not mean to say the present Head of the Department was not a perfectly good one; but he had seen economy effected by really zealous Heads of Departments in other concerns, and he was satisfied it might be done by these high officials if they were so inclined. A good Head of a Department, as compared with a careless Head, would save many thousands of pounds. He did not wish to suggest that the Department was not thoroughly and well organized at the present time; but he wished to draw attention to the necessity of looking after the Heads of Departments. As to Returns moved for by private Members, it was true that there were a large number granted which were almost useless; but that was owing, amongst other reasons, to the fact that very frequently the information given in one Return was, in a great measure, to be found in other Returns, so that confusion was caused; and sometimes in one Return they got very little more information than had been given in a Return which had preceded it. He did not think that difficulty would ever be really overcome until there was some new arrangement established with regard to the Statistical Returns. The statistics were prepared in the various Departments; the Departments were under pressure of other work, and of necessity the Returns were extremely incomplete and inaccurate. He hoped the day might soon come when they might have a Statistical Department, which would deal with all Returns, instead of their being dealt with by the several Departments. The preparation of Returns was a great trouble and a great source of expense; and he believed that some time or other the idea of establishing a small and efficient Statistical Department would be carried out with great advantage. That Department would have at its fingers' ends all the information Members might require, and when any Member desired information he would simply have to go to the Department and get it. There was just one other suggestion which occurred to him in relation to the expense of Returns—namely, that if it were possible, it would not be a bad plan to put upon each Return published the cost to the country of its preparation; because, if a Member who moved for a Return saw at the top, printed in tolerably legible words, "This Return is published at a cost of £20, £50, £100, or £200," as the case might be, it would be some little check upon the voluminous and the many unnecessary Returns which were moved for.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON said, perhaps he might be allowed to say a word or two upon the subject of the many worthless, useless, extravagant, and somewhat frivolous Returns which were often moved for by private Members. They had a curious and very remarkable instance of that on the Paper of to-day, for he found upon to-day's Paper three very lengthy and very voluminous Returns moved for by the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston), Returns which might be of some use to the hon. Gentleman himself in respect to some special object he had in view, but which could not be of any use or value to the House at large. He (Mr. F. Buxton) presumed that, as the Returns were on the Paper, the Secretary to the Treasury had himself sanctioned them—[Mr. COURTNEY: No.]—at any rate, had allowed them to be put on the Paper as unopposed. [Mr. COURTNEY: No.] He (Mr. F. Buxton) was glad to know that the Returns were to be opposed; and he hoped the Committee would exercise its discretion in the matter, and require from the Secretary to the Treasury, before the Returns were passed, a statement of the expense and use of the Returns now moved for. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Lincoln (Mr. Hinde Palmer) had referred to another matter of great importance—namely, the distribution of Parliamentary Papers to private Members. It was computed by the Stationery Office that during the last Parliament every Member who drew all his Papers received a ton of literature, through which he had to wade during that Parliament. Now, whether that Parliament did much good with all that literature or not was, perhaps, an open question; but at least it would be undisputed that three-fourths of the literature was perfectly useless, and found its way into the waste-paper basket. The Controller of the Stationery Office had made a proposal as to the issuing of Notice Papers every morning to Members, instead of sending the Papers themselves. It was suggested that this Notice Paper should give a short digest of the contents of each Paper issued on the day, and that Members should have a counterfoil in which to fill in the Papers they required, so that they might draw only those Papers, and no others. He (Mr. F. Buxton) had it on good authority that the Stationery Office would quickly find out what Papers would be drawn in the greatest numbers; and that if the plan suggested were adopted, there would be a saving of £5,000 immediately, and probably of a very much larger sum in future. The Stationery Office felt that hon. Members would not draw Papers of a dull and of a somewhat uninteresting character, but that they would draw others in much larger numbers. He himself had brought forward this subject on a previous occasion; but for some reason or another hon. Members seemed to like to receive their Parliamentary Papers, though those Papers might include some which were not of the slightest interest to hon. Members in general. The Controller of the Stationery Office had suggested that hon. Gentlemen should have the power of saying at the beginning of every Session that they would have all the Papers delivered to them as at present, and that those hon. Members who were of an economical and more careful turn of mind should be allowed, if they chose, after seeing the Notice Paper, to draw only those Papers they required. The Secretary to the Treasury was a Member of the Joint Committee of the two Houses which sat two years ago on this subject. That Committee reported that the proposal of the Controller of the Stationery Office was worthy of adoption; and he (Mr. F. Buxton) sincerely hoped that the Secretary to the Treasury was still of the same opinion, and that in the next Session, or in a very short time, they might see practical effect given to the suggestion of the Controller of the Stationery Office.

Mr. RYLANDS said, his hon. Friend was certainly a very determined advocate of this mode of saving expense in the Printing Department; but he (Mr. Rylands) was of opinion that, so far from the Parliamentary Papers being too much circulated, they might be made very much more valuable for the public good, if each Member of Parliament had the right to send one copy of each Parliamentary Paper to any place in the United Kingdom free of postage. He was quite sure that, while it might be perfectly true that many of the Papers published were not of interest to individual Members, there was scarcely a single Return or a single Paper published under the authority of Parliament which did not contain information of more or less interest to certain classes of the community; and he, personally, would be very glad if he had the opportunity—and he had no doubt other hon. Members would also be equally glad to have the opportunity—if, when he got his Parliamentary Papers in the morning, he found that one of them probably was of interest to persons connected with the Medical Profession, giving very important information with regard to subjects affecting national health, he could send that Paper down, say, to a member of the Medical Profession, in the district with which he was connected. There were other Papers published with reference to factories and mines which were not very interesting to individual Members of Parliament, but which contained matter of the greatest value and importance to the people connected with factories and mines. And so with regard to other subjects. There were Reports of Consuls and Secretaries to Legations with regard to foreign trade, and with regard to the several arrangements of foreign countries. These Reports contained a vast mass of most valuable information. It was quite true that hon. Gentlemen found that they were not able to read all the Papers themselves—it would take very much more than 24 hours a-day for any hon. Gentleman to read all the Papers which were distributed in the course of the day—but he did think that, considering the public who paid the money they were voting were very much interested in the Papers which were presented to Parliament, it would be a very wise utilization of the Papers published if Members had the opportunity of sending them to their constituents, or to public Libraries, or to people who might be peculiarly interested in a particular Paper. Now, he had frequently sent Papers in that way, either by parcel or by post; but, as hon. Gentlemen knew, Members of the House of Commons were exposed to very considerable infliction in the way of postage already. Every one of them constantly found that they were absolutely deluged with correspondence, not actually upon their own business, but upon the business of the country, and it was a source of great expense to Members to carry on that correspondence. What happened, however, in our Public Offices? Why, the rulers of the country and the permanent servants of the Crown had the privilege of franking; they could frank a great Blue Book without the slightest difficulty, and they could send, in fact, their private notes franked. He certainly considered a little more privilege might be given to Members of the House of Commons; and in regard to the circulation of Parliamentary Papers the privilege might be used for the public good. It would cost very little to send the Papers by mail; but it would give to the Parliamentary publications an enormous amount of importance in the public mind. His hon. Friend the late Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Duncan M'Laren) raised this matter in former Sessions. His right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had also introduced the subject in a former Parliament; and he (Mr. Rylands) believed that at one time they would have succeeded; but the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), who was then Postmaster General, and who seemed rather disposed to make the arrangement, was controlled by the public officials. The public officials set themselves against the proposal. There were many of the public Libraries who would be very glad to have the Papers of a more interesting character. Now, in the Stationery Vote, there were payments made for expensive publications. What became of those publications? They were not even distributed to Members, though they were issued under the authority of the Government. They were not even sent to any of the local Libraries; but he could not help thinking that it would be for the public advantage if they were wisely and judiciously distributed amongst the Libraries of the country, instead of a large stock of them being kept in some London building or other. Hon. Gentlemen had received a curious document issued by the Home Office in relation to an inquiry made by a Departmental Committee into the promulgation of Public Statutes. It was very interesting reading, and through the means of the document they found how the money was spent when a Department was able to manage matters without the knowledge of Parliament.

THE CHAIRMAN called upon the hon. Gentleman to address himself to the Vote before the Committee.

MR. RYLANDS begged the Chairman's pardon. What he wished particularly to point out was, that if they desired to reduce the Stationery Vote, it was most important that the different items of expense, which were increasing every year under the control of the Departments, should be carefully investigated. An hon. Member opposite—when they were voting the Supplementary Vote on a former occasion—suggested that the Stationery Department might be subjected to a careful inquiry by a Committee of the House. He (Mr. Rylands) would be glad, in the case of those large Votes, increasing, as they were, year by year, if a system could be adopted of referring them, not to a Departmental Committee, but to a small Select Committee of the House, in order that it might be ascertained where the money went, and how it was wasted. He believed that if the House took the matter carefully in hand they would be able to effect many and very large economies.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND quite agreed with a good deal that had fallen from the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. F. Buxton). He considered that a great deal of expense now incurred in Parliamentary Papers would be obviated if a little less red-tapeism was exhibited. He (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) had been sitting on the Grand Committee to which the Bankruptcy Bill was referred. Now, day by day, or nearly so, the Bill, as amended, was printed and circulated amongst the Committee. When the Bill had passed through Committee, he went to the Office and asked whether they would soon have copies of the Bill, and he was told they would not. He said—"The Bill has been printed day by day, and therefore it must be in type." The answer he received was, that it was printed in the Votes by one set of printers, and that when it was required to be printed for the House it was printed by another set of printers. The Committee would, therefore, see that the printing of the Bill twice must necessarily lead to great expense. He gave this example in order to show that a great deal might be done in the way of economy if matters were only managed in a common-sense manner.

Vote *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[Bill 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 11th July.*]

[TWENTIETH NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

New Clause:—

(When petition presented Commissioners to be sent down.)

"When any petition against the return of any member shall have been duly presented, the election judges shall, before trying the same, forthwith appoint two barristers, of not less than seven years' standing, as Commissioners; and such Commissioners shall forthwith proceed to the county or borough to which such petition shall relate, for the purpose of inquiry, and report as hereinafter provided,"—(*Mr. Edward Clarke,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, the clauses he proposed to add to the Bill were the result of practical experience, and were drawn up with the object of making Election Petitions of a more practical character than they were at the present time. If the Committee were anxious to make Election Petitions so that they would work, they could have no difficulty in adopting these clauses, at any rate in a modified form. The first was with regard to the time at which an Election Petition should commence after the security was lodged. His object in bringing forward this clause was, in the first place, to put a stop to the enormous expense incurred by both the petitioner and the respondent; and, in the second place, to stop the utter hindrance to carrying on any business in the borough or place in which a Petition was pending, and also to stop the ill-feeling which always existed whilst it was on the *tapis*. In his own case—and he believed he was the only Member of the House who had won his seat on a Petition—his Petition was lodged in the month of July, but it did not come on for hearing until December; the consequence being that during the whole of the interval both parties had kept the borough in a state of perpetual excitement. Directly one man had given his evidence he was watched by both sides. He was watched by one side to see that he was not got at by the other side, and he was watched by the other side to see if they could get at him. The state of feeling in the borough was such that, practically, all business was suspended. Without taking up any more time he would simply move the first paragraph of his clause.

New Clause:—

(Trial of election petitions.)

"The trial of an election petition shall commence within one month of the day on which security is lodged, provided the Election Judges are not engaged on another petition, in which case it shall commence as soon as such petition, or any other that has precedence, is finished,"—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he only now moved the first paragraph of the clause. The second paragraph provided for the continuation of every Election Petition *de die in diem* from the time of its commencement on every lawful day until its conclusion, and the third paragraph had reference to the place of trial.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was impossible to make it obligatory upon those engaged in Petitions to commence within a month of the day on which security was lodged. The security had to be inquired into, and very often it took a long time to do that and to deliver particulars. It was impossible to say that, under all circumstances, a Petition could be lodged within the time specified in the clause.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was glad his hon. Friend (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) had brought this matter before the Committee, because undoubtedly sometimes there had been very considerable delay in commencing the proceedings in the case of Election Petitions. No one could doubt that if there was a considerable delay after a Petition was presented there was great risk of certain operations being carried on which not only tended to the want of success of the Petition, but led to a great deal of corruption taking place in the borough. If they could adopt means to ensure a Petition being heard at the earliest possible period it would be well, and it seemed to him, therefore, that this clause was worthy of the utmost consideration.

MR. WARTON considered the real evil they had to deal with was the insufficiency of the Judges appointed to try these cases. There was an admirable rota of three Election Judges; but when a General Election came, and there was a good crop of Petitions, it was found that the Judges were too few, and that was the real secret of the delay which, in matters of this kind, ought not to be allowed to take place. It was not correct, as the Attorney General suggested, that the delay was owing to the necessity for instituting inquiries with regard to the security. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, or some Member of the Government, would use his influence one of these days with his Colleagues in order to get more Judges appointed for work of this kind, he would be doing very valuable service. Chancery at this moment was in a disgraceful state of block. The Judges cost very little considering their value; and, looking at the fact that when a General Election came it might be necessary to have double or even treble the number of Election Judges that at present could be supplied, he thought his suggestion ought to receive the very best attention of the Government. He ventured to predict that after the next General Election there would be an immense crop of Petitions owing to the action of this measure.

MR. TOMLINSON said, the substance of the clause, whatever exception might be taken to the way in which it was worked out, was to require the parties engaged in an Election Petition to proceed with due speed with the case. To the best of his belief in every action in a Court of Justice it was necessary that each stage should be taken within a certain period. If the Attorney General thought the mode proposed was too summary, and that the period of time was not sufficient to allow an Election Petition to mature, he would suggest that some negotiation or arrangement should be entered into between the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General and his hon. Friend (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) before the Report stage, to see whether some scheme could not be devised for effecting the object they had in view. Such matters as these ought not to be left in an indefinite state and allowed to linger on, and it was essential, in the interest of justice, that Petitions should be heard with all speed; and they ought to insist upon regular progress. If this clause were not now accepted, it should only be refused on the understanding that the question would be dealt with later on.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked whether the Attorney General would accept two months as the period at which the Election Petition should commence after the lodging of the security?"

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he could not even accept that, seeing that inquiry had to be made as to security and into the allegations of the Petitioners.

Clause *negatived.*

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, the next clause he had to move was as to the continuance of the trial, and, to his mind, it was even a more important one than the last clause he had moved. He had in his eye the case of the Worcester Petition, which had been heard in the Court for nine days, when the Court rose to proceed somewhere else for the purpose of hearing another Petition. The Court rose for two months and a-half; and what was the result? Why, the result was this—that witnesses—he would not say on which side—were unfairly got at during the interval; and when the Judges came back, and the Petition came on again, it bore an entirely different character to that which it had assumed before. He now proposed that the trial of every Petition should from the time of its commencement be continued *de die in diem* on every lawful day until its conclusion. He also thought that the rota Judges, should their authority expire before the close of a trial, should have their powers prolonged, so as to enable them to hear a Petition to its conclusion.

New Clause—

"The trial of every election petition shall from the time of its commencement be continued de die in diem on every lawful day until its conclusion, and in case the rota of judges for the year shall expire before the conclusion of the trial, the authority of the judges shall continue for the purpose of such petition until its conclusion."—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland.*)

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the instance to which the hon. Gentleman referred was, to the best of his belief, the only one which had occurred. He did not wish to express an opinion upon that, lest it should be thought that his opinion was that the Judges had not acted properly.

He quite agreed that no lengthened postponement should take place if it could be prevented; but that which had taken place at Worcester was a thing which had never occurred before, and which, in all likelihood, would never take place again. Therefore, it seemed to him that in adopting a clause of this kind they would be going further than there was any call upon them to go. The clause said—

"The trial of every election petition shall from the time of its commencement be continued de die in diem on every lawful day until its conclusion."

Well, it might be impossible to obey that provision, for the reason that an adjournment might sometimes be necessary for the production of a witness, or on account of the illness of the Judges, or of some sudden calamity. He appreciated the spirit of the proposal; and as there was only one case in which a difficulty had arisen—a case over which the late Lord Justice Lush had presided—he would ask the hon. Member whether he really thought it necessary to press the clause, which would impose great restrictions upon the discretion of the Judges, and which could not in all cases be carried into practical effect?

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he was glad to hear what fell from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General as to the desirability of having Election Petitions tried without delay. Though the hon. and learned Gentleman did not desire to express an opinion with regard to the postponement of the Worcester case, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) was not at all reluctant to do so. To his mind, that postponement was one of the greatest scandals which had ever occurred in connection with a like matter. If he had had an opportunity, which, unfortunately, he had not, he should certainly have brought the matter under the notice of the House; because he considered they ought to mark in some special manner their sense of what had taken place on that occasion. He did not desire to go into that questiod now, however, No doubt, the reasons which had moved Her Majesty's Judges were good and sound to their minds; but the effect had been most injurious; and if this sort of thing happened in the future, the effect of this Bill in putting an end to corrupt practices would be entirely defeated. He believed the hon. Member was perfectly justified in bringing this clause before the Committee; and, if he (Mr. E. Stanhope) might make a suggestion, he would propose to insert in the section some words to this effect—"as far as practicable," so as to meet a difficulty which might arise in the course of the hearing of an Election Petition by a Judge being taken ill, or an adjournment being necessary for the production of a witness. At any rate, they ought to take some means to declare in that House their opinion in favour of Election Petitions being carried on without delay.

MR. TOMLINSON said, the proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) with regard to the rota Judges was a very good one, because it would lead to great inconvenience if the authority of a Judge expired in the middle of a trial. He had a strong recollection of a difficulty having occurred in regard to this matter—he forgot exactly what it was; but he believed it was some thing like the Petitioner having lost his costs.

MR. LEWIS remarked, that the hon. Member who had just sat down was right in his supposition that there had been a difficulty in regard to this matter. What had happened was this—that on the very day before the judgment was delivered the rota expired, and the Judge, being pressed by counsel who were likely to be defeated in the judgment, considered that he had a right to discharge himself in that case, and give judgment, as the case had been fully heard. As to the substance of the proposed clause, it appeared to him (Mr. Lewis) the fact that only one case of the kind had occurred was not an argument against the proposal, but rather an argument in favour of it. If the Legislature refrained from marking its sense of disapprobation of things of this kind, they would be very likely to have them repeated in the future. The rule as to delivering to respondents the particulars of cases against them was that they should be given in three or five days after having lodged security—in fact, he had known them delivered as late as five days. The theory was that they should not allow the respondent to know the names of the persons who were alleged to have been bribed any sooner than could be avoided, to prevent possibility of their being got at. Let them consider how this would work out in a case like Worcester. Suppose a respondent knew five or six days before the case came on the individuals who were to be charged with bribery, he would have those five or six days, *plus* two or three months, before most of these people were examined, in order to get at them. The object of the new clause was one which it would be difficult to get over by argument, and it did not appear to him that it would be any stigma upon the Judges if they inserted it in the Bill. He would suggest, however, that, in order to leave some discretion with the Judges, it would be well, after the word "commencement," to insert the words "except for some special reason." That would obviate any interference with the discretion of the Judges. He would, therefore, move the insertion of these words, either after the word "commencement" or after the word "conclusion"—

"Except for some special reason sufficient in the opinion of the learned Judge."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) suggested that, after the word "shall," they should insert—

"So far as is practicable consistently with the interest of justice."

MR. LEWIS said, he was afraid that the words of the hon. and learned Gentleman would just let in the very case of the adjournment in the Worcester Petition. The ground for that adjournment was that the Judges wanted to go and try some other case, and they might, under these words, have adjourned on the plea that they were doing so "in the interest of justice."

MR. GIBSON said, the difficulty now pointed out by the hon. Member for Londonderry had suggested itself to his mind at the same moment. He thought they should adopt some words which would prevent anything like a repetition of the Worcester case. It would be better to provide for another Judge than to allow a second Worcester case to occur.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, there would be no difficulty, if his clause were adopted, in adjourning to procure a witness. That had been done in one case within his knowledge. In a case where a notorious witness from Birmingham was required, the Judge hearing the Petition adjourned the proceedings for his production.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that the clause expressly stated that a Petition should go on *de die in diem.*

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND remarked, that if the clause remained unamended that difficulty could be got over, because it would be very easy to meet in the morning, and immediately adjourn.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, they might say that a Petition should be heard, as far as was practicable, *de die in diem.* That would allow an adjournment for the production of a witness.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he should be glad to adopt the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General in connection with that of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought that, under the present system, the Judges were rather under the control of the Lord Chief Justice, who seemed to send them anywhere he liked. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) certainly thought that while Judges were trying an Election Petition there should be no power to call them away to the Old Bailey, or anywhere else, to try criminal or *Nisi Prius* cases. That was what it was now sought to prevent by this clause.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken—no such cases had ever occurred. Election Judges on the rota had all fulfilled their Election duties before they came back for ordinary judicial work. The only one case in which a Petition had been postponed for any time was that of Worcester, where the Judges left one Petition to hear another Petition. He thought it would be easy later on to frame words to meet the difficulty in question.

MR. WARTON suggested that they might get over the difficulty by accepting words to this effect—

> "So far as was practicable consistently with the interest of justice in respect of the case under investigation."

Clause read a second time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he should be willing to accept the clause if, after the word "shall," they would permit him to insert the words—

> "So far as is practicable consistently with the interest of justice in respect of such case."

MR. LEWIS said, perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman would allow him to correct his memory in one particular. The late Lord Justice Lush had taken the course he did for the reason that they had got through the case, and had only to deliver judgment. If they had been in the middle of the examination of a witness or an incomplete case, it would not have been done.

Amendment proposed,

In line 1, after the word "shall," insert "so far as is practicable consistently with the interest of justice in respect of such case."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. MONK asked whether it was intended to leave in the latter part of the clause with regard to the rota Judges?

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, that was part of the clause which they had just read a second time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he now begged to move the third part of his proposal—namely, that—

> "Every Election Petition shall be tried within the limits of the constituency."

In his own case, the Judges had decided that, as there was not a house in which they could reside in the borough, they would go to a neighbouring city. The result was that the witnesses and persons concerned in the trial had to go from Evesham to Worcester, a distance of some 15 miles, every day; and the consequence of this was that the parties were put to enormous expense. On one side alone the cost was £2,500, which, when brought before the Taxing Master subsequently, was reduced to £213. It seemed to him to be a public scandal that, for the sake of suiting the convenience of the Judges, a Petitioner should be obliged to pay such an enormous sum as that. What ought to be done was this. If it were impracticable for the Judges to reside in the borough in which the Petition was to be heard, the Judges should be conveyed from their lodgings to the place where the Court was being held by special train, instead of the whole paraphernalia of the Petition being carried to the Judges. The parties had done their best to curtail the number of witnesses, and the consequence was that very often they had, at the request of the Judges, to send off special carriages to bring down witnesses who had never been before, or to fetch back those who had already been in attendance. To his mind it seemed most important that the trial should take place within the limits of the constituency.

Motion made, to insert the following Clause:—

"Every Election Petition shall be tried within the limits of the constituency."—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland.*)

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could not agree with this proposal. The law at present was that the trial should take place in the county or borough to which the Petition related, unless in the opinion of the Court—namely, the Court of Common Pleas Division — special circumstances existed that rendered it desirable that the trial should take place elsewhere, in which event the Court might appoint some other place for the trial. According to the hon. Gentlemen's proposal, whatever the special circumstances might be, it should be positively necessary for the trial to take place within the limits of the constituency. The Committee could well understand that there might be cases in which it would be positively dangerous to insist on the trial taking place within the limits of the constituency. There might be cases in which there was no Court-house, and no facilities for hearing a Petition, or there might be the probability of intimidation or rioting in a place in which Party feeling ran very high. In fact, there might be a combination of circumstances of this kind, which would render it highly undesirable that the trial should take place in the immediate locality, and yet the hon. Gentleman wished them to say that the Court should have no power whatever to remove from the limits of the constituency. At present they could not remove to another place without special permission from the Court of Common Pleas; and he certainly did not think that it would be advisable to deprive that Court of the power of exercising their discretion.

MR. LEWIS expressed a hope that the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) would not tell them anything more of his Worcester experience, or they would be led to believe that they were very unruly people in that part of the country, and were absolutely unable to do anything regularly or properly. He would propose that as they had now done away with the use of public-houses for committee rooms, and put a stop to all corrupt practices in those places, they might now very well be used for the hearing of Election Petitions. It seemed to him that the grievance of his hon. Friend was a very serious one, and one which ought to be remedied by the Committee. It should be made more clear in the Bill that the candidates, with their witnesses and counsel, were not to be taken away miles and miles from the locality in which the questionable practices had occurred, without some very special cause—they should not be removed for the mere reason that it would be more convenient for the Judges to sit in a large city.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK wanted to know why the case referred to was not tried in Evesham. Was it owing to the absence of a Court-house? There were many boroughs in England where, although they had a Court-house accommodation, there were no Judges' lodgings; and he should very much like to know from the Law Officers of the Crown whether the fact that there were no Judges' lodgings in a certain district was a reason why an inquiry should not be held there? If there were no Judges' lodgings, then came the question as to whether the Judges should or should not have allotted to them for their occupation premises which were licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors? Why should not the Judges stay in one of the hotels or taverns in the constituency? This was a most important point—at any rate, it was very important to the parties who took part in proceedings connected with Election Petitions.

He certainly thought that the Judges should be moved to the constituency, and not the constituency moved to the Judges.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he thought that words could easily be put into the clause to meet the difficulty suggested by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. Many persons would be prevented from petitioning when they knew that the case would not be tried in their own borough. Would it not be possible to insert words to the effect that the Petition should be tried within the limits of the constituency, unless rioting, disturbances, or something of that kind was likely to happen?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, it seemed to him that they could not do more than let the words of the Statute to which he had referred remain in force. It was necessary, in order to justify a removal, that the circumstances should be special circumstances to the satisfaction of the Court of Common Pleas. No doubt the Court, in ordering the change of venue, had had regard to the special circumstances of the case.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was sorry to hear that, because it seemed to him in the instance which had been referred to the Judges had made an ill-advised change of venue. It appeared that they had gone to Worcester instead of remaining at Evesham because they had not had sufficient accommodation. The question of accommodation for the Judges in that case had put the parties to a cost of some £5,000 for the conveyance of their witnesses and counsel to and from Evesham and Worcester. Such an evil as that ought to be met; although, no doubt, on public grounds there should be a power left to the Court of changing the venue under certain circumstances. The latter point, however, had nothing to do with the case they wanted to meet, and it certainly seemed to him that because the Judges wanted to live in better rooms than they could get in one borough was no reason why the venue should be changed, as it had been in the case of Worcester.

Mr. GORST reminded the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General of a maxim which was always observed in practice at the Bar—namely, that they should not act too hastily upon *ex parte* statements. In this case they ought to hear what the Judges had to say before they passed a vote of censure upon the Court of Common Pleas for what they had done in the Worcester case. For his own part, he should be most reluctant to believe that the Court of Common Pleas really transferred the venue from Evesham to Worcester, merely because there was not a place for them to live in the former borough. He did not think, unless they really felt that the Court of Common Pleas, or the Lord Chief Justice, could not be trusted with discretion, they could better the words of the present Statute to which the Attorney General had referred. Under this Statute the Court of Common Pleas had power to remove the venue under certain circumstances. Somebody must be trusted with a discretion in the matter, and if they could not trust the Court of Common Pleas, who were they to trust?

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he could not help thinking that if the decision of the Court of Common Pleas was subject to any appeal, it was not necessary that any alteration should be made in the law. Some discretion must be left with the Judges.

Mr. WARTON said, he believed the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Pleas was transferred to the Queen's Bench Division. He thought there had been an appeal from their decision; but he fancied there was none now.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, that unless some clause of this kind was adopted, it would go forth to England that certain constituencies would not be able to have a Petition at all—constituencies, for example, where there were no Court-houses, or where there were no Judges' lodgings large enough to satisfy the Judges. He would agree with anything the Attorney General liked to insert in the clause; but he certainly thought that something should be done to ensure Petitions, where possible, being tried within the limits of the constituency.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped the clause would be withdrawn, and the matter would be left with the Judges. He should not think the Judges would arrive at conclusions which were disastrous to the parties; and if anything of the kind had been done in the past, it must have been with very great reluctance on the part of the Judges. He was acquainted with the Judges who had sat upon the Petition in question. It would be impossible for the Committee to ask for more than they already possessed in the Act of Parliament to which reference had been made.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, the next clause he had to propose was with regard to scrutiny, and ran as follows:—

> "When a person who has been a candidate petitions against the election and claims the seat, the election judges may declare the petitioner to have been duly elected without requiring a scrutiny if the return shows that the votes recorded in favour of such petitioner amounted to not less than two-thirds of those obtained by the candidate who was returned at the election."

In his own case, he had been able to upset 45 votes on a scrutiny. He proposed that the Petitioner should be declared duly elected only where he had obtained a substantial number of votes. If the Attorney General could not accept his proposal exactly as it stood, he, at any rate, trusted that he would accept it in principle, and amend it as he thought desirable.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he did not understand the reasons of his hon. Friend for proposing this clause. He did not understand why, supposing he polled 9,000 votes, and the opposition candidate polled 6,000, and it was proved that someone in his name, but without his knowledge, had committed some illegal act which rendered his election void, his opponent should obtain the seat. It seemed to him impossible to accept this proposal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. Member (Mr. R. N. Fowler) had anticipated not only his objection to the clause, but also the very figures he had been about to suggest. He could not accept the clause.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said, he wished to propose the following Clauses in page 28, after Clause 36:—

(Appointment of Election Commissioners in every case of successful petition.—Amendment of 15 and 16 Vic. c. 57.)

> "(1.) (a.) In every case of a petition trial in which the respondent is unseated for corrupt or illegal practices committed by himself or through his agents, it shall be the duty of the Attorney General, at the earliest convenient day, to lay upon the Table of the House of Commons the names of three barristers [status, &c., in accordance with the Act fifteenth and sixteenth Victoria, chapter fifty-seven, section one, as amended by thirty-first and thirty-second Victoria, chapter one hundred and twenty five] as Royal Commissioners, to be appointed to inquire into the corrupt and illegal practices which prevailed at the late election, or any previous election.
>
> "(b.) If the names be not challenged within one month, the Attorney General shall appoint these persons as Election Commissioners. If the names be challenged, the Attorney Genera shall, within a period of one month, move that these, or such other persons as he names, shall be appointed as Election Commissioners; and the House shall thereupon appoint these persons, or some other three persons possessing the required qualification, as Royal Commissioners."

(Report of Special Commissioner, if adverse, to be followed by Royal Commission.)

> "(2.) If a Special Commissioner (section forty) reports that, to the best of his knowledge, corrupt and illegal practices 'extensively prevailed,' it shall be the duty of the Attorney General (acting in accordance with the instructions contained in the Act of the fifteenth and sixteenth Victoria, chapter fifty-seven, as amended by the thirty-first and thirty-second Victoria, chapter one hundred and twenty-five) to move for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter."

(Suspension of writ.)

> "(3.) The writ shall in every case be suspended until after the Election Commission shall have reported."

(Prosecution of guilty persons.)

> "(4.) (a.) If there is evidence sufficient (contained in the Report of the Royal Commissioners or elsewhere) to justify and support a prosecution against any persons reported as guilty of corrupt or illegal practices by the Election Court, the Election Commissioners, or the Special Commission, the writ shall be further suspended until after the prosecutions have taken place.
>
> "(b.) It shall be the duty of the Attorney General to introduce such prosecutions at the earliest convenient date."

(Issue of new writ in every case.)

> "(5.) It shall be the duty of the Attorney General, at the earliest convenient opportunity after the Election Commissioners have reported, or, where prosecutions are instituted, after they have been decided, to move in every case the issue of a new writ [the persons scheduled by

the Election Commission being, under sections thirty-one and thirty-two, incapacitated from taking part in the subsequent election]."

(Instructions to the Election Commissioners.—Amendment of section 6 of 15 and 16 Vic. c. 57.)

"(6.) The instructions given to the Election Commissioners shall run as follows:—

"Such Commissioners shall, by all such lawful means as to them appear best, with a view to the discovery of the truth and to the subsequent punishment of the guilty, inquire into the manner in which the election . . . . . . has been conducted; and whether any corrupt or illegal practices have been committed at such election . . . . . . and if in the course of their inquiries it appears to them that any of the candidates, agents, or chief workers at the election were guilty of corrupt or illegal practices, they shall take especial care not to call and indemnify all or any of these persons. And, generally, they are to call and indemnify as few of the bribers as possible consistently with a substantial revelation of the corrupt or illegal practices which prevailed . . . . . . they shall report to Her Majesty the evidence taken by them, and what they find concerning the premises, and especially such Commissioners shall report, with respect to each election, the names of the persons whom they find to have been guilty of corrupt or illegal practices . . . . . . and all other things whereby, in the opinion of the Commissioners, the truth may be known, and the guilty punished."

This proposal might seem somewhat startling, because it practically involved the total abolition of the disfranchisement of peccant boroughs; but he thought he could show that it was not so devoid of common sense as it might appear on the face of it. He presumed it was the endeavour of the Committee, in passing a Bill of this kind, to obtain the exposure of crime and the punishment of the guilty; and the only possible means by which it could be obtained in this Bill, more especially as the 40th clause had been withdrawn, was by removing all stumbling blocks out of the way of *bonâ fide* Petitioners. Well, it seemed to him that the existence of the punishment of disfranchisement did throw an enormous stumbling block in the way of *bonâ fide* Petitions. It could easily be understood that no one would care about petitioning, if he were certain that instead of obtaining what he desired—namely, the unseating of a candidate—it would be shown that corrupt practices extensively prevailed, and the borough would be disfranchised, thus punishing the innocent as well as the guilty, and involving them both in one common ruin. The law, as it stood, was no more likely to encourage Petitioners than they would be likely to encourage prosecutions by enacting that a prosecutor on proving a prisoner guilty should receive the same punishment as that imposed upon the guilty person, and no benefit at all. It was notorious that very frequently before a Petition was actually brought, at the last moment, a great deal of influence was brought to bear upon the parties intending to petition to induce them to refrain for fear of the disfranchisement which would follow. He believed that in the case of the Sandwich Election Petition one side, if not both sides, had offered to pay the whole of the election expenses of Sir Julian Goldsmid—that was to say, the costs to which he had been put—if he would withdraw the Petition, so that there might be no exposure, and so that Sandwich might continue in its iniquity. He thought in the same way the fear of bringing about disfranchisement deterred witnesses in many cases from giving evidence. In the case of Gloucester, it would be remembered the Election Judges reported that they had discovered a few cases of bribery; but they were unable to say whether corrupt practices had extensively prevailed or not. The House actually divided upon the question as to whether a Royal Commission should be appointed. That Royal Commission having been appointed, nearly 2,000 persons were, in the result, scheduled for bribery committed at that election. That was sufficient to show that Election Petitions were sometimes hushed up in a most scandalous manner. After a Petition had been presented, it was very often the desire of the parties to minimize the guilt of those who had committed corrupt practices, in order to reduce the chance of disfranchisement following. As many as 8,000 people had been scheduled for bribery by the late Royal Commissions, and in only 12 cases had certificates of indemnity been refused. The punishment of disfranchisement was one of the worst possible punishments. It was rarely enforced, as it was much too heavy a punishment to be lightly inflicted; and it was not inflicted at the time of the commission of the offence, and, therefore, had no deterrent effect upon those who were guilty of the iniquities. During the excitement of election no one thought of disfranchisement, or if they did, perhaps, they would bribe even more for the sake of preventing the presentation of a Petition. It seemed to him that if the punishment of disfranchisement were got rid of, they would get rid of all sympathy for a peccant borough, and it would be the desire of all people to obtain the exposure of guilt; and they would be much more likely to arrive at the result at which they were all aiming—namely, to obtain the detection of real crime, and the punishment of the guilty.

New Clauses *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clauses be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, these clauses were open to very grave objections. The hon. Member proposed that in every case of a Petition there should be a Commission, even if there were only one case of bribery. Then it was proposed that the Attorney General should, at the earliest convenient opportunity, move the issue of a new Writ in every case—that was to say, if five-sixths of the constituency were proved to have been corrupt. It was true that the clause said "after all the prosecutions had been decided;" but that did not make the proposal any the less objectionable. Under the circumstances, he was unable to consent to the introduction of the clauses.

Clauses, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. STANTON said, it was, in his opinion, desirable that the person petitioned against should be able to give retaliatory evidence, and the clause which he asked to be read a second time would allow the Court to call for evidence of other persons than the person petitioned against having committed illegal or corrupt practices, if the Court thought fit to do so. It seemed to him a clear injustice that the Petitioner who himself had been guilty of corrupt practice should be enabled to attack and unseat a successful candidate, and that the successful candidate should not be allowed, in any way whatsoever, to challenge the conduct of his opponent. The principle he contended for was recognized in some Courts of Law and Justice, where the plaintiff could not obtain a verdict unless he came into Court, so to speak, with clean hands; and he therefore trusted the Attorney General would have no difficulty in agreeing to the introduction of the clause. He believed its adoption would, in many cases, prevent the presentation of vexatious Petitions, and remove a clear injustice. As the Bill stood, if the successful candidate had been guilty of corrupt practice his seat could be successfully petitioned against; while his opponent, also, perhaps, guilty of the same offence, quietly walked over the course. His own borough offered an illustration of this; and he was certain that, in that case, if it had been in the power of the successful candidate to produce evidence of the kind described in the clause there would have been no Petition at all. He begged to move the following Clause, on page 25, after Clause 37:—

(Evidence of corrupt practices at trial of election petitions.)

"At the trial of an election petition the Court may call for evidence of any person having committed an illegal or corrupt practice, although that person be not named in the petition; and the person or persons petitioned against may produce and give evidence of corrupt and illegal practices by the petitioners or their agents, or by any candidate or his agents at the election before the Court; and the Court shall deal with such evidence and such persons in the same manner as they would deal with evidence or persons brought before it by the petitioners."—(*Mr. Stanton.*)

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he regretted his inability to accept this clause. It would be impossible that the parties to the Petition could have notice of the evidence to be given against them under this clause, as was the case with the parties against whom the Petition was presented. The proposal of the hon. Member would add very much to the cost of Petitions, which was already very great.

MR. GORST said, he thought that all the practical effect which the hon. Member for Stroud had in view might be obtained by the clause providing for the intervention of the Public Prosecutor.

MR. STANTON said, he did not think the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) would quite meet the object he had in view. The best persons to find out corrupt practices on the part of the Petitioner were the parties who were themselves attacked. The knowledge necessarily acquired by a successful candidate in defending his own position gave him opportunities of finding out, better than anyone else could, the delinquencies of his opponents. With regard to the argument of the Attorney General that the clause would lead to great expense, surely it would be far less expensive to have the inquiry he advocated than the cost of a second Petition presented against the Petitioner who was successful on the first Petition. Although the Attorney General had not seen his way to adopt the clause, he was satisfied that the more the hon. and learned Gentleman reflected upon it the more its equity would appear, and the more chance there would be of its subsequent adoption.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, it sometimes occurred that a gentleman went down to a constituency and nursed it for three or four years; that he was then elected; and that a Petition being afterwards lodged against his return he was unseated. Further, when the new candidate came forward he assisted him in his canvass and introduced him to the constituency, and as the result of the bribery he had previously practised he got the new candidate elected without difficulty. This had happened in a case with which he was acquainted. It was found impossible to prove that the new candidate had employed the unseated Member, who swore in the witness-box that he had not been so employed; but who, nevertheless, when the trial was over, actually brought an action against the man whom he had assisted, and claimed from him £1,000 for services rendered. He (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) contended that it was most unjust to allow a man turned out of a constituency to make use of the bribery already practised by him for the purpose of securing the return of another candidate; and he therefore begged to move the following Clause on page 25, after Clause 37 :—

(Employment of unseated candidate.)

"No person who has been unseated on petition, or who has been scheduled by the judges on such petition as guilty of a corrupt practice, shall take any part in an election for the purpose of supplying the vacancy just caused, and any act done in contravention of this provision shall be an illegal practice, and if done with the knowledge or connivance of the candidate or his election agent shall render the election void."— —(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland.*)

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) pointed out that the effect of this clause would be that a person unseated on account of an act of bribery committed by his agent was to be treated as a pariah, and not allowed to take any part in an election. In the course of these discussions he had heard a good deal of the penalties proposed in the Bill; but it went beyond anything of the kind that he was acquainted with—that a man, for the act of his agent, should lose his civil right of walking through the streets of the borough when an election was taking place. He was prepared to do everything that was right and proper in order to put down corrupt and illegal practices at elections; but he was not prepared to go the length proposed by the hon. Member for Evesham.

Mr. LEWIS said, although he had no right to call upon his hon. Friend to pursue any particular course with regard to the Bill, yet it did appear to him that, in framing this Amendment, he had taken a leaf out of the Attorney General's book. It was pleasant to hear that hon. and learned Gentleman expressing his views of the Amendment in the words they had just listened to; because it would seem that hon. Members on those Benches had at last inoculated him with a little leniency. Under the circumstances, he would appeal to his hon. Friend to withdraw the clause.

Mr. WARTON said, it was very amusing to hear the Attorney General speaking so strongly against a person losing his civil rights, seeing that he had already provided in the 4th clause of the Bill that a candidate guilty of a corrupt act should be precluded from sitting in that House for seven years. The Attorney General had only put the case of a Member unseated by the act of his agent; but he would put it to the hon. and learned Gentleman whether it was right that an unseated candidate should go about the constituency and procure for a new candidate the benefit of the bribery he had himself committed?

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked if the Attorney General would accept the clause with the words "personal bribery" added?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): No.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. MACFARLANE said, he had no wish to take up the time of the Committee unduly, and he should therefore simply move the clause standing in his name, the object of which was to reduce the cost of Election Petitions. He proposed to insert, on page 25, after Clause 37, the following Clause:—

(On hearing of election petition counsel may not appear.)

"On the hearing of any election petition no person, whether petitioner or respondent, shall appear by counsel, but each party shall be entitled to appear and be heard by one solicitor." —(*Mr. Macfarlane.*)

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could not agree to the clause, the effect of which would be to substitute the cost of solicitors for that of counsel.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the conveyance of voters to the poll having been prohibited, fears were entertained that unless some provision were made for an increased number of polling places a large number of voters would be disfranchised. They had provided that there should be a polling place within three miles of every elector; and he now proposed that in boroughs there should be a polling place at a distance not exceeding one mile from the voter's residence. He trusted the Attorney General would see his way to adopt the clause; and he would not occupy the time of the Committee further then to say that there was a feeling in the country that increased facilities ought to be given for the polling of the working classes. He proposed to add, on page 30, after Clause 44—

(Polling places.)

"Where a borough has been divided into polling districts, every elector resident within the borough shall have a polling station within a distance not exceeding one mile from his residence, so nevertheless that a polling place need not be provided for less than one hundred electors. This section shall not apply to the boroughs mentioned in the First Schedule to this Act."—(*Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

New Clause, *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought this would be found to be a very difficult question to solve. Although he had looked into the matter, he was not at present in possession of sufficient information to enable him to deal with it. Some of the boroughs which were not populous covered districts of a considerable area —that was to say, of three miles in diameter or 18 miles in circumference— and if they said that every voter should have a polling place within one mile of his residence, they would run the risk of multiplying the polling places, which were already very numerous, and unduly increasing the expense. It was no question of the number of polling places, but of the expense that would be incurred in providing them. The question was entirely a practical one, and he did not think that abstract speaking on the matter would solve the difficulty they had to deal with. His view was that polling places should be provided for not less than every 200 electors, and not for every 100, as the hon. Member proposed. He suggested that this would be a safer limit; and if the hon. Member was willing to insert "two hundred," he would assent to the second reading of the clause, but on the understanding that it should be subject to further inquiry and consideration on Report. He would, however, prefer the withdrawal of the clause, so that information might be taken from the borough Members.

MR. C. H. JAMES said, he did not think it would be possible always to get 100 voters in an area where the polling place should be not more than a mile distant from the residence of every voter.

It was most necessary to proceed carefully in this matter, and he trusted his hon. Friend would follow the suggestion of the Attorney General.

Mr. LEWIS said, as the proposal was of an abstract character, its discussion might lead to embarrassment. As the conditions varied, he thought the matter required further investigation before the clause was agreed to; and therefore he trusted the hon. Member would withdraw the clause, as suggested by the Attorney General.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER denied that this was an abstract proposition—it was a practical proposal; and he felt so strongly with regard to it that, although he was ready to follow the suggestion of the Attorney General, he should certainly raise the question again. He was willing to withdraw the clause in order to give an opportunity of obtaining further information, and upon the understanding that the hon. and learned Gentleman would bring up a clause on Report. If it was the intention of the Attorney General to consult the local authorities, he would say at once that he did not attach great importance to their opinion, because they would always recommend the establishment of the smallest number of polling places. He was willing to accept the "two hundred" limit. He maintained that where there were 200 electors in an area they required a polling place near their residence, and that they ought to have it. With regard to the expense, he thought the arguments founded upon that were being carried a little too far. Candidates had been relieved from all the expenses of conveying voters to the poll, and he thought they were in a position to afford the cost of the additional polling places that were actually necessary.

Mr. BROGDEN said, he hoped the Attorney General would take into consideration the desirability of enabling voters by some convenient means to register their votes near the places where they worked. Many members of the working classes had to walk a considerable distance from home to the place where they were employed; and unless the facility he asked for was accorded them it would be impossible for those persons to vote at all, seeing that conveyance to the poll had been prohibited.

Mr. WHITLEY said, his views of this matter were the same as that of the hon. Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Brogden). There were 120 polling places in Liverpool, which were sufficient for all but those who had to go miles from home to their business. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would meet the view of the hon. Member opposite, he would confer a great benefit on the working class, and remove a difficulty that he was convinced could not be obviated by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The CHAIRMAN said, he had, on a former occasion, drawn the attention of the noble Lord the Member for North Nottingham (Viscount Galway) to the fact that an Amendment dealing with voting papers could not be moved, because it proposed in part to deal with the Ballot Act, to do which the Committee had received no Instruction. Having looked into the present Amendment in the name of the noble Lord, he confessed that he was not able to understand its precise bearing. If he were given to understand that the clause was in any way in contravention of the Ballot, he should rule it out of Order.

Viscount GALWAY said, his intention was to prevent personation.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) rose to Order. As the clause provided that the voter should sign the voting paper and forward it, the Presiding Officer must have a knowledge of how the voter had voted. He submitted that that was a violation of the secrecy of the Ballot.

Viscount GALWAY said, his clause would in no way interfere with the Ballot Act. He wished to prevent the disfranchisement of electors who, as in the case of many he was acquainted with, possessed small freeholds, and had gone to reside 20 or 30 miles from the property. He should be glad if the Committee would allow the clause to be read a second time; the provisions which it contained would completely guard against any advantage being taken of the voting papers.

Mr. GREGORY pointed out that the 1st section of the clause provided for absolute secrecy as to the way the elector voted. The voter was bound to place some cover over the signature, which was a complete guarantee of sercecy. Nothing would be known except that the voter had received a voting paper; there would not be the slightest indication of the person for whom he voted.

MR. GRANTHAM agreed that the clause as it stood did affect the Ballot Act, because it was the object of that Act to prevent any name being on the voting paper. He hoped, however, the clause would not be ruled out of Order on account of one line in it which might be easily altered. There was simply an inaccuracy of statement on the part of the noble Viscount, and he suggested that the omission of a few words would carry out the object in view.

MR. GORST said, he had never heard that it was out of Order to move an Amendment to any Bill, because by implication it would repeal or modify an Act of Parliament. It appeared to him to be no reason why the clause of the noble Viscount should not be moved, to say that its effect would be to modify or repeal the Ballot Act.

COLONEL NOLAN said, there would be no difficulty in seeing how a man voted under the proposal of the noble Viscount, because everyone knew the order in which the candidates' names followed each other, and the gumming and folding would be no protection in this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that, although the noble Viscount had stated that the signature on the paper was intended to avoid personation, it appeared to him that the secrecy of the Ballot Act would be thereby entirely destroyed. It would be for him to hear what proposition the noble Viscount made with regard to the clause before he decided the question as to whether it could be moved. The noble Viscount was not bound to move the clause as it was on the Paper.

MR. GORST rose to Order. Was it the ruling of the Chair that no Member of the Committee might move an Amendment to a Bill, which Amendment altered or affected an existing law?

THE CHAIRMAN said, it was unnecessary to go into so large a subject. The Committee, having received no Instruction to deal with the important Act of Parliament referred to, would not be justified in considering the Amendment in its present form.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he wished to ask the Chairman what was the difference between an important and an unimportant Act of Parliament?

VISCOUNT GALWAY said, the question which he desired to bring before the Committee was the practical disfranchisement of a large number of persons which would result from the passing of the Bill in its present form. There were in his own constituency a considerable number of freeholders who had left their property and gone to reside in some of the towns whose railway fares, to and from the polling places, it was under the existing law competent to the candidate to pay. The Committee had decided that the conveyance of voters should be abolished, with a view to the saving of expense. Whatever its effect in that respect would be, he contended that the provision ought not to be used for the purpose of disfranchisement, nor did he think that disfranchisement should form any part of the scheme of hon. Members opposite. He was not proposing anything on behalf of faggot-voters; his clause had reference only to *bonâ fide* freeholders who had an interest in the country, and who, unless it were adopted, would be precluded from recording their votes. He felt very strongly on this subject, because it was opposed to one's sense of justice that a provision which was intended merely to save expense should be made the means of disfranchising a great number of voters. It was only right that the case of the persons he had in view should be fairly met; and his desire was simply that those voters who resided at a distance from the polling place, and who would suffer a considerable pecuniary loss if they went there at their own cost to record their votes, should be enabled to vote in the manner described in the clause. With regard to its supposed interference with the Ballot Act, he had endeavoured to make it so that the vote should be given without the knowledge of the Justice of the Peace. Before receiving the voting paper the elector would have to make a declaration of his identity, and no one but the Justice of the Peace would see him sign the paper. He believed the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles Dilke), who was so strong an advocate of the Ballot, would see that, so far from interfering with its provisions, he was endeavouring to carry out the Act.

Mr. LABOUCHERE rose to Order. Was the noble Viscount in Order in making a speech on an Amendment which was not before the Committee?

Viscount GALWAY said, his object being to prevent personation, he would add to the 1st paragraph of the clause the words—

"Before marking such voting paper the voter shall sign a declaration of his identity,"

and then move that the clause be read a second time.

New Clause, page 30, after Clause 44—

(Voting papers for out-voters.)

"Any elector residing more than five miles from the nearest polling station shall be entitled to vote by voting paper, in the following manner:—

The voter shall, in the presence of a justice of the peace, place a cross or mark in the figure or square printed on such voting paper opposite the name of the candidate or candidates for whom he votes, and shall fold over the names of the candidates, and fasten with gum or other adhesive substance, a portion of the ballot paper, so as to conceal the names of the candidates;

The voter shall subscribe such voting paper with his own name, and such signature shall be attested by a justice of the peace;

The voter having thus marked on the voting paper the candidate or candidates for whom he votes, shall return it in a registered letter to the returning officer, who shall, previous to the election, appoint at what polling booth such papers shall be received;

The expenses for sending out such voting papers, and for the registration and postage of such letters, may be legally borne by the candidate, in addition to the maximum amount of expenses allowed by the Act,"—(*Viscount Galway*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he could not conceive that the majority of the Committee could possibly accept this clause. The proposal amounted to this—that a person sitting in his own house, without receiving any official paper, taking up any paper he found before him, in the presence of anyone, or at the dictation of anyone, might put his name, or even his cross, opposite the name of any candidate, and when he had done that in the presence of anyone who might be looking on during the operation, he was to gum a piece of paper over the names of the candidates, sign the paper, and send it to the Returning Officer. Under those circumstances, the Presiding Officer would only have to look at the signature or cross in order to see for whom the person voted. But the declaration proposed by the noble Viscount was more remarkable still. What was to prove the identity of the voter? Would the Presiding Officer know his handwriting? He could not perceive how the identification was to be effected. The Chairman had, in his opinion, pointed out a most serious objection to the clause, because they were not dealing with the Ballot Act, but with corrupt practices at elections. The Ballot Act said that a man should vote with secrecy; but by means of the clause and declaration of the noble Viscount, the voter would tell the Presiding Officer how he voted, and the Presiding Officer might tell anyone else what had occurred. But if the Presiding Officer alone were told, the secrecy of the Ballot Act would be entirely gone. That Act was intended to prevent undue influence; but with this provision of the noble Viscount in existence, a landlord might go to a voter and say—"Sign your voting paper here, but do not let me see how you vote;" and that would be a perfectly good vote. This question was an old one, and it had been mooted over and over again—in 1867 and previously—and decided against; and he said that what was regarded as objectionable then was no less objectionable now. The noble Viscount said the clause did not apply to faggot-voters; but he had not excluded them from its operation, and his proposal meant that a rich man could sit in his own drawing room and vote for many constituencies. That was a principle which the Government could not import into a Bill for the prevention of corrupt and illegal practices at elections, one form of those practices being undue influence.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General seemed not to have understood the point of his noble Friend that there would be absolute secrecy in the mode of voting which he proposed. His noble Friend desired that a voter who resided at a certain distance from the polling booth, if he could not get to the polling place, should be allowed to go before a Justice of the Peace, or some officer provided for the purpose, and obtain there a voting paper to be filled up in the manner described. Everyone knew that before this voting paper could be obtained the elector would have to put down his name and address; and his noble Friend said that before he got hold of the voting paper the individual should make a declaration that he was Mr. So-and-so. His noble Friend wanted the same evidence of identity as was required by the Presiding Officer when he asked the voter's name and address, and then turned out his number in the book. The Attorney General said the moment a man made a declaration of identity, the Justice of the Peace, or anyone before whom he appeared, would know for whom he was going to vote. But that was not so, because, after the declaration of identity was made, the voter would get his paper, and, after signing it, he would fold and gum it over the names and send it to the Presiding Officer; and, under those circumstances, no one in the world could know how that man voted. Therefore, he said that the objection raised to the clause on the ground that it would violate the secrecy of the ballot did not lie.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that although the object of the noble Viscount was to provide for non-resident voters, yet the effect of the clause would be to preserve and perpetuate the class called faggot-voters by means inconsistent with the Ballot Act. Under those circumstances, he could not support the clause. He thought it would be better if the Attorney General would advise the withdrawal of the clause, and the Committee could then proceed to discuss, on the next Amendment, the position of a class of persons who ought not to be deprived of the right of voting.

MR. RAIKES said, he thought the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) could not have read the clause of the noble Viscount, or he would not have described it as one for the perpetuation of faggot-voters. The next Amendment referred to county electors only; whereas the Amendment of his noble Friend referred to any elector resident five miles from the nearest polling station. He pointed out that an enormous number of borough voters would on any particular day be residing more than five miles from the nearest voting place, and that in London there were many who lived at a much greater distance. Nor did the clause refer to those alone who resided at a distance permanently, because they would have to include persons who went to work at a distance from the constituency for which they were entitled to vote. If the Committee rejected the clause they would disfranchise almost every workman who happened at the time of the election to be at a distance from the constituency in which he had an interest. In deciding this question they must have a clear issue before them. The clause had been drawn with a great deal of care, in order not to infringe on the Ballot Act. It was aimed entirely at preserving secrecy of voting by non-resident or absent electors; and it was not a question between secret and open voting, but whether Members were prepared to say that there should be an absolute disqualification for temporary absence from a constituency. That was the issue before the Committee, and those Members who voted against the clause would have to accept the responsibility of deliberately determining to disfranchise a considerable number of electors who happened to be away for the time from the place where they ought to vote. The Bill prevented the payment of travelling expenses, and imposed increased penalties in the case of those employers who might be disposed to give their workmen a holiday. That would, therefore, attach to the exercise of the franchise very great difficulties and great embarrassment, thanks to the Party who had in old times been most studiously desirous of extending the franchise. This was the Party which at this moment desired to go to the country, with every confidence, upon the strength of their desire to enfranchise those who had not now got votes, but who, he thought, would not be able to put forward that desire with great sincerity if they passed a Bill which would disfranchise 10 per cent of those who now enjoyed the franchise in boroughs.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was not surprised that hon. Gentlemen made a strong point of this matter, or that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) said it did not infringe on the Ballot Act. In 1867 there was a lengthy debate on this subject, when the Conservative Party were very strong in favour of voting papers. Lord Salisbury, who was then a Member of this House, with that candour which always distinguished him, fairly and fully explained to the House the grounds on which he thought it desirable, from the Conservative point of view, to pass that proposal; and he used a phrase which caused a great noise at the time —namely, "that voting papers would convert every magistrate's parlour into a polling booth." It was very well to say John Jones would turn down the paper; but he would be afraid of the magistrate, and there was no doubt that the strongest influence would be applied to induce men to vote as the magistrate or landlord desired. That Parliament was, perhaps, not so Liberal as the present, and the proposal was voted down by a very large majority.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, there was a good deal of frankness in the observations of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and through that he thought the real objection to this proposal could be seen. The hon. Member and those who sat near him were very likely of opinion that it was right to confine every elector to the constituency in which he resided; but the Bill was not intended to deal with such questions now. That subject must be put on one side, and the discussion confined to the clause upon its merits. The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had shown very shortly what the real object was. By the Bill travelling expenses were forbidden; and so, while rich men who were at a considerable distance from the constituency in which they had votes might bear the inconvenience, poor men were likely to be disfranchised. The Bill was said to be for the purpose of preventing corruption; but here was a proposal which was meant to avoid disfranchisement, and to provide an escape from any charge of inducing anything like undue influence. Reference had been made to the discussions on the last Reform Bill in 1867, which, of course, they all remembered. He was a Member of the Government which introduced that Bill; and it was perfectly true that when a similar clause was under discussion objection was taken to it, that it would give a Justice of the Peace before whom a vote might be registered an opportunity of exercising some undue influence on the voter; and, as elections were taken at that time, it could not well have been otherwise, because all voting was then open, and when an elector went to a polling booth to vote he did so openly, as he would anywhere else. That would give an opportunity for the exercise of undue influence, and no doubt that fact prevailed in inducing the House to reject the clause; but now the case was quite different. Now, votes were given by the secret Ballot, and if secrecy could be secured in the polling booth or anywhere else, the danger of undue influence was got rid of. The noble Viscount had drawn this clause with great care, in order to avoid undue influence. If hon. Members thought he had not succeeded in doing that, they might amend the clause; but the noble Viscount contended, and he thought everybody would agree with him, that the clause would protect voters from any undue influence if fairly worked. The question now was, whether that clause was worthy of consideration? He thought they were over scrupulous in some of the provisions respecting conveyance; but if they thought it necessary to make those provisions to prevent undue influence, they were at least bound to correct the injustice of disfranchisement which was threatened. He thought the arguments were entirely in the noble Viscount's favour, because there were only two objections advanced—one, that the clause would allow undue influence, because it did not provide secrecy; but, in principle, at all events, it did provide secrecy; and, if it did not, it could be amended. The other objection was one which had nothing whatever to do with this Bill; but an effort was being made to introduce, by a side-wind, a principle which the Government did not dare to announce openly—namely, the disfranchisement of non-resident electors.

Mr. HORACE DAVEY said, it did not seem to him that the question of voting papers had anything to do with the consideration of a Bill for preventing corrupt practices. As to whether this clause would interfere with the secrecy of the Ballot, he thought he could show that it could not possibly be worked without interfering with that secrecy. In the first place, the elector would have to go and be shut up with a Justice of the Peace, in whose hands he was to place his voting paper, after marking it. He had the greatest respect for Justices of the Peace; but some were not as intelligent as others, and there was nothing to prevent their looking over the shoulders of voters while they were marking their papers. There was, under this clause, none of the machinery which was provided at polling booths, where it was impossible for anyone to know how an elector voted. But there was a much more serious objection to the proposal. The right hon. Member (Sir R. Assheton Cross) suggested that, in order to his being identified, a voter should sign a declaration; but such a declaration would show the Presiding Officer how the person voted. How was a Justice of the Peace to identify a man who asked to be allowed to vote? When a voter presented himself at a booth the officer could identify him by means of the Register; but was every Justice of the Peace to have a Register? Identification could only be obtained in that way, and in no case could secrecy be secured.

MR. GRANTHAM said, he thought secrecy might be secured by adopting the present method, by which voters were identified, on applying for voting papers, by numbers. What was there to prevent a voter, living five miles away, applying to the Sheriff beforehand for a voting paper, and, having obtained it by means of his number, take it to a magistrate, and make a declaration that he was the person to whom it had been sent? That would, he believed, get over the difficulty; and if that were done there would be no difficulty in carrying out this clause. Although he did not think it would be wise to pass this clause, still he thought it could be carried out in principle; and he should vote for it with the view of its being amended. As to this question of voting papers having nothing to do with the Bill, the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch was rather straining a point, because the clause was proposed in order to get over the difficulties with regard to voting which were now, for the first time, introduced.

MR. GREGORY pointed out that the Committee were only dealing with a question arising out of a clause which had already been passed. The question was, whether out-voters were to be disfranchised, or some means should be found for enabling them to exercise their franchise, as this clause proposed. These out-voters were generally people of independent means, and not likely to be intimidated by employers or magistrates. The idea of their being influenced was a chimera, and he should support the proposal.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, no one had ventured to answer the observation he had made as to this clause being meant to provide for secrecy, whether it really did so or not. Judging from the debate, a great many Members appeared to desire to disfranchise the out-voters; and they attempted to do that by pulling to pieces the proposal for enabling these electors to vote, by showing its defects in detail; but they did not discuss its defects in principle; and, therefore, he was justified in saying that the object of the Government and of many hon. Members was to disfranchise these out-voters. The principle was that they should be enabled to record their votes without incurring any unnecessary expenditure. That might be dealt with by saying the voters should send to the Revising Barrister the names of the places where they wished to vote. It might be provided that voting papers should be sent to the towns in which the votes were claimed, so as to prevent the voters incurring railway fares and expenses; and the question of identity might be met by requiring them to prove their identity before a Justice of the Peace.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped the Committee would not be forced to a Division upon this clause, which really put him and his hon. Friends in a difficulty. A good many of them could not vote for a clause drawn in this way, and it was open to everything the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) had said. He could not say he had much sympathy with the question of out-voters; for he thought that out-voters were an expensive luxury, and not of very much use to either Party. With regard to voting papers, he did not believe they could ever be made secret; but he was distinctly in favour of them, because he had always been in favour of open voting. He quite recognized the irreconcilability of voting papers with secret voting; but if they were not

not reconcilable this clause was impossible as it stood.

An hon. MEMBER said, he had voted against the conveyance of voters to the poll; but he thought something ought to be done which would allow the out-voters to record their votes. The Attorney General had objected to the clause on the ground that it would perpetuate faggot-voting; but, surely, if faggot votes were illegal votes, the proper way to deal with them was to abolish them altogether. So long as they were legal they ought to be allowed to be duly recorded. He certainly could not see why these out-voters should not be allowed to record their votes. Another objection which had been urged against the clause by the Attorney General was, that it would destroy the secrecy of the Ballot Act. But it was not true that there was perfect secrecy under that Act at present, because one of the clauses of the Act provided that in certain cases where a man was blind, or otherwise incapacitated, he should be allowed to mention, in the presence of the Returning Officer and of the agents on each side, the name of the person for whom he was going to vote; and if the out-voter were permitted, under this clause, to send his vote to the Returning Officer, the secrecy of the Ballot Act would not be any more impaired than it was at present. On the other hand, a very large number of persons would be enabled to register their votes, who could not do so under the Bill as it stood. He could not see why the Government should oppose the clause, for he regarded it as a very salutary provision, although it might be possible that some of the Amendments which stood in the name of the hon. and learned Gentleman might meet the case better. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Edward Clarke) had objected to these out-voters, on the ground that they were very expensive luxuries; but, surely, the object in view was to do away with the expense which might otherwise be involved.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he did not rise for the purpose of prolonging the discussion; but he wished the Attorney General to define what he meant by "faggot voting." That was a term which was very much misused by the Prime Minister during his tour in Mid Lothian, where he made use of many expressions which he afterwards had to withdraw. A faggot voter was not a legitimate voter; and he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would venture to define what he was. He was a voter who was put on the Register without possessing a *boná fide* qualification, or a voter, in fact, who had never paid or given any real consideration for the qualification under which he claimed. But a *boná fide* owner of a freehold was not a faggot voter. Would the Attorney General venture to say that he was? Any *boná fide* owner of a 40*s.* freehold was not a faggot voter, but was as much a legal voter as the hon. and learned Gentleman, or any other hon. Member in the House who possessed a large freehold property. This clause ought to be inserted in the Bill, unless the Government meant to do away with small freeholders altogether—those who happened to be small freeholders, yet who did not reside on their freehold. That was a distinct and intelligible proposition. So long as there were these *boná fide* small freeholds an opportunity ought to be given to the owners to record their votes.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that anyone reading the first line of the clause would fancy that it was meant for voters in a mountainous district far away from a polling place. But the fact was it was very badly drawn, and really applied to any persons living outside the constituency. He could show many ways in which, as the clause was drawn, the secrecy of the Ballot Act would probably be violated; and he maintained that it was impossible, under any system of voting papers, to have that secrecy properly preserved. As had been pointed out by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. Edward Clarke), when the Ballot Act was passed no attempt was made to extend it to the Universities, because the House knew that a system of voting papers and secrecy were incompatible. Possibly some day some system might be devised by which voting papers could be used and secrecy still preserved; but that could not be done as they went along. And it should be remembered that not only would the secrecy of the Ballot be violated, but the door would be opened for fraud upon the Returning Officer, upon the Justice of Peace, upon the whole world, for any man could write to the Returning Officer and say he was a particular voter; and the only check which the Returning Officer would have would be to consult the list, and he would not be able to tell whether the man applying was the particular man or not, and he would be obliged to send that man a voting paper. If the clause proposed by the noble Viscount should be agreed to, something would be done which would be of far more importance than the whole Bill. He (Colonel Nolan) hoped the clause would not be accepted, because if it were it would certainly upset the Ballot Act.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE wished, before they proceeded to the Division which he hoped would be taken upon the clause, to ask the Attorney General to take the idea of the clause into his consideration. It would not, he thought, be very difficult so to frame the clause as to make it perfectly compatible with the secrecy of the Ballot. Several hon. and learned Members on both sides of the House had objected to the wording of the clause as proposed by his noble Friend; but if those hon. and learned Members had instead exercised their ingenuity with the view of so framing the clause as to make it insure the secrecy required under the Ballot, no doubt they would have succeeded in doing so. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. Edward Clarke) had declared it impossible so to frame a clause as to provide secrecy under such a system of voting; but he (Viscount Folkestone) should be sorry to think the hon. and learned Gentleman's ingenuity was so small as to be unequal to such a task. The reason why he asked the Attorney General to take this matter into his serious consideration was that in such constituencies as that which he (Viscount Folkestone) had the honour to represent (South Wilts) more than half the voters would be disfranchised without some such provision as this; and the hon. Member for North Wilts (Mr. Long), who sat near him, was in a similar position, having many constituents who resided quite five miles from the polling station; and it would be quite impossible for a great number of them to find time to go and leave their work in order to record their votes at the polling station. The consequence would be that quite half of his (Viscount Folkestone's) constituents, and more than half of the constituents of his hon. Friend the Member for North Wilts, would be entirely disfranchised, unless something was done in the direction proposed by this clause. They should also remember that there was an intention in the mind of Her Majesty's Government to further lower the franchise in counties and assimilate it to the borough franchise. But if, with the present county constituencies, one-half of the voters already in existence would be prevented by the provisions of this Bill from recording their votes, of what use would it be to extend the borough franchise into the counties? That was an argument which ought to go home to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, because if the constituencies as they now stood were, to a great extent, to be disfranchised by this Bill, it would be of no earthly use proceeding to lower the franchise in future.

MR. CALLAN said, he thought that if the constituents of the noble Viscount (Viscount Folkestone) who resided five miles from a polling place were to be disfranchised because of their want of inclination to vote for their favourite candidate, they would deserve their fate. He hoped there would be no yielding on the part of the Government with regard to this clause. The clauses which had been referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. Edward Clarke) were much preferable to this one, and it would save the time of the Committee if they were to divide at once. He hoped the clause would be effectually squelched, because it was a bad one; and the clause of the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) was even still worse, for it gave the voter power, in the presence of a Justice of the Peace, to place a cross upon the voting paper, and thus was an absolute repeal of the secrecy of the Ballot Act. If the proposal were introduced upon the Ballot Act itself, there might be some excuse for it; but he appealed to the Chair to know whether such an Amendment came within the scope of a Bill for the prevention of corrupt and illegal practices? He hoped that in the Division they would, by an emphatic and large majority, utterly rout those parties who were encumbering the Paper with Amendments, and really endeavouring to defeat the Bill by obstruction and procrastination.

MR. STANTON said, he thought the discussion had been a very interesting one; but while he entirely sympathized with the intention of the noble Viscount who proposed the clause, he did not think the clause itself was calculated to carry that intention out. He had clauses of his own to propose later on, to the drafting of which he had given great pains; and he thought they would much more nearly, if not entirely, meet the case, by allowing the out-voter to vote without violating the secrecy of the Ballot.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 64; Noes 163: Majority 99.—(Div. List, No. 197.)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS proposed the addition of the following new Clause after Clause 44:—

(Conveyance of poll to voters in certain cases.)

"Where a local authority, having power to divide a county into polling districts, is of opinion that there is a portion of the county containing less than one hundred electors, which it is inexpedient to form into a separate polling district, but that, owing to the nature of such portion, the electors resident therein will be unable by reason of having to cross the sea, or a branch or arm thereof, or a mountainous district, to reach their polling places without a large and disproportionate expenditure, such authority may resolve that further provision ought to be made for taking the votes of such electors at some convenient time within the hours fixed by Law for taking the poll, and in accordance with 'The Ballot Act, 1872,' and this Act, either by conveying a presiding officer and ballot box to the said portion, or otherwise, so that the secrecy required by 'The Ballot Act, 1872,' be duly preserved.

"The local authority may also, by resolution, fix the maximum charges to be made by the returning officer for making such provision.

"The local authority shall cause notice of every such resolution to be forthwith given to the returning officer, and the returning officer at every election held more than two months after the date of such resolution shall make the provision required by the said resolution, and shall give notice thereof in the public notice he is required to publish relating to polling stations; and may charge for such provision, in addition to the sums allowed by 'The Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act, 1875,' any sums allowed by the said resolution of the local authority.

"The local authority may from time to time revoke and vary any resolution under this section, and pass a fresh resolution."

The right hon. Gentleman observed that this clause was of quite a different character from the one just disposed of. As Clause 45 stood originally, it contained a provision for carrying voters across an arm of the sea by steamer; but the Committee rejected that clause. He was quite sure, however, that the Government would agree with him in thinking that some provision should be made for voters who were placed in such a position, and who would practically be disfranchised, unless some provision was made for them. In such a case as the Orkneys, for instance, it was quite necessary that some such provision should be made to allow the electors to give their votes, for they were a poor people, and it would be perfectly impossible for them to go to the poll unless some arrangement was made. The Government had shown, by the clause which they originally placed in the Bill, that they had no intention of practically disfranchising such voters; and as their clause had been thrown out, it was quite clear that some other provision ought to be made for securing the votes. As it had been determined that the voter should not be taken to the poll, he thought it would be well to provide that the Returning Officer and his assistants should be allowed to take the poll to the voter, and the clause had been so drawn as fully to preserve the secrecy required by the Ballot Act. The clause would provide that, in certain cases where the local authorities thought it necessary, the Returning Officer should go round the Islands in a steamer with the ballot box and collect the votes. It would not be necessary in these cases that the poll should be kept open for the whole time, but only for a convenient time. As he had drawn the clause, it also included the case of those mountainous districts in England in which it was very difficult for voters to get to the poll. If hon. Members would look not simply at this Amendment, but at another Amendment of which he had given Notice, to come in after Clause 65, and which specially related to the case of mountainous districts in Scotland, he was quite sure they would see a great difference between the two cases. If the poll was taken to the voter, they might have absolute secrecy preserved, and that could easily be done where the ballot box was kept on board a steamer going round to the various Islands; but it was not quite so clear that could be as easily done in the case of mountainous districts, where the same facilities would not be afforded.

His object, however, had been to meet the special case of the Scottish voters; and if the Government could see their way to accept the clause so far as Scotland was concerned, leaving out the mountainous districts of England, he should be content. Although his clause had been very carefully drawn, he did not presume to say that its wording would exactly meet every case that ought to be met; and if the Government wished to alter the wording, so as to meet the case of the Scotch voters, and would either accept the clause now, or bring the subject up again on the Report, he should be content. But he felt bound to propose the clause as it stood, so as to bring the matter before the Government, and to press it upon the Committee, or otherwise great injustice would be done. He did not wish to detain the Committee any longer, and therefore he would move that the clause be inserted.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he did not think it was wise to leave to a local authority power of legislation, because, by this Amendment, a local authority would virtually have power to enfranchise some men and disfranchise others; and they might exercise their own views in relation to the way in which the secrecy of the ballot was to be maintained. Having regard to the provisions of the 45th clause, he could not see how it was possible to accept this Amendment; and, although he was anxious to meet the views of the right hon. Gentleman, he must ask him to withdraw this clause. If, however, a mode could be discovered of meeting the difficulty, he should be very glad to adopt it.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked if the Government would be good enough to consult the feelings of Scotch Members from that part of Scotland which this clause would affect? There was ample time, between now and Report, to consult Members on both sides of the House in regard to this matter. He did not want to delay the course of the Bill; therefore, if the Government would give him the assurance that before the Report stage they would consult hon. Gentlemen from Scotland, and, if needs be, bring up a clause of their own on Report, he would be willing to withdraw his clause, and support any clause the Government might bring up to grapple with the evil.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had consulted Scotch Members, and Clause 45 was the result of that consultation. They now told him that Clause 45 was what they adhered to. If he could receive any other suggestion that he thought better than Clause 45, of course he would listen to it, and see if it could be dealt with. He would, however, again consult Scotch Members, and see what could be done in the matter.

MR. BUCHANAN said, there was no doubt that many of the Scotch electors would be disfranchised. On Clause 45, an Amendment was moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig-Sellar), and fault was found with that Amendment by many hon. Gentlemen opposite. As a matter of fact, when they came to vote on Clause 45, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) voted against it himself, and now he said he had heard a good deal on the subject since that time. The other night, in a few remarks the right hon. Gentleman made on the subject, he entreated the Attorney General to make up his mind as to the course he would take respecting conveyances. It certainly appeared that the right hon. Gentleman was suffering from somewhat similar vacillation, because now, having voted against Clause 45 the other night, he came with a proposal of a similar character, and claimed the support of the hon. Member for the Haddington Burghs.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was entirely in favour of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment; and he thought Members representing Scotch constituencies ought to be very much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman. As he understood the Attorney General, he accepted the principle of the Amendment, but not its details. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): No!] He understood the hon. and learned Gentleman had accepted the principle of the Amendment; at all events, he promised to consider the matter; and he (Sir George Campbell) hoped, on consideration, that he would accept the principle. So far as he understood the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross), it seemed to him to be the best that could be proposed, for it was that there should be a kind of peripatetic polling booth going about to the different parts of the country.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH asked if the Committee was to understand that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had no intention of dealing with the mountainous districts of England? If they took one step in accepting this Amendment, there was no doubt the right hon. Gentleman would urge them to take a subsequent step. It must be remembered that the Returning Officer's expenses were really defrayed by the candidate, and that, in reality, what was now proposed was only an indirect way of creeping into the candidates' pockets.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked leave to withdraw his Amendment. He believed that the mountainous districts of England would suffer; but there were many difficulties in regard to those districts which it would be hard to overcome. He was satisfied with the assurance of the Attorney General that, so far as Scotch Members were concerned, he would do all he could to deal with this matter on Report.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ANDERSON moved to insert the following Clause after Clause 46:—

(Election Commissioners not to inquire into elections before the passing of this Act.)

"Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act 15 & 16 Vict. cap. 57, or any amendment thereof, in any case where, after the passing of this Act, any Commissioners have been appointed, on a joint address of both Houses of Parliament, for the purpose of making inquiry into the existence of corrupt or illegal practices in any election, the said Commissioners shall not make inquiries concerning any election that shall have taken place prior to the passing of this Act, and no witness called before such Commissioners, or at any election petition after the passing of this Act, shall be liable to be asked or bound to answer any question relating to any corrupt or illegal practice prior to the passing of this Act: Provided that nothing herein contained shall affect any proceedings that shall be pending at the time of such passing."

He did not know what views the Committee were inclined to take with regard to this clause; but it was a clause of considerable importance as regarded the future working of the Act. It took for granted that there would be in future greater purity in consequence of the passing of the Bill, and that, partly in consequence of other events that had taken place within the last year or two, a very considerable change of public opinion had arisen as to the question of corrupt practices. It had been too much the practice hitherto to consider everything fair that took place before an election; but he thought such events as the recent imprisoning of certain gentlemen, as well as the passing of this Bill, would create a new public opinion in the matter of corrupt practices. Well, that being so, it might conduce to the working of this Bill if they were to make up their minds that on the passing of the Act there should be a clean bill of health for what had gone before; that bygones should be bygones; and that the new public opinion should have a fair chance of working out a better state of things in the future. In a great many constituencies which had been hitherto very corrupt indeed, there might be, after this Bill passed, a genuine desire to stop all corrupt practices. When it came to a question of a Petition arising under this Act, without such a clause as this, both sides would say to themselves—"If we petition, undoubtedly the Judges must go back and inquire into previous elections, into the circumstances of elections in the old and evil days; and, therefore, a great many of our practices at that time, and of which we are thoroughly ashamed now, will be exposed." The effect of that would be that both sides would agree that they would not petition; and in that way, if there were malpractices under the new Act, they would not be exposed, and would not be punished; therefore the new Act, to a large extent, would be as inoperative as the old Act. It was with the view of endeavouring to avoid such a state of things, and to make the old constituencies purer and better in the future, that he had put down this clause. He hoped the Government would look upon it with some favour.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this was a very important clause, and he thought every Member of the Committee ought to bear the responsibility of determining how it should be dealt with. For his part, he thought it would be an advantageous clause, and that they ought to have the moral courage to accept it. His reason for thinking that this clause ought to be passed was not so much to give an armistice to those who had been guilty of corrupt practices, as because he thought that bygones should be bygones. It was a practical question. Once let corruption exist in a constituency to a large extent, by saying it had existed either on the one side or the other, or on both, no Party would dare to petition, and the result was that an impure Party had its opponent at its mercy. If it was said—"Your Party bribed in past times; you have influential men who dare not stand exposure; they will stop a Petition, and the consequence is that we will bribe as we like, because we know that you dare not petition;" if this clause were passed no such argument would hold good. Those in a constituency who were pure would know that they had nothing to fear; and they would know that their opponents, if they indulged in corrupt practices, would be at their mercy; and an impure portion of a constituency dare not indulge in corrupt and illegal practices, because they would know they could be fought with a weapon that was at least certain. There might be some persons who would say that the Members of this Committee were taking this course for the protection of themselves. He had no such fear; he should support this clause simply on the ground that it would enable the pure portion of a constituency to say—"We have no one to save; we have nothing in the past to protect; now we will be pure and attack those who are corrupt." In short, he considered that this clause would be a valuable addition to the Bill.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he was very glad, indeed, to find the Attorney General prepared to accept the principle of this clause, because he believed the clause would be as valuable as any part of the Bill in restoring purity of election to a good many boroughs in the country. There were certain boroughs in which corruption had become traditional, and it was very difficult to get rid of that tradition. He only rose, however, to ask the Attorney General's consideration to the structure of the clause now under consideration. He (Mr. Edward Clarke) had proposed a clause having a like object; but which, in some respects, was substantially different to the present clause. The clause now proposed provided that—

> "No witness called before such Commissioners, or at any election petition after the passing of this Act, shall be liable to be asked or bound to answer any question relating to any corrupt or illegal practice prior to the passing of this Act."

He confessed that seemed rather an unfortunate provision, because he thought a witness ought to be liable to be asked such questions as far as they affected his own credibility, although the Judges should not have power of inquiring into the circumstances of past elections. He did not know which form of clause the Government would be most willing to adopt; but he should be very glad to see either form take its place on the Statute Book.

MR. ANDERSON said, he thought the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Edward Clarke) would stand in the way of getting witnesses, or probable witnesses, to agree to allowing any Petition at all; and, therefore, it would not quite meet the case so much as his (Mr. Anderson's) clause. He (Mr. Anderson) was glad to have got so much support from the Government, and he would be quite willing to put the clause in their hands, so that they might deal with it as they thought proper. He had been told that some Members would have great difficulty in proposing an Amendment of this kind; but as Scotch constituencies had such a well-known character for purity he, as a Scotch Member, had ventured to propose a clause of this kind without any hesitation whatever.

Clause *agreed to.*

MR. T. C. THOMPSON proposed to insert the following Clause after Clause 49:—

(Any person other than an elector may not interfere in case of a petition.)

> "Any person other than an elector of any county or division of a county, or of any borough or university, in respect of the election of any Member of Parliament of which a petition is being or has been presented, who shall,

directly or indirectly, and whether by himself, or in conjunction with others, advance money or incur any liability in reference thereto, and any person giving or receiving any money, meat, drink, entertainment, provision, advancement, or promise of advancement, in respect of such petition, except the actual expenses of attendance at the trial as a witness on the trial of such petition, or in payment of such sums as the taxing-master shall allow in respect of such petition, shall be guilty of a corrupt practice in reference to the said election, and shall be liable to the penalties incident thereto."

He said the object of this clause was to throw round the unfortunate respondent —for he was an unfortunate person always—some sort of protection. This Bill was, as everybody knew, very severe in its provisions; and, in all probability, it would give rise to a great many Election Petitions. The battle of constituencies would probably be fought quite as much, in some instances, in the Election Courts as in the elections themselves; therefore it was necessary to guard the persons petitioned against from any unfair practice. The object of his clause was, in the first place, to prevent any outside interference. As hon. Gentlemen knew full well, while it was necessary at present to deposit a certain sum of money, if that deposit were limited to be made by some elector, or by some person who took an interest in the district, that might be all very well; but if the money was to be provided principally by some outside organization, or by some person utterly unacquainted with the character of the borough, the unfortunate respondent might be placed in an unfair position; and, more than that, the constituency itself might even be prevented from having as its Representative the person of its choice. It was impossible to disguise from themselves the fact that the expenses of Petitions were so enormous that few people would be able to incur them; and, therefore, the choice of constituencies would naturally be limited. A person would not venture to come forward and contest a constituency if there was a great possibility of being petitioned against by large and influential bodies unconnected with the district. He need not say this Bill was a very severe one, because it was probably the first instance in the legislation of this country where, in respect of a Criminal Act, they had been obliged to import into it an Equity Clause. He did not know what their ancestors would have thought if they had been told that in this age it would be necessary to import an Equity Clause into the criminal jurisprudence of the country. As he had already said, the first part of the clause related to outside interference; but, beyond that, there was also a chance—and a very great chance—of corruption in the borough or county itself with regard to an Election Petition. Those hon. Gentlemen who had been unfortunate enough to go through an Election Petition knew very well what a hot-bed of corruption was disturbed the moment an Election Petition was thought of. Evidence was collected in a very strange manner; witnesses were got out of the way; evidence was almost advertised for; and a respondent had to contend against the greatest difficulties. If a respondent were contending against these difficulties in the presence of a jury, he did not think there would be any necessity for this clause, because a jury would be perfectly conversant with the character of almost all the witnesses called before it; but when they left the consideration of these matters to a Judge, the whole circumstances took quite an altered complexion. A Judge was a stranger to the district; he came down knowing nothing of the people; the evidence brought before him was of a character quite new; the respondent would be allowed to make no inquiries into the character of the persons giving evidence; and, indeed, there would be quite a different state of things to what there would be if the Petition were tried before a jury. It was necessary, therefore, to provide that any persons playing an improper part in relation to an Election Petition should be liable to punishment. That was all he suggested in this clause; he desired to provide for the proper protection of the respondent. He certainly looked forward to the time when the House of Commons would again have recourse to its own Members to decide Election Petitions; because he knew no tribunal so equitable, or so much to be depended upon, as one composed of Members of the House of Commons. The time, however, had not arrived for taking such a step; and, therefore, as elections had to be tried by a Judge, it was necessary they should provide punishment for any individual who influenced witnesses in an improper manner. There was another passage at the conclusion of the clause to which he wished to call attention—namely, that relating to the enormous expenses incurred upon Election Petitions. He did not suppose that he spoke to a very sympathetic audience when he said that some limitation should be placed on the expenses incurred in retaining counsel to conduct Election Petitions. That expense was now very large, and he put it frankly to the Members of the Legal Profession in the House whether they ought not to be content with less fees than they asked now; whether they ought not to be content, for instance, with the costs which the law of the land allowed? He could see no reason whatever for going beyond the scale of charges allowed by law. At that hour of the night he would not trespass on the Committee longer. He hoped, however, that the Attorney General would be disposed to look upon his clause in a favourable light.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) opposed the clause, and pointed out that it would result in preventing a man presenting a Petition; because, for instance, he would not be allowed to even borrow money from his own brother.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. S. SMITH (for Mr. CARBUTT) moved the following Clauses:—

(Closing of public houses during elections.)

"All the provisions of any Act now in force whereby the sale or exposing for sale of intoxicating liquors, or the opening or keeping open of any premises for the sale of intoxicating liquors, is prohibited during any hours or times are hereby extended to the hours of polling on the day of election of any knight or knights of the shire, or burgess or burgesses, to serve in Parliament shall take place, to the extent following (that is to say):—

> Where such election shall be in respect of a burgess or burgesses to represent any parliamentary borough, such provisions shall be in force with respect to such borough."

(Penalties.)

"All penalties now in force under the provisions of any Act for selling, or exposing for sale, or purchasing, or opening, or keeping open any premises for the sale of any intoxicating liquors during any hours or times, and all provisions of any Acts now in force in reference to such penalties, are hereby extended to any violation of the provisions of this section."

He said, he would not at that hour enter into any lengthy arguments in favour of these clauses. They all knew, of course, that one great source of corruption at the time of an election was the use of public-houses. In many parts of America, and in some of their own Colonies, it was the practice to close public-houses on an election day; and he thought it would be a very welcome provision to compel their closing in this country.

New Clauses *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clauses be read a second time."

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Government had a great deal of sympathy with the object of his hon. Friend. There was a great deal to be said on moral and social grounds in favour of clauses of this kind; but considering the large amount of interference with personal liberty, and the real personal hardship which the clauses would entail, they could not bring themselves to support them. They hoped, however, the subject would be retained for future consideration, because it appeared to be a subject which might be very properly discussed in connection with the question of closing public-houses on other occasions. The Government thought that the severity of such an enactment as this would be too extreme. For instance, it would prohibit people from getting refreshment when they came from a considerable distance; they could not even bait their horses, because they could not leave the stable open and shut the house. The individual inconvenience would be so great, and the interference with liberty so extended, that they were not able to accept these clauses, though they would not say they did not form matter for future discussion.

Clauses, by leave, *withdrawn.*

BARON DE FERRIERES moved the following Clause:—

(Disqualification of brewers.)

"No brewer or wine and spirit merchant, owning public or beerhouses, shall be eligible to represent a borough in which his licensed houses are situated, and, if elected, his election shall be null and void."

He said he had no doubt this clause

would appear to the Committee a very extraordinary one, and that it was presumptuous on his part to move it. H, however, thought that when the Committee considered the very severe restrictions placed on candidates who were not in the brewing trade, they would come to the conclusion that justice required that some restrictions should be placed on the owners of public-houses in boroughs especially. Under this Bill, it would be utterly impossible for a candidate to give refreshment of that kind which had hitherto been allowed, and which all the people who worked for a candidate had always considered their due. A brewer who happened to have a large brewery in a borough would, in all probability, also hold the greater part of the public-houses in the place, and he would be able to carry on a system of treating all the year round, and in a way which would give him an unfair advantage over any other candidate. A great deal of corruption in boroughs was practised at municipal elections. These elections took place every year, and there was a constant system going on of treating electors, not merely with the view of promoting the return of Town Councillors of a certain political Party, but with the view of influencing matters at a Parliamentary election. Hence, in boroughs, the holder of a large number of public-houses possessed advantages over men not so similarly situated; and he wished simply to put brewers who might stand for a constituency on an equal footing with other candidates. In the interest of fair play, he trusted this clause would commend itself to the Committee.

New Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) opposed the clause, and said, it was patent that if a constituency wished to be represented by a brewer they had every right to be so represented.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he could not help thinking that personal motives had led to the introduction of this clause. The late Representative of the borough of Cheltenham, who sat for some time in the House, and who, he (Mr. Edward Clarke) believed, was an intended candidate at the next election, would, if this clause were accepted, be struck out of the list of candidates. One could thus appreciate the purity of motive which dictated this proposal. The introduction of this clause might have been gracefully left to one not so similarly situated as the hon. Gentleman (Baron De Ferrières).

Clause *negatived.*

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS (for Mr. Gibson) moved the following new Clause:—

(Deliberate false charges.)

"Any person who before, during, or after an election, by poster, placard, cartoon, caricature, or other publication, knowingly publishes any false charge of or against a candidate, or any false statement of the withdrawal of a candidate in order to influence such election, shall be guilty of an illegal practice."

New Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not think it would be desirable to accept the whole of the clause; but he would be prepared to accept it, provided the words "cartoon and caricature" were omitted.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he thought it ought to be made an illegal practice, in some form or other, for persons to post placards containing false statements calculated to damage an opponent.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he could not accept the offer of the Attorney General, because he was confident that great damage might be done to a candidate by means of cartoons and caricatures, because by these things falsity was really implied.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he hoped the Attorney General would take this matter into serious consideration. The hon. and learned Gentleman would recollect the case of the Mid Kent Election. In 1865, the right hon. Gentleman who now represented that constituency (Sir William Hart Dyke) was a candidate, and a false report was sent the night before the poll all over England that he had retired. Such a report could only be calculated to damage the right hon. Gentleman's prospects, and he was put to great expense in telegraphing to contradict the mis-statement.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

COLONEL ALEXANDER said, the time had now arrived when instinct told them they ought to go to bed; and he, therefore, proposed that the Chairman should now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite said "No, no;" but he knew they were quite as anxious to go to bed as he was, but they dared not say so.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Colonel Alexander.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was aware that the Government owed a great deal to the Committee for the consideration it had shown with regard to the progress of this Bill. He had, however, to ask one more favour of the Committee, and that was that to-night they might be allowed to proceed a little later. He did hope they would be allowed to finish the new clauses to-night; and that to-morrow, when he hoped to proceed with the Bill at the Evening Sitting as well as the Morning, that they might conclude the Bill.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had a most important Amendment to propose. His Amendment was far too important to discuss at that hour of the night; and, therefore, he certainly hoped the Motion would be pressed, unless the Government would accept his Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 36; Noes 105: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 198.)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he hoped the Government would not expect them to go further with the Bill to-night. He himself had been engaged ever since half-past 10 o'clock on Thursday morning, and he was really very tired.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if the right hon. Gentleman put the matter in that way he would not ask the Committee to go further.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

PRIVILEGE.

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

SIR WILFRID LAWSON rose to a Question of Privilege. Since the Speaker gave his ruling in the evening with reference to a letter he had received from Mr. Bradlaugh, he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had been informed by the Serjeant-at-Arms himself that he (the Serjeant-at-Arms) had received a letter from Mr. Bradlaugh as well as the Speaker. In his letter to the Serjeant-at-Arms, Mr. Bradlaugh stated that he proposed to present himself, in pursuance of the Statute, and in accordance with the Standing Orders, for the purpose of taking his seat in the manner therein described. It appeared to him (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) that that letter differed from the one which the Speaker had received; and he wished to know whether, in respect of that letter, he would not be permitted to make a Motion?

MR. SPEAKER: The letter to the Serjeant-at-Arms is not at all before the House; the House has no knowledge of the letter to the Serjeant-at-Arms.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he would bring it before the House. The Serjeant-at-Arms had stated to him that he had received it.

MR. SPEAKER: It appears to be a private communication between the Serjeant-at-Arms and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). The letter is not formally before the House.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PRISON SERVICE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan.*)

[BILL 248.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 1 stand part of the Bill."

MR. O'BRIEN asked whether the rights of the officers, as they stood under the present Act, in respect to their superannuation allowances, would be in any way altered for the worse by the provisions of this Bill?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the Bill did not precisely alter the position of any of the officers. It had been introduced for one purpose. It had been found that the Act of 1877 did not cover the cases of officers who, at the time of retiring, happened to be serving in different counties. This clause was being substituted for the Act of 1877, and to bring that Act in accord with the English Act. It was, therefore, purely an enabling Act, and did not, in the slightest degree, affect the status or the amount of pension of any of the officers.

MR. O'BRIEN said, there was some fear among the old officers that the Bill would destroy their right to superannuation under the Acts of 1873 and 1877, which allowed a superannuation of two-thirds of their yearly salary and emoluments. That was why he had asked these questions; and he was glad to find that that was not the case, and that this Bill sought to bring all without distinction under the Act of 1859.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 2 *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

FRIENDLY, &c. SOCIETIES (NOMINATIONS) BILL.—[BILL 228.]

(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Burt, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Northcote.*)

FURTHER CONSIDERATION, AS AMENDED.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 9, page 3, line 32, to leave out the words "or standing to the credit of any person in a savings bank."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment made.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 9, page 3, line 38, to leave out the words "or otherwise."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question, "That the words 'or otherwise,' stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in Clause 9, page 3, line 41, after sub-section (1), to insert the words—

"(2.) If the total sum standing to the credit of any person in any Savings Bank at his or her death exceeds, after deduction of any moneys payable under the registered or certified rules of such society for the purpose of defraying the funeral expenses of such member, the sum of fifty pounds sterling, the directors shall, before making any payment, require production of probate or letters of administration, or a letter or certificate from the Commissioners of Inland Revenue stating that no duty is payable.—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. COURTNEY said, he could not accept the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendments made.

Bill to be read the third time upon *Thursday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 264.]

SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. O'Donnell.*)

[BILL 31.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Commencement of Act).

MR. BLAKE proposed to alter the date from January to October, pointing out that if Members of Parliament were appointed on the Commission, they could not possibly attend its meetings, and be in Parliament at the same time.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, to leave out the word "January," and insert the word "October." —(*Mr. Blake.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'January' stand part of the Clause."

MR. COURTNEY said, he could not see that it would be possible, without great inconvenience, to bring the Act into operation by next October; but between now and Report he would see whether this proposal could be accepted or not, if it were now withdrawn.

MR. LEAMY said, he thought the proposal of the hon. Gentleman a fair and reasonable one; but he must point out that it was most desirable that, before any works were undertaken, there should be a full and exhaustive inquiry made by the Commission. No doubt, they would receive many applications, most of which would deserve most serious consideration; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would give the fullest consideration to this proposal. The Bill, he believed, would be received with a great deal of satisfaction by the people interested.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendments made.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Lord Lieutenant may appoint commissioners for the Irish fisheries).

COLONEL NOLAN said, he thought the proposal of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), to have four persons in addition to the Inspector, was better than that of the Government to appoint four Members of Parliament, or three Members of this House and one Peer.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Bill, as originally drawn, was drawn certainly in good faith; but it involved a very serious and a new principle. The Government would be extremely unwilling to let the fact of Membership of this House be in itself a title and qualification to a seat on a Commission to spend public money. As he understood, the clauses were not seriously contested, and he could not accept the proposal.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Several New Clauses *agreed to.*

New Clause:—

(Constitution of Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission.)

"For the purpose of aiding the Commissioners of Public Works in carrying this Act into effect, a Commission shall be constituted, to be styled the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission, consisting of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries and of one other person, to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, who shall hold his office during the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant, and shall be the chairman of the Commission, and shall have a casting vote. The person so appointed shall not be paid any salary or remuneration for his services, and shall not, by reason of such appointment, be disqualified from being elected or sitting as a Member of the House of Commons, and, if he is a Member of the House of Commons at the time of his appointment, shall not cease to be a Member by reason of such appointment.

"It shall be the duty of the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission to give such assistance to the Commissioners of Public Works as the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries have heretofore given in the execution of the Fishery Piers and Harbours Acts; and to confer with the Commissioners of Public Works relative to the works proposed from time to time to be executed out of the Sea Fisheries Fund; and generally to aid in carrying this Act into effect, in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant may from time to time direct.

"The Commissioners of Public Works, before forwarding to the Treasury the Report as to any proposed work which they are required to forward pursuant to the tenth section of 'The Fishery Piers and Harbours Act, 1846,' shall furnish to the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission a copy of the plans and specifications relating to the proposed work; and the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission may make such observations relative to such plans and specifications, for the information of the Treasury, as they think fit,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. STEVENSON said, he understood that the Government were willing to wait for the Report of the Committee on Harbour Accommodation, which was to meet to-morrow. He believed that the question of Irish harbours was to form part of their deliberations; and he could hardly reconcile that state of things with what appeared to be the intention of the Government, who, without waiting for the Report of the Committee, prescribed the constitution of the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission.

Clause *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTION.

PROMULGATION OF STATUTES.

RESOLUTION.

MR. HIBBERT said, he wished to move the Motion which stood in his name on the Paper, and which was as follows:—

"That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider and revise the

List of 1801 for the Promulgation of the Statutes, and the revised List contained in the said Report should be adopted, and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorized and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public Local and Personal Acts, according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List, and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution authorized by the said Revised List from time to time."

In moving this Resolution, he wished to say that it was intended for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations contained in the Report laid on the Table with regard to the Promulgation of the Statutes. He wished to say that the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had intended to move an Amendment as to the mode in which the Statutes were to be distributed to the House; but on receiving an explanation that the Statutes issued to the House of Lords were not more expensive than those issued unbound to Members of the House of Commons, the hon. Member had been satisfied, and had withdrawn his opposition. He (Mr. Hibbert) found that the unbound copies of the folio edition presented to the Members of this House actually cost more than the bound copies presented to the House of Peers. It would be safe to say that in future Members of the House of Commons would, on application to the proper quarter, receive bound copies in place of the unbound copies they had hitherto received.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he wished to express his sense of the good work the Committee had done; but, at the same time, he also desired to enter a protest against its being considered a final Report. He was satisfied that experience had shown that the number of copies of Statutes now supplied was far greater than it ought to be; and he thought that, after supplying Members of both Houses of the Legislature, no copies should be delivered free, except to magistrates or judicial bodies. He said this simply as showing that they did not entirely assent to the Report of the Committee.

Mr. HIBBERT said, that in the revised scheme laid before the House there were fewer copies than had been previously supplied.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY asked whether Members of the House would have the option of having the Statutes as they were, bound or unbound, delivered to them at the end of the Session?

Mr. HIBBERT replied in the affirmative.

Resolution *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 13*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament* — The Lord Sherborne, after the death of his father.

Public Bills — *Report* — Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order* (72); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (74); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5)* (100); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * (102).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) * (89); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (110), and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Railways (Continuous Brakes) (135); Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure * (6).

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—HYDE PARK CORNER.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord DE L'ISLE and DUDLEY, in rising to ask a Question as to the alterations at Hyde Park Corner, said, that, as far as he could judge, those improvements, as some people might call them, had but little effect upon the block which was of daily occurrence between Hyde Park Corner and Hamilton Place. There were one or two causes which, in his opinion, had led to this conspicuous failure. The primary cause was that the new road which started from Grosvenor Crescent terminated too abruptly at Hamilton Place, so that the enormous traffic from the North of London and from the East and West through Piccadilly was but little relieved. The open space had been left too small, and was too much cut up by roads. The only good that seemed to have arisen out of the alterations was that they had opened out Decimus Barton's Arch, probably the best work executed by that artist, and which made an admirable entrance from Piccadilly into Hyde Park. The plan he would suggest would be, perhaps, rather expensive; but, as their

Lordships were aware, they had nothing whatever to do with money in that House. The noble Lord then proceeded to sketch his plan, which was to the effect that the present new road should be taken further down, so as to commence at Halkin Street, with a branch to Grosvenor Crescent, and should terminate in Piccadilly, somewhat beyond Hyde Park Lane. To effect that, about 40 yards of the brick wall to the north-west of Buckingham Palace Gardens would have to come down, and about one-tenth of an acre would have to be taken from the Gardens. He would also take some 15 feet from the Green Park to add to the roadway in Piccadilly for some distance eastward. The Arch that was now being re-erected was placed in a most unfortunate position, for it would stand askew to all the other buildings in its neighbourhood. Its proper site would be pushed further back at right angles to Constitution Hill and directly opposite Hamilton Place. By the plan he proposed the open space would be more than double its present size; and he would like to see the space thus secured, not given up to fancy gardening, but treated architecturally in a fitting manner, so that it might be something like the Place de la Concorde at Paris. He understood that there was some intention of making a road from Curzon Street into Piccadilly, and if this were carried out it would give great facilities to the traffic. The important question, however, had to be considered—What was to become of the Duke of Wellington's Statue? He would suggest that the best thing that could be done with it would be to melt it, and from the metal some fitting monument might be made, which he would place on the new mound formed from the *débris* in the Green Park and facing Apsley House. He hoped the plan he had suggested or some alternative scheme would receive careful consideration from the Government.

LORD LAMINGTON said, he considered the alteration at Hyde Park Corner a very great improvement; but he thought it would be a great mistake to move the Duke of Wellington's Statue from this site to that suggested near the Horse Guards.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he was of opinion that a very appreciable improvement had been effected at Hyde Park Corner. That improvement, however, would be rendered greater if 18 feet or 20 feet, commencing gradually from about opposite the end of Park Lane, were added to the width of Piccadilly, to relieve the traffic coming down Hamilton Place. This would allow two continuous streams of traffic from west to east and from east to west to pass unaffected by the influx there, almost the whole of which, going, as it did, westward and southward, would be able, from the 20 or 25 feet of passage on the North thus left free for it, to diffuse itself gradually in those two directions, when it came to the wide space already provided by the recent improvement.

LORD SUDELEY said, that the question raised by the noble Lord was one that had been before their Lordships on two or three previous occasions, and he feared that he could add little to what had already been said on the subject. The noble Lord, who was a great authority on all matters of taste, agreed, he thought, that the alteration made had been, at any rate, an improvement, and that it had tended to do away with the block which existed for so many years. The noble Lord appeared, however, to think that those improvements might with advantage have been carried out on a larger scale, and criticized with some severity the plan which had been adopted. There was no doubt that, as London increased in size, the growth of the traffic would be proportionately great. When the arrangements were entered into for carrying out the alterations that point was very carefully considered, and the First Commissioner came to the conclusion that there would be ample space for any increase of traffic for a very considerable period. Hyde Park Corner had been a bugbear and a stumbling-block to a good many First Commissioners. Plan after plan had been rejected, owing to the enormous difficulties they entailed and the wide diversity of opinion which was manifested. By the adoption of the present plan all danger to life, limb, and vehicles had been removed. The noble Lord thought that a much larger piece of the Park should have been cut off and thrown into the place, and that the line from Hamilton Place to Halkin Street should have been concave instead of convex; also that the triangles which had been made should have been differently arranged, and that the Arch ought to have been placed in another position. The noble Lord thought that if that had been done, the block which now existed at Halkin Street would have been obviated. With regard to making the place larger, he had to say that to have done so would have entailed the sacrifice of a larger portion of the Park, and unless a great necessity should arise London could ill spare its trees and green corners. At Hamilton Place Corner there was no doubt a certain block; but it could not for a moment be compared with the block which used to exist at Hyde Park Corner, though, of course, it would be a benefit if it could be removed. The traffic appeared to have increased since the Arch was removed. That was believed to be due, to some extent, to that route being regarded as a short cut to Belgravia. The noble Lord thought, with many others, that if Piccadilly were widened this block would cease; but, in the opinion of the First Commissioner, and of the highest authorities, this was not so. The traffic from the east passed away to the west without any block, but the western line was and must be always, to a certain extent, blocked by the northern, and the Office of Works was convinced that the widening of Piccadilly would not prevent that. It was quite possible that if it could be arranged that the south traffic should go up Park Lane and the north traffic go down by Hamilton Place much trouble might be avoided; but that was a matter of police arrangements, and, unfortunately, the power of the police over vehicular traffic was taken from them in the year 1870. With reference to the triangles, he might state that they were placed in their present position after much careful consideration; and experiments had proved that for places of refuge they could not be better situated. At present they were in a very unfinished condition, and some further expenditure upon them was necessary. In Provincial towns patriotic and munificent citizens not unfrequently dealt with matters of this sort. It was hoped that a similar movement might be made in the present instance by some public benefactors coming forward prepared to expend such a sum upon the site as would render it worthy of London. There was no doubt much could be done to beautify it and to render it a striking ornament to the capital, though it would be impossible for much more public money to be spent upon it. The question of having a tunnel to carry the northern and southern traffic under Piccadilly had been advocated at various times; but the Office of Works, after going carefully into the matter some time ago, found that the levels would necessitate the entrance to the tunnel being very nearly at the top of Hamilton Place and the outlet very low down in Grosvenor Place, so that the project was far from easy to carry out. In any case it could only be effected by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and would not come under the jurisdiction of the First Commissioner. The noble Lord had further asked what was to be done with the Wellington Statue. He could only repeat what he stated on behalf of the Government three weeks ago—that a very responsible Committee which was appointed to inquire into the matter had recommended that the Statue should be placed opposite the Horse Guards. It had, therefore, been determined to test the suitability of that site by first erecting a wooden profile there. This having been done, the Committee would again meet, and be asked for their final opinion. Until then no action would be taken. Generally speaking, he might say that some time must elapse before the value of these great alterations at Hyde Park Corner could be fairly estimated. The First Commissioner had taken enormous interest and trouble in the matter, and was carefully watching the result of the change, and would see what further improvements could be made. In conclusion, he could only assure the noble Lord that the remarks and suggestions which he had made would be taken into the very careful consideration of the Government.

The Earl of FEVERSHAM said, that there had been a strong expression of opinion, both in this House and in the other, in favour of retaining the Statue of the Duke of Wellington on its present site. The opinion of the public was also in favour of the Statue remaining in a great centre of traffic where it could be seen by everybody. For one person who would see the Statue opposite the Horse Guards he supposed that 100 would see it where it stood at present.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) suggested that the appearance of the Statue might be improved by washing, which it sadly needed.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN wished to know whether the triangular pieces of ground were to remain in their present state unless some benevolent person came forward to pay the expenses of improvement?

LORD SUDELEY said, in reply to the noble Earl (the Earl of Redesdale), that the bronze of the Statue was found to be much corroded, and it was doubtful whether it could be improved by being coloured; and, in reply to the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown), that it was intended to make the triangular spaces as far as possible ornamental.

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES) BILL.—(No. 135.)

(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to move the second reading of this Bill, said, that the question of railway brakes had been several times before the House, and the details were given in the Returns of the Board of Trade, which were in their Lordships' hands. He would, therefore, only give a brief summary of those Returns, and point out the chief provisions of the Bill. He wished, however, first to say that he would gladly leave the question to be dealt with by Her Majesty's Government, if any assurance could be given that it would receive the attention that it urgently required. It was now 25 years since the Board of Trade issued a Circular calling the attention of Railway Companies to the inadequate amount of brake power in use; and again in 1877 another Circular was issued, in which it was stated—

> "That from a careful examination of the circumstances attending all the accidents which had been investigated by the officers of the Board of Trade for the last few years, the Board are led to conclude that three-fourths of the accidents might probably have been avoided, or their results materially mitigated if the passenger trains concerned had been provided with continuous brakes;"

and there was a statement to the same effect in the Report of Colonel Yolland upon the accident at Grimsby in May last. He said—

> "In all probability the collision would not have occurred if the continuous brake on the Midland train had been available for arresting its progress."

He did not believe there was anyone connected with, and understanding the working of, railways who would dispute these and other similar statements. But what did they find had been done in the 25 years during which the question had been under consideration? From the official Returns it appeared that out of the total stock of engines and carriages fitted at the present time with brakes about one-third only complied with the requirements of the Board of Trade, about another third complied only partially, and the remaining third ignored them altogether. From these facts he thought the conclusion might fairly be drawn, that much as it might be desired to avoid the interposition of Parliament, it could hardly be argued that it was better to leave the matter to the Railway Companies to deal with themselves. He thought it evident, from what had occurred in the past, that there was no prospect of their arriving at any satisfactory result. Uniformity of brakes was a most important and essential element when we considered the frequent instances of running powers which were given. Take, for example, the Midland, the Great Northern, and the North-Western, all fitted with different brakes, and at the same time running over the Caledonian, the North-Eastern, the North British, the Highland, and other lines—how was any brake at all to be worked? There were scarcely two railways which had brakes that would work together. This, then, as regarded uniformity, was the result of leaving it to Railway Companies themselves. It was to remedy these crying evils that he had ventured to submit the Bill. It did not propose to enforce the use of any one particular brake, but only that the brake should comply with certain conditions which, after careful consideration, the Board of Trade thought essential for safety. They were as follows:—

> "It must be efficient in stopping the train, instantaneous in action, and capable of being applied without difficulty by engine-drivers and guards; in case of accident it must be instantaneously self-acting; it must be capable of being easily put on and taken off the engine and

every vehicle of the train. Its materials must be of a durable character, so as to be easily maintained and kept in order."

These were the provisions of the 1st clause of the Bill, and embodied the principle of it. The object of Clause 2 was to produce uniformity as far as possible. Clause 3 gave a power of exemption where it might be desirable. These were the principal clauses of the Bill. The object had been kept in view of leaving as much discretion as possible to Railway Companies; but when it was remembered that almost the whole traffic of the country had been placed by Parliament in the hands of Boards of Directors, who were responsible to shareholders, there did not seem to be any just cause of complaint if Parliament interposed when it was a question of the public safety. The noble Earl concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

VISCOUNT BURY said, that he had submitted the Bill to a practical and experienced railway man, who told him there was not a brake in existence which complied with the conditions laid down. Some complied with one or two, but not one complied with all. The Railway Companies were gradually improving brakes by the experience they acquired; they had made improvements during the last two or three years; but if the Bill were passed and enforced they would be prevented making further improvements; the Board of Trade would have to select one brake out of a considerable number, and for the future the liability would be taken off the shoulders of the Railway Companies and would be thrown upon a practically irresponsible body, who could not be omnipresent. The probability was that if the Government spent millions in supplying a brake they would have to retrace their steps next year. He hoped the Government would give no countenance to this Bill, which did not seem to be very well constructed.

EARL DE LA WARR said, that the Westinghouse brake complied with the conditions laid down.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that by some Companies that brake was reported to have failed altogether.

LORD SUDELEY said, that, as there was no prospect whatever at this period of the Session of passing the Bill through Parliament, he ventured to express a hope that the noble Lord would not proceed further with it this year. As he stated the other day, the Board of Trade undertook to introduce a measure dealing with this subject next year; and although they could not pledge themselves to the details of the present Bill, they endorsed its general principle so far as it carried out the views expressed in their Circular to the Railway Companies.

EARL DE LA WARR said, that after the statement of the noble Lord, and on the understanding that the Government would introduce a measure on the same principle next year, he would ask leave to withdraw the Bill.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he did not understand the answer of the noble Lord opposite at all in the same manner as his noble Friend behind him. What he understood was that the Board of Trade disapproved of many of the details in the measure, and undertook to consider the whole subject and see what could be done during another Session of Parliament. His noble Friend, however, seemed to think that the Government undertook to introduce another Bill on the same principle. He (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) thought that that principle was a very wrong one, and that the Board of Trade should not undertake a responsibility which properly rested with the Railway Companies. He could not understand his noble Friend's remarks as to uniformity of brakes, because, while his noble Friend said it was impossible for trains with certain brakes to run on the lines of Companies which did not use them, yet the plan had been practised for many years, and therefore could not be impossible.

LORD SUDELEY said, the Board of Trade agreed with the principle of the Bill so far as it carried out the requirements of the Board; but, in the remarks he had made, he did not mean to imply that the Government Bill would be framed on the lines of the Bill of the noble Earl.

Motion and Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—DR. JORISSEN.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that the answer to the Question of which he had given Notice had been, to some extent, anticipated by the public Press; but, as it was possible there might be further information, he would ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the information contained in the telegrams of yesterday, as to Dr. Jorrissen's dismissal from the post of Attorney General to the Transvaal Government was true, or whether Her Majesty's Government had any information or notification on this subject?

THE EARL OF DERBY: I should be happy to give the noble Earl and your Lordships all the information in my power; but, as a matter of fact, I know nothing on the subject of Mr. Jorrissen except what I see in Reuter's telegrams.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 13*th July*, 1883.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Harbour Accommodation [No. 255].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [July 12] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 10) * [249]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 11)* [250].

Committee — *Report* — Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) [7-265] [*Twenty-first Night*]; Statute of Frauds Amendment [204].

Report—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [217]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [218].

Third Reading—Prison Service (Ireland) * [248], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Municipal Corporations (Borough Funds) * [159]; Public Health Acts Amendment * [161].

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—VACCINATION IN WORKHOUSES—ST. PANCRAS WORKHOUSE.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the statement of Mr. Walter Dunlop, Medical Officer of Saint Pancras Workhouse, that—

> "The inmates numbered about 2,000. He had to see every person on admission and visit about 1,000 of them daily;"

whether this gentleman is the same who asserted that he had vaccinated about 1,500 mothers within a few hours after their delivery; whether such numerous and responsible duties can be performed with sufficient care by one man; and, whether he has yet expressed, or intends to express, his sanction of the vaccination of women in workhouses within a few hours after their delivery?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, the Board have communicated with Mr. Dunlop, the Medical Officer of the St. Pancras Workhouse, and he has informed them that at a recent inquest he stated that sometimes in winter the inmates of the workhouse numbered nearly 2,000; that he had to see every person admitted into the receiving wards, and that he was medically responsible for about 1,000 inmates—namely, those in the sick, infirm, insane, lying-in, and nursery wards; which wards, with the exception of the lying-in ward, were visited by him daily. Mr. Dunlop stated that he had vaccinated 1,500 mothers at early periods after confinement. He informs the Board that the usual time within which vaccination was performed was from the 7th to the 14th day after confinement. With regard to the duties of Mr. Dunlop, it is to be observed that the severer cases of sickness are not relieved in the workhouse, but are received into the infirmary belonging to the parish at Highgate, where there is accommodation for more than 500 cases. Although there may be 1,000 inmates in the workhouse wards, which are visited by Mr. Dunlop, it is comparatively only a small proportion of this number that requires to be seen by him each day. The duties of the Medical Officer of the workhouse are, no doubt, arduous; but, having regard to the number and character of the cases visited by him, the Board at present possess no evidence that those duties are not performed with sufficient care. With respect to the Question as to whether the Board approve the vaccination of women within a few hours after delivery, a similar Question was answered on the 11th of last month, and the Board informed Mr. Dunlop of the effect of the reply given to that Question.

MR. HOPWOOD: What was the answer given?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: My impression is, that the effect of the answer was that the Local Government Board would be glad to see the risk of vaccination dissociated, as far as possible, from the necessary risk of confinement.

NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND)—SALARIES—LEGISLATION.

MR. SYNAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he intends to bring in his promised Bill on the subject of the Salaries of the Irish National Teachers?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I must say that the Irish Government have carefully considered the question, and have come to a conclusion as to what should be done. As far as I can gather, however, the opinion of hon. Members, the Bill which the Government proposed would not pass without opposition, which would effectually prevent its becoming law this Session. Having regard to this, and to the fact that the Government engage to meet the wishes of the House with regard to a measure of compulsory education in Ireland, which would naturally and properly be included in the same Bill as their proposals relating to schoolmasters, there is no choice but to postpone dealing with the matter this Session.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What course he intends to pursue in order to bring the question of the new provisional arrangement under the consideration of the House; and, whether he can say when it will be brought forward?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Mr. Speaker, the course I propose to pursue is that which is usual in such cases—namely, to obtain authority in Committee of the Whole House for charging on the Consolidated Fund a sum not exceeding the advance we have provisionally agreed to make to the Company. On that Vote the whole question must come before the House. As to the second part of the Question, I can say nothing until we approach the conclusion of the Committee stage on the two Agricultural Holdings Bills.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will give the reference to the instruments under which it is held that the Suez Canal Company has an exclusive right to cut through the Isthmus?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, the Instruments are the concessions of the Viceroy of Egypt, dated at Cario, the 30th November, 1854, and the 5th of January, 1856; the Convention of the 22nd of February, 1866, reciting them, and confirming them with certain amendments which do not touch this point; and the Firman of the Sultan of the 19th of March, 1866, ratifying that Convention. They are to be found at pages 1, 4, 34, and 44 of Parliamentary Paper, Egypt, No. 6, c. 1,416, of 1876.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to give Notice that it is my intention, when the proposition is made by the right hon. Gentleman, to divide and take the sense of the House against the proposals of the Government. I give this Notice subject in all humility to the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). I do not think the time mentioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for taking the Vote—namely, after the Committee on the two Agricultural Holdings Bills—will be very convenient, and I hope an earlier time will be given. As the matter is one of the greatest importance, and ought not to be left till the end of the Session, I shall renew the Question as to the time on Monday.

MR. GIBSON: Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer consider the expediency of printing and circulating the documents relating to this question in a separate form?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): These documents are very lengthy. They are in the Library at the disposal of hon. Members. However, I will consider whether they are worth reprinting.

MR. BOURKE: May I ask a Question of the Prime Minister, arising out of the answer given yesterday on the subject of the concession? The right hon. Gentleman will recollect that he said yesterday that it was not certain that the land which M. de Lesseps possesses is sufficient to enable him to make this second Canal; and that being so, and the land being the property of the

Egyptian Government, it would be necessary for him not to acquire a new political concession—that is the point—but to acquire land from the Egyptian Government for the purpose. That, the right hon. Gentleman said, would be a proper and primary subject of any negotiation which would be necessary for the construction of a second Canal. In the preliminary arrangement which was communicated to the House the day before yesterday by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as having been come to between Her Majesty's Government and the Canal Company, I find it is stated that Her Majesty's Government are to use their good offices to obtain the necessary concessions for the land required for the new Canal and its approaches, for the Sweetwater Canal between Ismailia and Port Said, and for the extension of the term of the original concession for so many years as will make a term of 99 years from the date of the completion of the second Canal. I want to know whether Her Majesty's Government are still of opinion that no political concession is necessary, as the right hon. Gentleman mentioned yesterday, or whether it is the fact that this new Canal can be made and new rights be given over it without any political concession?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, it appears to me to be rather a question of words than anything else. My impression yesterday was that the public believed, or a portion of the public believed, that any demands now to be made upon the Egyptian Government with regard to the privileges for the Canal Company would be analogous in their nature to the original demand, and my object was to dissipate that belief, which I think is erroneous. No doubt the word "concession" has been used in the written document, and I am not aware that I disavowed it yesterday; but I distinguish, or I meant to distinguish, between a concession, such as the original concession, and one like the present. The sale of more land to the Company might be called a concession; the extension of the term of years might, perhaps, still more properly be called a concession, the other being a transaction in the nature of business; but it was distinctly different in our opinion from the nature of the concession originally asked, which involved political questions of high order and importance.

MR. BOURKE: Are we to understand that the concession which Her Majesty's Government has bound itself to use their good offices to obtain is to be confined entirely to the question of land, and that they contend that the new Canal may be used, and dues levied upon the Canal, without any further concession either from the Porte or the Khedive?

MR. GLADSTONE: As far as we are acquainted with the matter I am not certain that the legal details have been thoroughly investigated. My belief is certainly to the effect the right hon. Gentleman has supposed, that no new concession will be required to levy dues on the new Canal; but that is a mere impression, by which I do not undertake to be absolutely bound. Undoubtedly, I apprehend that the extension of the term would be a political act, and there can be no right to levy dues beyond the term when the Canal will revert absolutely to the Egyptian Government.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman will be in a position to tell us whether it is contemplated that the new Canal should have a separate entrance and a separate exit from the present Canal, or whether it will be in the nature of a loop-line with the same entrance and exit, but giving an additional line?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Whether there will be one or two entrances will be a question which will be discussed by the engineers, who are about to consider the whole of the professional questions involved. The works ultimately decided upon will require to be approved by our Directors.

MR. BOURKE: Has any arrangement been made for a new pier at Port Said, if there is to be a new entrance?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): No, I think not; but that is an engineering question, which will have to be discussed carefully by the engineers.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The question of a separate entrance is not an engineering question merely, it is to a certain extent a political question. There is considerable difference between allowing a divergence from the Canal in the nature of a loop line, and a new departure altogether from a new point of entrance.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): The intention is that the new Canal shall be as far as possible parallel to the present one.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: But how, if the engineers had not been consulted as to these matters, have the Government been able to fix upon the estimate of £8,000,000, as being the cost of the Canal? It must have been necessary to consult engineers as to the estimate.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): That really is a Question which hardly requires an answer. In all great works a provisional estimate has to be made. In this case we have provided that the sum to be lent shall not exceed £8,000,000. When we come to details, it may cost considerably less. [An Hon. Member: Or more.] It is impossible to go into these details now.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I hope I may be allowed to add my appeal to that of my hon. Friend, that the documents to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred may be printed.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I have already promised to look into the matter.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER: I wish to ask whether at the meeting held yesterday of the Directors of the Suez Canal Company the proposals of the Government were accepted; and whether, that being so, the contract is not now complete?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I have no information on the subject of the meeting of the Company; but, even if that had been so, if my hon. Friend will refer to the Papers I have laid on the Table he would see that that does not complete the contract, because the details have to be settled in concert with Her Majesty's Government, and the approval of Parliament will be necessary.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether M. de Lesseps has contracted to finish the new Canal for £8,000,000; and whether, supposing £8,000,000 is not sufficient, Her Majesty's Government would be liable to be called upon for any further contribution to complete it, or would the Canal remain unfinished?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I am afraid the hon. Member has not read the Papers, or he would have seen that it was expressly provided that Her Majesty's Government should not be called upon to contribute more than £8,000,000, and that after that the Canal would have to be completed by the Company with money raised in another way.

Mr. W. FOWLER: I wish to give Notice that on the Motion for a grant of money to carry out the provisional Agreement with the Suez Canal Company, I shall move that no arrangement for the grant of public money for the purpose of assisting the existing Suez Canal Company to complete a second Canal will be satisfactory to this House, unless due provision is thereby made for the protection of British shipping from excessive charges, and for a due representation of British interests on the governing body of the Canal Company.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will inform the House, as to the Suez Canal, what are the total number of directors, and the number of English directors under the proposed arrangement; what are the total number of members on the Comité de Direction, and the number of English members; and what are the total number of members on the Finance Commission, and the number of English members?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The total number of Directors is 24, of whom three are English. No change is proposed under the new arrangement. The Comité de Direction is at present composed of five members, and three extra members (*membres adjoints*), one of whom is English. Eventually this English Director is to fill a vacancy. There are nine members on the Finance Commission, and one extra member; one of the members is Sir John Stokes, and the extra member is Sir R. Rivers Wilson. Under the proposed Agreement the English extra member is to become a member on the first vacancy.

MADAGASCAR—ACTION OF THE FRENCH—EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH CONSUL.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will communicate to the House the full text of the Despatch from Zanzibar which described the death of Her Majesty's Consul and the insult to the British flag at Tamatave; and, whether it is intended to send more ships of war to defend British interests at Madagascar?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No such despatch as that described by the hon. Member has been received. The information, as stated by the Prime Minister, was contained in a telegram from Colonel Miles, Acting Agent and Consul General at Zanzibar. It would be altogether premature to present Correspondence now in regard to an affair of so delicate a character while still pending. It is not the present intention of Her Majesty's Government to send more ships to Madagascar.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the despatch or telegram by which the information was conveyed was not originally sent from the commander of Her Majesty's Ship *Dryad*, and whether there was any other ship of war at present on the Madagascar coast besides the *Dryad?*

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I gave full information to the House the other day as to the ships in these waters. They are the *Dragon*, the *Dryad*, and a third ship, which was sent there by the Admiralty. Whether these ships are actually at Tamatave I cannot say; but I believe the *Dragon* and the *Dryad* are both off there at this moment.

JAMAICA—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

Captain PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the case that there is at the present moment no proper Governor of Jamaica, nor any Legislative Council, and that the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General, and the Chief Justice are all absent from the island on leave; and, if so, who is left to carry on the affairs of that colony? In putting the Question, he wished to state that it had just come to his knowledge that the Chief Justice had died since he left the Island.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: General Gamble, the officer in command of the troops, has, since the recent departure of Sir Anthony Musgrave, administered the government of Jamaica. The Assistant Colonial Secretary, Mr. Walker, who is one of the most competent officers in the Colonial Service, has been acting as Colonial Secretary. The Attorney General is on his way back after leave of absence, and will almost immediately be at his post again; but meanwhile his place has been occupied by the Crown Solicitor, Mr. Constantine Burke. I regret exceedingly to have to say that the Chief Justice died a few days ago while in England on sick leave; but during his absence there are competent Judges in the Island. There is, therefore, full and efficient provision for the carrying on of the affairs of the Colony, and it is not quite correct to say that there is no Legislative Council. After the resignation of the unofficial Members upon the Florence Vote, and pending the Report of the Royal Commission on the Finances of Jamaica, it was thought inexpedient to reconstitute it. But in the persons of the official Members there is a Council capable of acting if necessary, though it is not proposed to bring before it any business that is not urgent until its re-constitution has been considered. The Council at present consists of eight persons—namely, the acting Governor, the acting Colonial Secretary, the Surveyor General, the acting Attorney General, the Collector General, the Chief Medical Officer, the Protector of Immigrants, and the Inspector of Schools.

Captain PRICE asked whether any part of the expenses of the late Commission of Inquiry in Jamaica would be included in the Estimates; and whether Mr. Constantine Burke, who recently resigned his position on the Council, was the same that had been re-appointed, and was now acting Attorney General?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that no Vote for the expenses of the Inquiry at Jamaica would be taken in that House, as the charges of that Inquiry would be borne by the Colony. Mr. Constantine Burke, who had been appointed Crown Solicitor, was the same gentleman who had recently resigned his seat in the Legislative Council.

WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—ANNEXATION OF NEW GUINEA—AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

Mr. B. SAMUELSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the further consideration which the Government propose to give to our policy in regard to New Guinea, full weight will be given to the danger which would arise from the state of feeling in our Australian Colonies in the event of occurrences in Australasia of the nature of those which have been reported from Madagascar?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not sure that I quite understand the particular meaning which my hon. Friend attaches to this Question; but I shall answer it affirmatively, because, undoubtedly, it would be the duty of Her Majesty's Government, if any further questions should arise as to New Guinea, which is possible, to take into view before arriving at a decision all contingencies, whether political or economical, which would be likely to arise in consequence of any decision they might take. I am not sure whether my hon. Friend is quite correct in speaking of "the further consideration which the Government propose to give." I am not aware that we have made any announcement corresponding to that; but still, if communications should be received from the Colonies, they would receive careful attention.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked when Papers would be presented on the subject?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that a series of Papers was in course of consideration; but if it was desired to have the New Guinea despatch alone, he presumed there would be no difficulty in laying it on the Table.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY explained that the reason why the Papers had not yet been presented was because it was desired to include certain telegrams which had only just arrived in order to make the Papers complete.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY said, that as he had no desire to in any way impede Government Business, and as he wished to prevent the waste of time which would arise from the discussion of the Motion which stood first on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), he would not proceed with his Motion referring to Zululand; but, at the same time, he would express the hope that the Prime Minister would be able to give facilities for discussing the question in Committee of Supply on the Vote for the Zulu Resident.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he would join in the request of his hon. Friend to the Prime Minister. The matter was one of considerable importance, and an opportunity should be given for the discussion of the question, He therefore hoped the Government would take the Vote for the Zulu Resident in time for a proper discussion.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that under the circumstances, in order to facilitate the Corrupt Practices Bill, he begged to give Notice also that he would withdraw his Motion for that night.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I certainly think, Sir, the demand for a discussion on the affairs of Zululand is a reasonable one; but hon. Gentlemen know the decision that we have announced, and I believe the main desire of the House is to dispose of the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Agricultural Tenants' Compensation Bill in Committee. When we see our way at all, we will at once endeavour to make the best arrangements we can for the despatch of Business, and announce them to the House. Unquestionably it would be right that we should, to the best of our ability, make arrangements for a discussion on the affairs of Zululand, on the Vote for the salary of the Resident. With regard to the postponement by the hon. Members for Northampton and North Yorkshire, whose Motions are on the Paper for tonight, it is quite plain that either of them must have occupied the available hours; but those two Gentleman have, for the advantage of the general Business, consented to waive their positions. I hope I may appeal to the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) and the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), who had a subordinate or posterior position, if I may so call it, not to prevent the House, by raising discussions on the subsequent Motions in their names, with respect to Jamaica and Stellaland, from doing what is evidently the universal desire—namely, to dedicate the whole of to-day, if necessary, to closing the proceedings on the Corrupt Practices Bill.

CAPTAIN PRICE wished to say that his position was altogether a different one from that of the hon. Member for North Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay), as the affairs of Jamaica were in an awkward position, and he would have no other opportunity of saying anything on the subject during the present Session. At all events, he hoped the House would allow him to occupy a short time—say up to the time when the House became full, about 10 o'clock.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT begged to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that, by the withdrawal of the two other Motions, his (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's) position was no longer a posterior one, but an anterior one. The question he had put upon the Paper was of very great importance. It referred to the insults to British subjects, which had been so often repeated under the present Administration, that he did not feel justified in withdrawing it altogether. He would, however, promise the Prime Minister that he would not speak more than 15 minutes; and, as the Under Secretary for the Colonies had often told the House he knew nothing about the subject, the discussion would probably not take long.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am bound to say, Sir, that, under those circumstances, it is quite impossible to hold the other two hon. Members, who have given way, to the pledges they have given. That would be a most ungenerous act on my part. I do not think that the hon. Members opposite should take advantage of the sacrifice which other hon. Members have made, in order to bring forward Motions which, in my opinion, are not of the least urgency, and which would not have had the slightest chance of being reached if it had not been for the sacrifices to which I have alluded. As for numerous insults to British subjects, I am amazed at the forbearance of the hon. Member for Eye, who undertakes to expose the whole of them in a speech of 15 minutes. As to Jamaica, I may inform the hon. Member that as a Commission has been appointed to inquire into the state of things in that Colony, Her Majesty's Government could not be parties to discussing the subject until the Commission has made its Report.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Prime Minister whether it was not a fact that Mr. Honey was foully murdered five months ago on the borders of the Transvaal by Boers? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now raising debatable matter.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was asking for information.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that he only agreed to withdraw his Motion on the understanding that all the posterior Gentlemen would also withdraw; and he hoped the Leader of the Opposition would exercise his influence to induce his followers to withdraw.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he was quite willing to make the same sacrifice as his hon. Friend (Mr. Guy Dawnay). He would withdraw if the Prime Minister would give him another opportunity of bringing forward the subject.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would strongly appeal to the hon. Members to withdraw their Motions.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Prime Minister whether, if the hon. Members would not give way, he would not feel it necessary to have a Sitting on Saturday? [*Loud cries of* "No, no!"]

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he would join in the appeal to his hon. Friends to withdraw, and not to put themselves in the position of fighting against the general wish of the House, which was that every effort might be made to finish the Corrupt Practices Bill that night.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, that, after the appeal from the Leader of the Opposition, he would withdraw his Motion.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, in deference to the wish of the Leader of the Opposition, though with great reluctance, he would also withdraw his Motion.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked the Prime Minister to afford him some more convenient opportunity than upon the Irish Tramways Bill to bring forward his Motion as to a scheme for assisted emigration from Ireland to Canada.

MR. GLADSTONE replied, that he did not think he was in a position to enter upon this question now, but would communicate with the right hon Gentleman. He might add, assuming that the Corrupt Practices Bill was disposed of that night, the Tenants' Compensation Bill would be the First Order of the Day on Tuesday.

Mr. WARTON wished to call attention to the fact that certain new Rules made by the Judges, now on the Table, contained very important alterations in the law of pleading practice. These Rules would come into force on the 24th October, unless the House annulled them. He wished to ask the Prime Minister whether these very important Rules were to be allowed to become law without the opportunity being given to the House to pass an opinion on them?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was afraid he could not answer the Question without communication with the Attorney General. No Notice was given of the Question. He quite agreed that it was a Question that ought to be answered.

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I stated yesterday that I hoped to be able to-day to inform the House of the name of the gentleman whom it was proposed to despatch to Egypt in connection with the outbreak of cholera there. I am glad to be able to redeem that promise. Her Majesty's Government having obtained the valuable advice of Sir Joseph Fayrer, has offered the post which I described yesterday to Surgeon General William Hunter, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and Honorary Surgeon to Her Majesty. He is a gentleman of the greatest Indian experience, and formerly served in the Bombay Presidency in the service of that Government, from which, however, he has now retired. I am quite sure that the House will feel that Her Majesty's Government have been fortunate in being able to secure the advice and assistance of a gentleman of his knowledge and experience. As I am speaking on this subject, I will ask the permission of the House to read the last telegram that has been received with regard to the number of deaths from cholera. It is dated the 12th of July, and is sent by Mr. Cookson from Alexandria. It states that the number of deaths at Damietta was 40, at Mansourah 73, at Samannoud 11, and at Tantah three. There has been no return of any deaths at the other places, and that is decidedly favourable. I also wish to read two telegrams from Sir Edward Malet to Earl Granville, in order to remove a painful impression which has prevailed in consequence of some information which appeared a few days ago in certain telegrams in the daily Press. The first impression which I wish to remove is as to the accusation which appeared in the daily Press, not of this country, but of foreign countries, that the outbreak was caused distinctly by infection through the arrival at Damietta of a person from British India, who had been allowed to enter in consequence of the mistaken views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of quarantine. Sir Edward Malet telegraphed on the 11th of July in these terms—

> "Cairo, July 11, 1883, 11.25 a.m.—Following from Main, Consular Agent, Damietta, with reference to alleged importation of cholera from Bombay by Muhammed Halifa:—'Muhammed Halifa, for some years inhabitant Port Said, shipped as fireman on board steamer Timor; made voyage to Bombay, returning 18th ult., all on board in perfect health. Obtained discharge at Port Said, and commenced course of drunkenness and excess. This continued four days, when he was imprisoned by Governor of Port Said, and finally exiled by that official on 23rd ult., and arrived at Damietta on 24th, when he recommenced same course of excess, and was imprisoned on 25th. He is now at liberty, and apparently in perfect health."

Sir Edward Malet goes on to say—

> "This disposes of theory, as epidemic broke out at Damietta on the 22nd."

That statement may be taken as conclusive on the point. The next telegram from Sir Edward Malet to Earl Granville relates to the condition of things at Mansourah, and says—

> "With reference to affairs at Mansourah, President of the Board of Health informs me that the Governor of that place has not resigned; that he declares there to be sufficient food; and that he had punished vendors who had taken advantages of circumstances to sell food at an advanced rate. Orders had been given by the Minister of the Interior and General Baker to those under them to facilitate the passage of doctors, provisions, and medicines to all places attacked. The President adds that, when passenger traffic was interrupted with infected places, a special service was organized by the Railway Administration for Government use."

EGYPT—LAW AND JUSTICE—TRIAL OF AHMED BEY KHANDEEL.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he had received any information of a protest made by the counsel of Khandeel against the sentence which had been inflicted upon him by Court Martial at Alexandria, and whether the Government would endeavour to restrain the departure of Khandeel until the matter had been considered?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I stated yesterday, in reply to a very similar Question, that the Report of Major Macdonald had not been received; but I read a telegram from him to the effect that the trial, and, he believed, the sentence were perfectly fair, and, under these circumstances, it was not the intention of the Government to interfere.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 12*th July.*]

[TWENTY-FIRST NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. FINDLATER said, he rose to propose the second reading of a clause, the object of which was to provide for a prompt and inexpensive manner of settling disputed accounts relating to elections without proceedings in a Court of Law. It was customary in Ireland for the Courts of Law to refer matters of this kind to the Masters, who adjudicated upon the case in Chambers with the parties before them. It might be urged that it would be impossible for the Master or any other official to settle disputed rates of charge; but no difficulty arose in practice. For instance, with respect to printing and newspaper accounts, both the Landed Estates Court and the Bankruptcy Court settled scales of charge which were acquiesced in by newspaper proprietors and printers throughout Ireland and acted on; and a provision was made in the Bankruptcy Act of 1857 that the fees of all brokers, agents, and such persons, should be taxed and ascertained by taxing officers. He believed he had made it clear that the difficulty of carrying out his proposal would not be very great, and that the system which he advocated had worked well, and proved conclusively that the amounts due to persons in respect of election accounts could be ascertained in a satisfactory manner by the same means. He thought it a hardship that a candidate who found himself charged with items that he believed to be unfair, and not in accordance with custom, should only be able to find out the truth of the matter by means of trying out an action at law; besides, if he made a mistake in his calculations, and lodged in Court even 30*s.* less than the amount awarded by the jury, he would find himself saddled with all the costs of the action. He, therefore, proposed that as soon as the account which the candidate believed to contain exorbitant items was furnished, a notice should be served on the claimant requiring him to submit the account to a Master of one of the Courts of Common Law for the purpose of ascertaining the correct amount payable to him. Immediately on receipt of the notice either party might proceed before the Master; and no other proceedings were to be taken before he had adjudicated upon the account, and no further sum than that ascertained by him could be recovered. He thought, now that a maximum amount had been fixed for the expenses of a candidate's election, that it was most desirable that the candidate should get the best value for his money, and that one creditor should not be allowed to exhaust the greater part of that maximum by charging exorbitant fees. He would not detain the Committee further than to express a hope that the Committee would see the desirability of candidates knowing the amounts they had to pay, without being obliged to involve themselves in expensive litigation. He begged to move the clause which stood in his name.

New Clause:—

(Taxation of accounts claimed from candidates.)

"That in case the items, or any of them, of any account furnished to the election agent shall be disputed by or on behalf of the candidate as exorbitant or unfair, and not in accordance with the ordinary rates of charge for the matters comprised in such account, it shall be lawful for the candidate to require the person claiming to be paid the amount of such account by notice in writing delivered to him personally, or left at his last known place of abode, to submit the same for taxation or ascertainment to the Master of any of the superior Courts of Common Law, and immediately after the service or receipt of such notice it shall be lawful for either the candidate or person claiming such account to take out a summons before said Master to tax and ascertain the fair and just amount which should be paid in respect of the charges contained in such account, and on the hearing of said summons the said Master shall tax and ascertain the proper sum payable on foot of such account, and the decision of the said Master shall be binding and conclusive on the parties, and no sum shall be payable in respect of the charges contained in said account beyond the amount so ascertained: Provided always, That after the service of the notice, and until the ascertainment of the amount of said account in manner aforesaid, no action shall be brought on foot thereof,"—(*Mr. Findlater*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the Committee had already determined this matter in Clause 23, Sub-section 7, and, under the circumstances, he must adhere to the decision arrived at.

Mr. GIBSON said, he was sorry the Attorney General did not see his way to consider the clause of the hon. Member for Monaghan. He did not see any analogy between what had been done in the earlier part of the Bill referred to by the Attorney General and the proposal of the hon. Member. Clause 23 merely said that certain things should constitute a separate claim, and be treated accordingly. But the hon. Member opposite wished to deal with cases where the agent, the candidate, or other persons might have no dispute whatever as to the work done—cases, for instance, in which the candidate would say, "I admit your retainer, and I admit the work was done; I only dispute your price." The hon. Gentleman asked that in cases of that kind the candidate might have a summary remedy, by bringing the matter cheaply and expeditiously before a Master of one of the Superior Courts, who would settle it in about 10 minutes. Everyone knew that there was a special tariff at election times as against the candidate, and he said that if the Committee shut their eyes to that fact they would pass by a most fruitful source of extravagance. The clause of the hon. Member provided a summary means of adjudicating upon and fixing election charges; and that clause, as it appeared to him, was refused without any reason whatever. Under those circumstances, it was, of course, idle for the hon. Member to go to a Division. He would have been glad if the Attorney General had seen his way to agree to the second reading of the clause; and, in that case, he would himself have suggested some verbal changes which he believed would have made it less open to criticism. They should bear in mind that there were two rates of charges at election times, and that the very minute a man became a candidate he had to pay 20*s.* for what at other times he would only pay 10*s.* He thought it would be a wise thing, under the circumstances, for his hon. Friend to consider whether he could not re-draft the clause, after referring to the debate that occurred on Clause 23, and bring it up again on Report in a form that might commend itself to the judgment of the Attorney General.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) pointed out that in the discussion on Clause 23 it was said that if the tribunal named in the clause was to determine the matter in dispute at the option of the creditor or the debtor, the other party would have to go to the English or the Irish Metropolis.

Mr. FINDLATER said, he had mentioned already that in the Landed Estates Court only a certain price was allowed for work done; for instance, a price was fixed for a certain number of words in a line of print, and advertisements were taken by all the newspapers in Ireland at this rate of charge. The question of disputed liability on contract did not arise on his clause; that could be tried in the ordinary way in a Court of Law.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER said, the proposal to fix the charges was totally unworkable. How, for instance, could they fix in the Schedule the charge to be made for an advertisement in *The Times?* The advertisement would probably not be accepted at the price.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he agreed with what the Attorney General had said as to the difficulty of making the parties take their case before the Taxing Master in Dublin or London; nevertheless, he considered there was great weight in the proposal of the hon. Member for Monoghan (Mr. Findlater). He suggested that the Registrars of the County Courts in England and Ireland would constitute good tribunals for settling those disputed accounts. These Registrars were in the habit of hearing the value of different articles supplied in their districts, and settling the amount of costs arising out of questions of this kind. Another reason in favour of this suggestion was that it would obviate the difficulty pointed out by the Attorney General, that the parties would have to go before a Master either in London or Dublin. He believed the Amendment of the hon. Member, if it were altered in the manner he suggested, would afford a means of deciding the charges in question in a satisfactory manner.

MR. FINDLATER said, he held in his hand a Schedule in use in the Landed Estates Court, which set out the prices of the different kinds of work done.

SIR THOMAS M'CLURE said, it was desirable that there should be some easy way of settling these charges. He trusted the Attorney General would reconsider the clause, with a view to putting the settlement of disputed charges on a simple basis.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Findlater) would introduce a clause that would fix the maximum charge for printing, because within his own experience the cost of that work had gone up three-fold of late years. He did not know whether hon. Members opposite, whilst cutting down all other expenses, wished to continue the system of blandishment by means of the newspapers; he certainly did not concur in such a policy, although, of course, it was necessary that there should be an insertion in the newspapers that such a man was a candidate for election. But while the cost of business advertisements was perfectly well understood, that was not the case with electioneering advertisements, which, in the matter of price, were open to abuse. He did not, of course, complain of reasonable charges on the part of newspaper proprietors, who ran great risks, and must indemnify themselves proportionately; but his wish was to limit the total charge for advertisements, in connection with elections, to a moderate amount. He trusted the Attorney General would be able to give some assurance that he would, in this matter, endeavour to meet the wishes of the hon. Member for Monaghan.

MR. FINDLATER said, after the discussion which had taken place, he would ask leave to withdraw the clause for the purpose of bringing it forward again on Report.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had to propose a very important clause. They had been occupied for a long time in regulating the expenses at elections, and he thought they had, in some cases, succeeded in reducing them to a very low point. Hon. Members were aware that the costs in connection with Election Petitions were in a much more unsatisfactory state than the costs of elections, notwithstanding the proposals that had been made to regulate them. Now, he thought it would be following the principle of the Bill if a maximum were established for Petition costs; and, accordingly, he proposed that the costs given against the sitting Member, or against the Petitioner in any Election Petition, should not exceed twice the maximum of the election expenses allowed under the Bill. He believed that if the Committee saw fit to adopt that proposal, it would effect a very considerable reduction of the cost of Election Petitions. He begged to move the clause which stood in his name.

New Clause:—

(Maximum of costs in petitions.)

" The costs given against the sitting Member or against the petitioner in any election petition shall in no case exceed twice the maximum allowed under this Act as the maximum for the election expenses of the constituency to which the petition relates,"—(*Colonel Nolan*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the trial of an Election Petition, as a rule, lasted many days, during which time counsel would have to be paid for every day. Under those circumstances it would be impossible to keep the costs down, and the effect of the clause would be that the balance over the amount allowed would have to be paid by the candidate himself. It was impossible to apply the arbitrary rule proposed by the hon. and gallant Member, because there was no connection between the costs of an Election Petition and the expenses of an election. Under the circumstances, he could not accept the clause.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he would suggest that the difficulty would be met by omitting the words "or against the petitioner," which would simply limit the costs against the sitting Member.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he thought it was a pity not to accept this clause. The Attorney General said, if counsel were present every day, the expense of thousands of pounds could not be avoided. The object of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway was not to fix an amount for the costs of a Petition, but to fix a maximum beyond which they could not go.

Mr. DALY said, the clause had this advantage, that it would enable a man to petition against an election at a reasonable expense. If the clause were not adopted, the sitting Member might be able to prevent his opponent obtaining his right. He thought it a most valuable proposal on the part of the hon. and gallant Member.

Colonel NOLAN said, the Attorney General stated that a man must engage the best counsel to defend his honour.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I said you may engage any counsel you like, but that if you engage him, you must pay him.

Colonel NOLAN said, that was sufficiently near for his argument. If a man engaged the best counsel, he understood the Attorney General to say that his honour would be pretty safe; but that otherwise it would not be so. He (Colonel Nolan) thought that the purse of the candidate was much more in danger than his honour. But the effect of a maximum would be that the Judges would make the Petitions cheap.

Mr. MONTAGU SCOTT said, he had little doubt that every Member returned to the next Parliament would have to defend himself against a Petition. He had no doubt the Attorney General desired to make elections cheaper; and, therefore, he presumed he would be willing to say that a candidate should be able to take his seat in that House without being ruined. A Friend of his at present in the House, who was a Petitioner, gained the suit, the costs, £18,000, were given in his favour, yet he was £4,000 out of pocket. Now, if there were a maximum beyond which the parties could not go they would have to minimize their expenses; they would say to themselves—"We will get the best counsel we can, but only call those witnessed who are important." It was perfectly monstrous that a man should be liable to be mulcted in these enormous sums of money. If there was a maximum, that maximum would not be exceeded, because the parties to a Petition would call all their best and important witnesses, and not put the frivolous witnesses in the box. He trusted his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) would go to a Division.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 42; Noes 150: Majority 108.—(Div. List, No. 199.)

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he rose to move the following new Clause:—

(Churches not to be used for election purposes.)

"The use, for the purpose of promoting the election of a candidate in any election, of any church or of any chapel certified as a place of meeting for religious worship in England or Ireland, shall be an illegal practice under this Act."

He brought up this clause at the request of the Attorney General. [The Attorney General: No, no!] Perhaps he should say he had postponed dividing upon the point in Committee at the Attorney General's request; and he hoped it would receive not only the approval of Her Majesty's Government, but the general approval of the Committee. He need hardly say that he moved the clause in the interest of all the religious denominations in England; and he hoped that when he had advanced his arguments his hon. Friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) would be one of his most strenuous supporters. The object of the clause was to protect the sacred buildings of England from the impropriety and irreverence, he might almost say the immorality, which was unhappily almost always associated with electioneering. Not long ago a candidate addressed from the pulpit of one of these sacred buildings a large audience in a very racy speech, and immediately afterwards he, in the pulpit, lighted his cigar, and his electioneering congregation followed suit. Amidst the fumes of tobacco, a number of very highly-coloured, violent, and strongly-flavoured speeches were delivered. Within a few hours that same building was used for the most sacred offices of religion. ["Where?"] He maintained that this was a scandal. ["Where?"] Oh, he was not going to bring any personal or local matter into the consideration of this question. It was far too grave and serious. To save our religious buildings from such desecrations, he moved this clause. At election times even the best of them were a little uncharitable. If they must speak evil of their neighbours, would it not be better to avoid doing so in buildings dedicated to good will and kindliness towards men? In this Bill they had attempted to strike a blow at spiritual influence; and he appealed to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General whether, if they opened the doors of churches and chapels for electioneering meetings, and for use as committee rooms, they would not be, at the same time, opening the door for the exercising of spiritual influence in its very worst form? This clause covered the case not only of the consecrated buildings of the Church of England, but it covered the case of established places of public worship belonging to other denominations. He used the word "established," because the buildings to which his clause related were those which were certified and registered by the State. The certification and registration brought with them great privileges, exemptions, and protection. It took them out of the category of private buildings. These buildings had been privileged in consideration of one thing, and that was that they should be used for religious worship, and for that alone. For instance, by the 3 & 4 *Will.* IV. *c.* 30, it was provided that a meeting house used for the purpose of religious worship should be exempted from the payment of rates. That meant that every ratepayer in the district paid so much more money in order that these buildings might be free. Thus they were supported, to a certain extent, out of the public funds. They were supported in this way for one reason, and that was that they should be retained exclusively for public worship. If the Committee refused to pass this clause, they would allow the buildings to be used for purposes wholly alien to the purpose for which they were originally built, and for purposes which must be objectionable to a great number of persons. Then, again, the 18 & 19 *Vict.* *c.* 81, provided—

> "Whereas it is expedient that all Places of Religious Worship, not being Churches or Chapels of the Established Church, should, if the congregation should desire, but not otherwise, be certified to the said Registrar General."

Those buildings had been willingly placed by the congregations under the yoke of the State. They had been placed under State protection; and, what was more, the actual ownership in them, in almost every case, was vested in the official trustee of charity lands—that was to say, in a State-paid officer. Surely buildings of that class ought not to be used in a way which must be alien and objectionable to one or other of the Parties in the State. The registration and certification brought with them other great privileges—for instance, by the 10th section of 17 *Vict.*, the places in question were exempted from the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Act. They were made by the certification and registration places for the solemnization of marriages; they were used for the purpose of exhibiting public notices, and registers of births, deaths, and marriages at those places were kept at Somerset House by the State. The Acts of Parliament he had cited placed the buildings he referred to in a very different category from those buildings which were used only for private religious worship; and therefore it would be quite inapplicable, in their case, to maintain the doubtful doctrine that a man might do what he liked with his own. This clause would not extend to Scotland. The Scotch had peculiar ideas; and, therefore, he had thought it better not to include Scotland in the provisions of his clause. He asked the Attorney General to assent to his clause on three grounds—the first was the protection of places for religious worship from irreverence; the next was to carry out the principle of controlling and preventing and extinguishing spiritual influence; and the third was that the places which were certified by the State for one purpose, and which were exempted from rates on condition that they were used for that purpose, should not be used for a totally different purpose.

New Clause (Churches not to be used for election purposes,)—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton,*) *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he would remind the Committee that they had had the pleasure of hearing the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) once before, as he had used the self-same arguments on the clauses referring to committee rooms. The hon. Gentleman had said he had taken that course at his (the Attorney General's) request; but there could not possibly be a greater mistake.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, what he had stated was that he hoped to have the hon. and learned Gentleman's approval.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley Leighton) had also stated that he did not mean to include Scotland in the provisions of the clause. He (the Attorney General) presumed that that was in obedience to the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for South Ayrshire (Colonel Alexander), who, rising from his (Mr. Stanley Leighton's) side of the House, had said he could not see the slightest harm in meetings being held in places of worship as was the case in Scotland. As a matter of fact, the Scotch had no other places of meeting, and it was found that there was not the slightest injury done by their assembling in such places. He (the Attorney General) could not see why, if it was not a desecration in Scotland, it should be a desecration in England. [An hon. MEMBER: Or in Wales.] It was impossible for the Committee to tell a clergyman what he should say to his congregation. For instance, hon. Members opposite would not for a moment contend that a clergyman at Northampton should be prevented from denouncing, if he chose, Mr. Bradlaugh. He did not consider that they ought to interfere with the right of religious bodies to conduct their places of worship as they thought fit; and, considering that they had discussed the matter before, and that they had a very hard day's work before them, he respectfully asked the Committee to come to a speedy determination upon this point.

MR. RAIKES said, he did not intend to speak at any length upon the question; but, as he did not take part in the discussion on a somewhat similar Amendment which his hon. Friend the Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) had moved some days ago, he might be permitted to make a few remarks. The hon. and learned Gentleman had not answered one point that had been made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Shropshire—namely, that the buildings referred to were relieved from the payment of rates on the ground that they were to be exclusively used for religious purposes. He should like to know whether the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would hold that an election meeting was so exclusively a religious purpose as to entitle the place in question to exemption from public rates? He should be glad to know whether, in the event of any overseer attempting to rate a Dissenting chapel used for the purpose of a political meeting, it would be held by any legal authority that a political meeting was a religious meeting? A meeting might have been held in a chapel at Northampton for the promotion of the election of Mr. Bradlaugh. Would that be held to be so exclusively a religious purpose as to exempt the building from any contribution to the public burdens? Reference had been made to the case of Wales. Now, he and the Attorney General might be allowed to differ on the question as to the use of chapels in Wales for political purposes. As a matter of fact, the chapels of Wales were so used for the exclusive purposes of one political Party. Some little time ago a Dissenting chapel was built on land immediately adjoining some property of his (Mr. Raikes') own; and he was asked whether he would lease to the trustees an adjoining piece of land, on which to build a Sunday school and mission room in connection with the chapel? He said at once that he should be extremely happy to let them have the land at almost absolutely no rent—at a peppercorn rent—if they would undertake that they would not use the room for political purposes; and the negotiation immediately fell through. This was only another illustration of the use which so-called places of religious worship were put to in Wales. He hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Stanley Leighton) would take the sense of the Committee on the matter; because, at the present time, there was certainly a strong feeling which prevented members of the Church of England from devoting their churches to political purposes. [Mr. DODDS: Oh, oh!] He did not believe that the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) would find any clergyman of the Church of England in his own borough ready to open his church for any political meeting. The feeling of the members of the Church of England was very strongly opposed to the use of their churches for such purposes; and he had very great doubt as to whether it would be a legal use so to appropriate those churches. It was, therefore, extremely unfair that other religious bodies should be allowed exclusively, as they pleased, to turn their buildings, which enjoyed exemptions on account of their religious character, into committee rooms or meeting houses in support of any particular candidate. This clause would certainly tend to remedy what was an admitted injustice, and to promote considerably the freedom of elections from undue influence.

MR. WARTON said, they were all very much obliged to the Attorney General for the lead he had given them in going through the clauses of that Bill. He did not think, however, that they were equally obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman when he spoke of the hard day's work that was in front of them, and hinted to the obedient majority behind him that discussion on this subject was to be suppressed. There was good reason why the Liberal Party should want to suppress certain subjects in that discussion. There was a great difference between the Liberal Party and the Tory Party on that question. The Tory Party preferred religion to politics, and to reverence its houses of God; but the Liberal Party preferred politics to religion, and to desecrate its religious places. Every church in Wales was turned into an election meeting house. The Church of England, on the contrary, held aloof from all political Parties. It did not attach itself to one Party or the other. On the other hand, the Liberal Party always boasted that the Nonconformists were its backbone; and no doubt it was on that account that the Government looked with favour upon the use of Dissenting chapels in Wales for political purposes. As a matter of fact, in Wales a spiritual despotism prevailed to an extent that was utterly unknown in the Church of England, or even in the Church of Rome. He knew that men had actually withdrawn their names from a committee because they had been threatened with damnation by the wretched Welsh ministers if they allowed their names to remain on the committee list. He (Mr. Warton) hoped the point so ably stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) would be taken advantage of some time or other. He hoped that the Excise would awake to the importance of settling this great question in Wales, and that the so-called places of religious worship in the Principality would be rated as they deserved. The Welsh people had little regard for the sacredness of their chapels, and he was inclined to remind them of what the highest authority had said—

> "My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves."

MR. RICHARD said, he differed entirely from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport who had just addressed the Committee. He considered that politics were not so impure and unclean as the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to imagine; indeed, he (Mr. Richard) thought it would be better for many of them if they made politics a part of their religion. He did not consider that to hold political meetings in a place dedicated to public worship was any desecration of such a building at all. Some hon. Gentlemen who had addressed the Committee had been kind enough to take the chapels of Wales under their guardianship; but if Wales had not sent to the House of Commons such a large preponderance of Liberal Members they would not have heard so much of this question. He doubted whether hon. Gentlemen who railed so much against the state of things in Wales had ever attended a Welsh chapel on the occasion of the holding of a political meeting, because it was evident they did not understand the manner in which meetings in these places were conducted. He (Mr. Richard) had attended many of these meetings, and, even in the midst of the excitement of a contested election, he had never seen anything that was not perfectly orderly and discreet, or anything that would throw discredit upon any place. He hoped the Government would not listen to this proposal.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 60; Noes 155: Majority 95.—(Div. List, No. 200.)

Mr. GIBSON said, that in the absence of his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) he would move the clause which stood in his right hon. Friend's name—namely—

(Charges of returning officers.)

"The maximum charge to be made by the returning officer for constructing a polling station, with its fittings and compartments, in England shall be five guineas, in the place of seven guineas named in 'The Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Act, 1875,' Schedule 1, Part 1 and Part 2."

This was a very short clause, and hon. Members would see at a glance what it meant. It was obvious that it was very desirable to diminish Returning Officers' expenses, if it could be fairly done. The expenses of constructing polling stations were found in every election; and, therefore, it was proper to examine the matter with some care. The subject was discussed by a Committee in 1875, and the greater part of the evidence was to the effect that five guineas was an ample sum to give to a Returning Officer for the construction of a polling station, and it was only on the casting vote of the Chairman that the sum was enlarged to seven guineas. He (Mr. Gibson) was informed that subsequent experience and examination had gone to show that five guineas would be ample to give to a Returning Officer.

New Clause (Charge of returning officers,)—(*Mr. Gibson,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he shared in the views of his right hon. and learned Friend, and was anxious to do everything he could to lessen the election expenses; but he was afraid that it was absolutely impossible to make the reduction which the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed. All Returning Officers agreed that it was exceedingly difficult to carry out the present scale, which was quite low enough; and he would mention an instance in which the expenses incurred by the Returning Officer had been considerably more, and were afterwards paid by the candidates.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he was sorry that the Attorney General could not accept this Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman said he had had communication with the Returning Officers, who said that the limit was not too high; but his (Mr. Rylands's) experience led him to the belief that if they put a lower limit the work would be still done. Unfortunately, the candidates were not able to check the matter themselves when the time came for paying the expenses of the Returning Officer. The Attorney General would be aware that candidates were often embarrassed by various considerations, and that they were unable to take measures for the protection of their own interests. They found themselves bound to submit. Personally, he had had two distinct experiences. His first experience of the Returning Officers' charges was in the borough of Warrington, and was of such an extraordinary character that his hon. Opponent (Sir Gilbert Greenall) and himself were driven to take the unusual course of saying that they would strike £100 off the bill, and they succeeded in getting it reduced by that sum. But in the borough of Burnley, which he now represented, the Returning Officer's charges were of a most moderate description. Everything was managed, not only in an economical, but in a most efficient manner. It would thus be seen that there was a very great difference in the way in which Returning Officers acted in regard to election expenses. It was a sort of local expenditure, which did not come out of the pocket of the Returning Officer; and, therefore, some gentlemen were very careless indeed as to the arrangements they made for taking the poll, and in providing the other requirements connected with an election. He had no doubt that if the expenditure was charged upon the rates, instead of being borne by the candidates, the cost of the polling stations and the other arrangements would be very much less; and if the right hon. and learned Gentleman went to a Division he should certainly support him. He was of opinion that great advantage would result from limiting the expenditure. The Returning Officers would then cut their coats according to their cloth, and would have very little difficulty in keeping the expenditure within the limit specified in the Act.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he very much doubted whether, if these expenses were charged upon the rates, the Returning Officer would cut them down, because the Returning Officer would be in no degree responsible to the ratepayers, and when authorities were not responsible to the ratepayers he suspected they would be quite as ready to make the ratepayers pay as anybody else. What he would venture to suggest was this. The Attorney General said that the present maximum of 7 guineas was by no means too high in some cases; but there were cases in which the polling station was held in a schoolroom, where a sum of 7 guineas would, by no means, be required. Might not the hon. and learned Gentleman meet the matter by enacting the maximum average charge should be 5 guineas, so that if there were 10 polling stations a total sum should be allowed of 50 guineas. But when the amount came to be paid it would be found that while one polling station cost 5 guineas others would cost less.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he knew a great deal about this subject, and had received many communications in regard to it. No Returning Officer was allowed to charge more than the actual expenditure. This maximum was for the construction of a polling station. If a schoolroom was used it would be right to say to the Returning Officer—"You have only spent £2 in fitting up the schoolroom, and you shall not have anything beyond that sum." But if he contracted to build a polling station such as the old-fashioned polling-booth, then the work could not be done for less than 7 guineas. There were many items in the Schedule which he was afraid would be considered too low, and in regard to this particular item, he did not think he could with safety allow their Returning Officers to charge a less sum. On the occasion which he had mentioned the ratepayers had to pay for the work done. It was done as economically as possible, but it cost £300 more than the sum allowed. He had received hundreds of letters upon the subject, and he could not consent to any further reduction.

MR. GIBSON said, that in the absence of his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who was the author of the Amendment, he thought the best course he could take was to withdraw the Amendment, so that his right hon. Friend might bring it up again on Report, if he considered it desirable that the modification suggested by the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) should be adopted.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he begged to move the following Clause:—

(Summary jurisdiction during the election.)

"Any person found guilty of a corrupt practice under the provisions of this Act shall, on summary conviction, be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months, or to the payment of a fine not exceeding fifty pounds. In any borough or district in which a stipendiary magistrate has been appointed, such case may be heard before such stipendiary magistrate between the issuing of the writ for an election and the close of the poll. In any borough or district in which no stipendiary magistrate has been appointed, and in every county or division of a county, the Lord Chancellor shall appoint a barrister of seven years' standing to act as the magistrate to hear and determine any complaint preferred under this Act, between the issuing of the writ and the closing of the poll, at any election for such county or borough, and such barrister shall have, for the purposes of such hearing and determination, all the powers of a petty sessional court."

The object of the clause had been on more than one occasion discussed during the proceedings of the Committee, and during the discussion it had met with something like general approval from all parts of the House. He, therefore, appealed to the Committee with some confidence, although he was aware, at the same time, that there were very great difficulties connected with the question. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General a short time ago mentioned that, with respect to Election Petitions, he regarded the expenditure which they involved as of an enormous and ruinous character. The scheme which he (Sir William Hart Dyke) proposed was, to a certain extent, in competition with the Bill. He believed that he did offer adequate protection to the candidate who wished to fight a fair election, and who was unwilling to incur a vast and ruinous expenditure in a Petition. He did not think he could better show the meaning and object of the clause than by quoting a case. He would assume that an election was proceeding in a borough, and that a local candidate, who was well known in the borough, and was deservedly popular, and who had the good graces of the electors and every prospect of success, was standing against an opponent who was a rich man, who had only lately settled in the borough, and was, therefore, not as well known as himself. On the day of election, towards 12 or 1 o'clock, it would be found that a certain class of electors were going somewhat wrong, and it would be discovered that many voters who had promised to support the local candidate were voting for the other side. What course was the local candidate to pursue under these circumstances? The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General said he would have the protection of the vast penalties imposed by the Bill; but he did not think the local candidate would approve of a protection which involved him in the grievous expense and responsibility of presenting a Petition. The penalties under the Bill were very severe indeed, and very properly so; but if the object was to give immediate relief to the candidate he found himself placed in a difficult and dangerous position. They all knew the pressure that was put upon a candidate under such circumstances. His friends came to him and said—"You are quite safe from a Petition, because the other side have not got their hands clean, and they dare not petition against you. Therefore, you must allow your supporters to go and do likewise. This scheme would, he thought, prevent what must happen in the future as it had often happened in the past—namely, a system of squaring Petitions. He believed that under so severe an enactment as this Bill corrupt practices would even be more frequently resorted to in the future than they had been in the past, because people would be disinclined, as far as possible, to bring those severe penalties to bear. It was acknowledged on all hands that the great difficulty in regard to the clause was the tribunal by which it was proposed to carry it out. His position had been by no means an easy one in regard to the tribunal; but he had been challenged to frame the best tribunal he could, and whether he had succeeded or not he had done his best. He had endeavoured, at all events, to frame a simple tribunal. The tribunal which he proposed to hear cases of this kind was either the stipendiary magistrate, where such existed, or, if they had no stipendiary magistrate, a barrister of seven years' standing, which he believed to be the same qualification as that for a stipendiary magistrate. He did not know whether that tribunal would meet with the approval of the Attorney General; but he believed that it grappled with many objections which had previously been urged against his proposal. His hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had criticized it in a friendly but rather a severe spirit, and had said that it meant that both sides were to commence an election by taking each other into custody. He believed that people who were earnestly engaged in fighting their own battles at a contested election would have too much to do to raise frivolous objections, and his object had been to obtain a non-political tribunal. It had seemed to him that the objections raised to a tribunal constituted of the Justices of the Peace was a valid one—namely, that they would be political partizans, and he had done the best he could to meet that difficulty. As the question had been discussed on several occasions, he would not weary the Committee by recapitulating the advantages of this proposal and the objections to it; but he would leave it to the tender mercies of the Committee. He had had some experience in electioneering matters, and he believed that the clause would work very well in regard to the objects they had in view. It would afford ample protection to the candidate who wished to fight fairly and honestly; and as the Bill was full of pitfalls, he commended the proposal on account of its simplicity. It simply affected the corruptor who at the moment was caught red-handed, and who would be liable to be taken before a tribunal at once and punished on the spot. He made the proposition in perfect good faith, and he submitted it now for the consideration of the Committee.

New Clause (Summary jurisdiction during the election,) — (*Sir William Hart Dyke,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was sure that the proposal was brought forward in good faith, and the only question in his mind was whether it afforded a sufficient remedy. When the matter was discussed before the difficulty pointed out was a difficulty of finding the proper tribunal. He was afraid, if the Committee accepted this clause, that they would find that the tribunal was not a very satisfactory one. It would be necessary to employ about 400 of these gentlemen, and every time a General Election took place the Lord Chancellor would have to select 400 barristers of seven years' standing to do the work. What the Lord Chancellor would say to that he did not know; but he very much doubted, if his noble and learned Friend were to ask all those barristers who were willing to give up their proper and usual functions, that he would be able to find barristers fit to perform judicial duties, or that 400 barristers of seven years' standing would be always forthcoming. But suppose that they were. Probably the average time between the issue of the Writ and the election would be about 10 days. Then, what was to happen? Let him take his right hon. Friend in his own constituency, that of Mid Kent. If a barrister of seven years' standing was sent down there, where was he to go to? He must go to some place or other, and there he would have to wait. What was he to do? Was he to walk about the streets? If so, he thought he would have very little chance of finding out what was going on. Moreover, as far as he (the Attorney General) could judge, the adoption of this clause would entail upon the candidates an expenditure of £40,000, and a good deal of it would be expended for the purpose of sending persons into perfectly pure constituencies where there had never been any corrupt practices resorted to. Let them take the case of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Where was the barrister to go to? Was he to go down somewhere to remain until he was telegraphed to go somewhere else where he might be wanted. Dealing with the matter practically, he did not believe that they would often be able to catch a briber red-handed. If that were possible they could always arrest them and take them before a magistrate, and prefer a charge of bribery against them; but he had never heard of such a thing taking place. If they caught the bribers at all they did not catch them red-handed, and nobody had ever yet thought of taking a person before a magistrate and charging him with bribery. Then, again, according to the suggestion of his right hon. Friend, the moment the poll was closed these barristers of seven years' standing were to go back again; and, therefore, they would be away just at the time when, if any information was to be obtained at all, it would most probably ooze out. Now, before they were asked to pay men to go down to pure constituencies for this purpose, he thought they ought to show that they would get their money's worth for the services rendered. While he regretted that they had not yet been able to find a satisfactory tribunal, and although he knew that his right hon. Friend was actuated by the very best intentions, the tribunal he had proposed was certainly not a satisfactory one. It would be unnecessary in pure constituencies to have such a tribunal, and it would be ineffective in corrupt constituencies, because bribers were not so easily detected as the right hon. Baronet imagined.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, there was great force in what the Attorney General had stated as to the expense and the difficulty of carrying the proposal out in its entirety; but he thought they ought to endeavour to create a tribunal of some sort or other to deter persons from committing these illegal practices, and to impose an adequate punishment for the offence when it was brought home to the briber. He thought that, at all events, the matter was well worth consideration; and if the Attorney General did not see his way at the present time to appoint Justices of the Peace where there were no stipendiary magistrates, at all events let him give the power now asked for in places where there were stipendiary magistrates, and where flagrant cases occurred at the time of a General Election. It would have this great advantage—that it would enable them to deal with those carpet baggers, who were always found at election times, who went down from nobody knew where, and who disappeared immediately the election was over. It was most desirable that they should catch such men while they were engaged in their nefarious practices, and not wait until an indictment could be preferred. He thought, if the Attorney General could see his way, it would not be difficult to insert a clause in the Bill to provide that where stipendiary magistrates existed, and where the district comprised a population of not less than 10,000, the stipendiary magistrate should have the power of checking bribery on the spot, and of dealing with persons who were engaged at an election time for no other purpose than that of committing illegal practices —those "men in the moon" of whom so much had been heard.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the clause certainly recommended itself to his mind, although he thought that the criticism of the Attorney General with regard to barristers of seven years' standing was quite warranted. He would, however, like to know if it were not possible to give the power to the County Court Judges? There were County Court Judges all over the country, and if it were possible to snap up these persons, take them before the County Court Judges, and secure their summary punishment, it would be beneficial to the community generally.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, that the Attorney General's criticism of the details of the clause had not produced in his mind the impression that during the 12 months the Government had had for considering what the tribunal ought to be that they had devoted any serious consideration to the question. Why should it be assumed that it was necessary in all these cases that the tribunal should be brought to the offender—why not bring the offender to the tribunal? Surely a tribunal might be created for a large area surrounding a borough. Why should it be necessary to adhere verbally to the terms of the clause, that no case should be determined, except it happened to be a complaint arising out of acts committed between the issuing of the Writ and the closing of the poll? In a borough with a stipendiary magistrate, there would be no ground for anything of the kind. He wished that more attention had been paid by the Government to the very valuable suggestion made by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) when the clause was last discussed by the Committee—namely, that the magistrates of a county should appoint to act on such a tribunal a certain number of persons by rota who should be disqualified from taking part in the election.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it seemed to him that this proposal was intimately connected with Section 40 of the Bill, which made provision for a Special Commissioner to go down to a borough and try persons charged with corrupt or illegal practices, or illegal payment, employment, or hiring, within six months after the election occurred. He thought the two cases were intimately connected. The Attorney General had given overwhelming reasons why it would be absurd to send down 400 barristers of seven years' standing to the pure constituencies in the Kingdom. It would be most absurd to send down such a person to watch his (Sir George Campbell's) constituency; because he felt quite certain that he would not find out anybody breaking the law. The principle of the provision contained in Section 40 was that when the Public Prosecutor had reason to suppose that any corruption or malpractices had been going on, he should have power to send down a Special Commissioner to try summarily any offence of that kind. He hoped the Attorney General had not altogether thrown out of consideration the possibility of restoring Section 40 in some form or other, and that there would be some tribunal provided by the Bill by which offences of this kind would be tried in a summary way, instead of by the presentation of a formal Election Petition. He thought that in that way the difficulty suggested by the hon. and learned Gentleman of finding 400 capable barristers would be got over; because, except in special cases, it would be found that the Special Commissioner would be quite sufficient.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he regretted the change of tone in the Attorney General's statement from that which he had adopted when the subject was before the Committee on a previous occasion. He understood then that his hon. and learned Friend entirely approved of the proposal, and that the only difference had reference to the nature of the tribunal. If the Committee would read the clause a second time, it would then be in their power to discuss the details, and especially to see whether it would be necessary to have these 400 barristers. It might be possible to confine the clause to the polling day, and to provide that it should not have effect except upon the requisition of the Returning Officer, who might have good reason to suppose that corrupt acts were likely to take place on a polling day, and that the presence of some authority with power to deal with such cases might be necessary. All these suggestions might enable the Committee to cut down the wide nature of the proposal as it now stood, and they might amend the clause after it was read a second time. But as to the nature of the thing, he did not think there could be two opinions that it was desirable to have some ready mode of putting down corruption at the moment it was taking place. He did not agree with the Attorney General that corruption of this kind did not take place on the polling day; on the contrary, he was of opinion that it was most frequently resorted to on the day of election.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Nobody ever said that it did not take place on the polling day. What I said was, that it was never found out.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, that experience taught them that in a borough where serious corruption prevailed, there was a "man in the moon" whom nobody knew personally in attendance. It was known very well where his head-quarters were; and although it was known very well that bribery was going on, there was no power to check it except by the cumbrous form of laying information before the magistrates and an indictment. His right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) desired something to be done at once, in order to put an end to this practice—something that should be done then and there. He thought that under such a clause as this, not only would they put a stop to the proceedings of such persons, but that they imposed such a check on the corruption going on as would be most valuable to the candidate who was anxious to conduct the election upon pure principles. So far as the expense of the tribunal was concerned, he thought it would be quite worth while to consider whether it might not be added to the expense of the Returning Officer rather than such a power should not be exercised at all. He believed that if a clause were inserted in the Bill to carry out this object, an effort would be made on both sides to put an end to these corrupt practices. It was continually urged that the other side was doing so and so, and that unless they consented to do the same thing their election would be gone. That was the sort of fulcrum on which many had been hoisted; and he thought a provision of this nature would not only check corruption, if it happened to be going on, but in many cases would prevent it from being resorted to. He should, therefore, vote for the second reading of the clause, although he admitted that it might require amendment in some of its details subsequently.

MR. J. R. YORKE said, he wished to join in the appeal to the Attorney General to allow the clause to be read a second time. He should be very sorry if the Bill were to pass without any provision of this kind. He thought that one or two cases of summary punishment under the clause would have far more effect in deterring persons from resorting to corrupt practices than the somewhat remote terrors they were endeavouring to hold out in order to bring persons engaged in conducting an election into something like a sensible frame of mind. He would appeal to his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, if he thought he could not deal with the question at the present moment, to bear in mind that there was another stage in which the subject might be brought up, and his hon. and learned Friend might promise to give it his serious consideration. He thought the Attorney General had hardly done so at the present moment. He did not think the mind of his hon. and learned Friend appeared to have matured much in regard to the only serious difficulty in the matter—namely, the tribunal. Therefore, the matter might be deferred until the Report, in order to see if it were not possible to get rid of this difficulty.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he could assure his hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke) that he and others, who had accused the Attorney General and himself of not giving the matter their serious consideration, were doing them a very great injustice. He could not tell the number of times his hon. and learned Friend and himself, since the subject was first raised, had discussed the matter, and tried to see if they could not make some suggestion to meet the difficulties which had been pointed out. It would appear, however, that he and his hon. and learned Friend seemed to be credited with some superhuman powers, which, he confessed, they did not possess. This matter had now been before the Committee for a month or more. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had promised to do his best to put before the Committee a practicable and working scheme, and they had promised most carefully to consider any scheme which the right hon. Gentleman might suggest; but he believed the right hon. Gentleman had given up the matter in despair. Every hon. Member who had spoken upon the clause, including his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard), had admitted that the scheme proposed by it, as it now stood, would not work. Then, if the whole of the talent on the opposite side of the House, anxious as hon. Members were to find a scheme that would really work satisfactorily, had been unable to do so, surely it might be suggested that it was feasible that the task was too difficult altogether and almost insuperable. He was afraid that that really was the case. The right hon. Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) suggested that barristers of seven years' standing should be sent down; and, as far as he could see from the proposal made, they were to go down gratis, for he did not perceive that any provision was made for remunerating them.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, that no one but the Government themselves could provide for a question of remuneration.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) remarked, that that, nevertheless, was the clause they were asked to read a second time, and it was not usual to read a clause providing for the appointment of an official without something being said as to his remuneration. He did not think the House had ever yet been asked to appoint an official, and expect him to work gratis. One suggestion had been made which was the one that was most likely to be practicable—namely, that the County Court Judges should be entrusted with the duty. He did not know how far that suggestion would be acceptable to the Committee. It was the first time it had ever been proposed that they should be invested with criminal jurisdiction. No doubt, it was a proposal worthy of consideration. The only difficulty in the matter was that they were limited in number, and that they had to go through more counties than one. Some of the County Court Judges had to discharge duties in three or four counties, and had to traverse districts in which there were a good many boroughs. He could assure the Committee that he and his hon. and learned Friend had done the best they could to solve the difficulty, and that they had not altogether abandoned the matter. If any scheme could be suggested which would prove practicable, they were quite open to give their best consideration to it.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he begged to thank his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) for having devoted his attention to the subject. They had now a declaration both from the Attorney General and the Solicitor General that the subject was one which demanded the attention of Parliament. He could not help thinking—perhaps it might be an old-fashioned notion—that his right hon. Friend might have made the proposal rather more simple than he had, if he had confined himself to proposing the first paragraph of his clause—namely, that—

> "Any person found guilty of a corrupt practice under the provisions of this Act shall, on summary conviction, be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months, or to the payment of a fine not exceeding fifty pounds."

It might then have been left to the ordinary tribunals of the country to dispose of the matter on summary conviction. It was said that they could not give to the Justices of the Peace this kind of jurisdiction. But the great majority of cases would arise in the boroughs, and perhaps those who would not trust the

County Justices might have no objection to the borough magistrates. And it must be borne in mind that they were in the habit of placing the liberty of Her Majesty's subjects in the hands of the Justices both of counties and boroughs. He had had considerable experience, both as a county magistrate and as a Chairman of Quarter Sessions; and the result of his experience taught him that on the Judicial Bench the County Justices were elaborately impartial, and that they would rather decide against their own friends than for them. Of course, his experience might have been more fortunate than that of other people; but he certainly saw no reason why persons charged with these offences should not be brought before the county magistrates or stipendiary magistrates, who were daily entrusted with the responsible duty of disposing of the liberty of Her Majesty's subjects. It did appear to him that they were straining at a gnat if they could not entrust the magistrates with the simple duty of deciding cases, where charges were preferred of corrupt practices at an election. His opinion certainly was that the ordinary tribunals of the country were those to which this delicate work should be entrusted. He would, therefore, ask the Committee to read the first paragraph of the clause a second time; and between the present time and the Report let the Attorney General, and the Solicitor General, and the other authorities of the House see whether they could not make some provision for utilizing the ordinary tribunals of the country. At any rate, let them put it on record that they had taken a step which, to his mind, would go further than any other step they could take to check corruption, and to show the country that they were in earnest, leaving the details to be worked out hereafter.

MR. DODDS said, that several hon. Members were of opinion that the stipendiary magistrates would form a proper and suitable tribunal for the purposes of the clause. But the question was, could stipendiary magistrates be found? In his own part—namely, the county of Durham, he believed there was only one stipendiary magistrate, and he was stationed in South Shields, a very remote part of the county.

MR. STEVENSON: He has been done away with.

MR. DODDS said, he believed that that was the fact; but he was not made aware of it until a very short time ago. The circumstance, however, made his case still stronger, for it would be seen that in the county of Durham, with its seven boroughs and its two large divisions—each division large enough for a separate county—there was not a single stipendiary magistrate. In the North Riding of Yorkshire there was only one stipendiary magistrate, and he was stationed in the borough of Middlesbrough. Then, in regard to the County Court Judge, that officer in his own district acted as Judge in an exceedingly wide locality, including Whitby, Scarborough, Stockton, and Darlington; and he did not see how the learned Judge could be in each of those boroughs at the same time while an election contest was going on. He had only risen to explain what the facts were in his own locality, both with regard to the stipendiary magistrate and the County Court Judge; and he imagined that the circumstances of the country generally were somewhat similar. He certainly regarded the suggestion which had been made for constituting either the stipendiary magistrate or the County Court Judge the tribunal to carry out the provisions of the clause proposed by the right hon. Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) as altogether impracticable.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he should have brought up a new clause himself if his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent had not shown him the clause he had drawn up, and which he regarded as a workable clause which was not open to objection. If the Government said they could not find a way to accomplish this object at all that was a different matter; but if the Committee made up their minds that the object was a good thing to be done they would find the means of doing it. The Solicitor General had said that they could not send a barrister down, because no salary had been provided. His right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent, however, had no right to put down any salary. That was a matter which must be left to the proper officers of Her Majesty's Government; and, therefore, it was idle to say that the clause was to be thrown aside because no salary had been suggested. What very often happened was that Parliament said a certain thing was to be done, and then the Executive, who were the only persons who could find the money, made provision for it. That was the proper thing to do in this case. There were very few stipendiary magistrates, no doubt; but there were a good many County Court Judges; and when County Court Judges and stipendiary magistrates were not available, he did not see any objection to the employment either of barristers of seven years' standing or of unpaid magistrates. If the Government declared that they did not want the thing done that was another matter altogether. He hoped that his right hon. Friend would carry the clause to a Division, because he thought that if it were adopted it would do more to put a stop to bribery than anything else which they could do.

Mr. FIRTH said, he thought the principle of the clause should be approved. He would be perfectly willing that Justices of the Peace, who had a legal training, and who were barristers of seven years' standing, should have this jurisdiction given them. There would then be a tribunal on the spot. The clause might be amended so as to confer the power upon any stipendiary magistrate, or any County Court Judge, or any Justice of the Peace who was a barrister of seven years' standing, and in that way the difficulty might be got rid of with respect to the carrying out of the main objects of the clause. No doubt there were very strong objections to the clause as it stood.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he thought the hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. J. G. Talbot) must have spent all his time in University elections, or he would hardly have suggested that borough Justices should be called upon to try cases of this kind. He (Mr. T. Collins) believed that if they turned to the Blue Books containing the evidence upon corrupt practices at election, they would have found that Alderman this, and Mayor that, had constantly been among the number of persons incriminated and convicted by juries of their own countrymen. Mayors and ex-Mayors were borough Justices, and he strongly objected to persons who were not infrequently guilty of corrupt practices themselves being made the tribunal to try such charges. He certainly did not think that men in that position, who were among the most influential men in the borough, would be proper persons to decide upon a charge of corrupt practices preferred against a person to whom they were opposed in politics. Nor did he think it was desirable to decide such cases without the benefit of a jury. It must be remembered that the cases themselves would occur at a time of great political excitement, and that the persons charged were liable to be convicted and sent to prison for an offence of this kind. Although he deprecated corrupt practices as strongly as any man, he thought it would be wrong to entrust such a power either in the hands of the stipendiary magistrate or the borough Justices. If there was any reasonable mode of licking this clause into shape he would not object to it; but as it had already been before the Committee for a month or two he thought it was only trifling with the Committee to endeavour at this stage of the proceedings to impose it upon the Committee.

Mr. WARTON remarked, that the hon. and learned Solicitor General had said that he and his Colleague had had several private conversations together with a view of dealing with this question since it was started. Now, considering that the subject was started last year by the right hon. Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke), he should like to know how many consultations had taken place between the Law Officers of the Crown upon the matter. The Government had brought forward this Bill, and it was for them to consider what was the best way to put down corrupt practices. They had also an immense advantage in the fact that they could not only make provision for the prevention of corrupt practices, but they could make provision also for the expense. He thought they would have done a very good day's work if they could provide some scheme, on the lines of the proposition now before the Committee, for practically putting down corrupt practices. He made an appeal to the other side of the House not to be actuated too much by the difficulties ingeniously raised by the Law Officers of the Crown. The object was to put down corruption at the time it was being committed. The Attorney General had said he knew of no case which had been found out during an election. His (Mr. Warton's) experience was different from that of his hon. and learned Friend. He knew of many cases in which particular individuals were known to have been bribed on the day of election by a certain man. It often happened that a mysterious stranger came into the borough, probably from Birmingham, to bribe the voters in the Liberal interest; but he invariably found in the discussion of this Bill that Her Majesty's Government carefully excluded anything that was calculated to interfere with the action of the Birmingham Caucus. The Law Officers of the Crown had been guided by a fixed determination to draw the Bill in a way that would suit the purpose of their own Party, and if it had been promoted in the interest of the Birmingham Caucus alone they could not have drawn up a better Bill. The object of the Bill was to put down bribery and corruption, and he was sorry that hon. Gentlemen opposite did not seem to be sufficiently alive to the purposes of the measure. He did not think the Committee ought to allow themselves to be blindfolded, and to take the frantic professions which were made by the opposite side in regard to purity of election, when they found a rigid determination to object to every practical means of putting down corruption. He was perfectly certain that whatever tribunal was suggested the Attorney General would object to it, and, unfortunately, the hon. and learned Gentleman had a majority behind him to support his objections. Why not assert the principle involved in the matter, and then discuss the details? The principle was to put down corruption at the moment, and to catch the offender, wherever it was possible, red-handed. He believed that he could be so caught, and why should he not be hauled up before the magistrates at once and made to give an account of himself? The Attorney General talked about 400 constituencies. Of course, they knew there were 400 constituencies, but they also knew that in a great number of them bribery had never been heard of. For instance, in regard to the counties, there were never Petitions for corrupt practices. At the last General Election there were only two Petitions against counties. Therefore, they might omit counties altogether from the operation of the clause. Why should not a Schedule be made out of all the boroughs where there had been Petitions during the last 50 years—since the Reform Bill—and a barrister be sent there at election time at the expense of the borough? Let it be known that wherever there had once been corruption there would be an officer in future on the spot. Such a provision would make elections generally cheaper, and, in many instances, would prevent the expense of an Election Petition. He regarded that as an object much more valuable than mere talk about purity of election.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 83; Noes 168: Majority 85.—(Div. List, No. 201.)

MR. MACFARLANE said, the subject of the clause he was about to move had been before the Committee on more than one occasion. In the early stage of the Committee he moved an Amendment to the same effect, and he understood then that the Attorney General did not object to the principle of the proposal, but only to its inopportuneness. At that time a large number of Members were in favour of the principle. He had limited the appeal to undue influence, not because he thought an appeal would be objectionable in other cases, but because he thought it essential to so limit it, as bribery, treating, and corruption of other kinds were questions of fact, and provable; but undue influence was almost entirely a matter of opinion. The object of the clause was perfectly obvious, and did not require to be developed. He would therefore content himself with simply moving it.

New Clause:—

(Right of appeal in certain cases.)

"Any candidate whose election is declared void on the ground of undue influence shall have the right of appeal to the Court of Appeal in England, Ireland, or Scotland, as the case may be,"—(*Mr. Macfarlane*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that what he had stated was that it was worthy of consideration whether there should be one Judge with an appeal, or two Judges without.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was in favour of two Judges rather than one; but he wished to know whether an appeal would be given in a case of agency? It was desirable to make the Law of Agency as universal as possible; but it was worth considering whether an appeal should not be given on the facts.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that great difficulty existed in the way of a partial appeal under certain circumstances; and he was afraid that he could not do more than say he would consider the subject.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, he would withdraw his Amendment rather than remit it to the limbo of Report.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was entirely in favour of two Judges. There were many cases of great hardship in regard to agency, and he certainly thought that when they were taking away the character of, perhaps, an honest and respectable man there should be some appeal, and he hoped the Attorney General would provide that in certain cases there should be an appeal.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell), the following New Clause was inserted after Clause 12:—

(Corrupt withdrawal from a candidature.)

"Any person who induces or procures any other person to withdraw from being a candidate at an election, in consideration of any payment or promise of payment, shall be guilty of an illegal payment, and any person withdrawing, in pursuance of such inducement or procurement, shall also be guilty of an illegal payment."

FIRST SCHEDULE.

PART I.

Persons Legally Employed for Payment.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether it was necessary to be so particular in regard to all the details which this Schedule contained? There was a maximum of expenditure, and the real question for the Committee was whether, if that were limited to £500, it would be necessary to state exactly how it should be spent. The first paragraph stated that there should be one election agent in a borough, whilst in counties there might be several agents and polling stations; and that there should be only one clerk and one messenger for each polling place. He was quite of opinion that there should not be any colourable employment; but he thought this Schedule went too much into detail, and would very much hamper candidates. Suppose a candidate started upon an election contest, and wished to issue his address to every elector. That was necessary; and for the purpose of doing that he would require to employ a considerable number of persons in order to get the address out at once. That would require more people than would be needed at any other period of the election; but by this Schedule the candidate would be limited as to the number of clerks. He could not bring all the clerks from the various polling stations to one particular place to get out the address, because the expense would be very large, and the clerks would be wanted elsewhere. It seemed to him that, even if the maximum was limited, it was not necessary to tie the candidate down to details of this kind. The Attorney General, in the course of the debate, had said that some of these matters might be dealt with by contract. He wished to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he might go to a printer in any constituency and contract with him to publish an address and circulate it amongst the electors; and whether, if he entered into such a contract, he would not be exceeding the number of persons which the Bill would allow him to employ? The printers would certainly be employed by him; and, therefore, he would be paying a certain number of persons who were practically in his employment, although nominally in the employment of Mr. Willing, or some other person. Simply to raise this question, he would move to strike out the first words in the Schedule.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, leave out "one election agent and no more."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the words which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to leave out were a proof of the necessity which existed in relation to all these details. Suppose a candidate was allowed to have as many agents as he liked, he could spend his money all in one direction, so long as he kept within the maximum; but he wanted to protect a candidate from being compelled to take people into his service during an election. If the candidate was able to say that he could not employ more than a limited number, that would get rid of many of the instances of bribery in a modified form by the employment of messengers and clerks and the relatives of voters. As to whether a candidate could go to a law stationer and contract for the issue of circulars, that did not come within the limit.

Mr. GREGORY said, that, as he understood the measure, each candidate might appoint an election agent provided he kept within the maximum scale. Each candidate might appoint his own agent or agents, or the two candidates might agree in the selection of one election agent and apply their funds to his remuneration. He believed that was the scope of the Bill; but he should like to have an explanation.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) replied, that each candidate might appoint a separate agent.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he thought it was very necessary to have words clearly showing the position of a candidate if he employed a law stationer or other person to carry out duties which had hitherto been discharged by clerks.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he believed a clerk in each case would be sufficient; but in times of emergency a candidate might resort to a law stationer.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that the practice was to get three or four persons into one room in order to get through the work quickly. It was said that there was to be great security against bribery by the employment of a number of people; but he failed to see that the real security against corruption was a limitation of the charge and the fear of penalties which would be present in the minds of the agent of a candidate.

Mr. RYLANDS said, unless a distinct rule was laid down limiting the number of persons to be employed, he thought it was very likely, as the Attorney General had said, that there would be a considerable amount of corruption through the employment of a large number of people. There could be no question whatever that under this Bill a candidate would have, at least, the protection of being able to say that he was restricted to the number of persons he could employ for remuneration. By this Bill an experiment was about to be tried. Matters would have to settle themselves down on an entirely different basis from that formerly existing, and he believed that political Parties would depend upon voluntary agency to a large extent. If a spirit of self-sacrifice could be introduced into this country, as well as a sense of public spirit, the political life of the country would be purified. He hoped that that would be the effect of this Bill, and that while they were limiting the number of paid officials there would be no difficulty in getting voluntary assistance.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he could not understand the position in which the Committee were placed by the objections to the Amendment. Surely, if a law stationer were employed to send out all the addresses and polling cards he would be a person employed for payment, and would be placed in the same position as any other person in the service of a candidate for the time being, and it was quite possible that he might employ only those persons holding the same views as himself. The objection he had to the Amendment was that control over the persons employed upon this kind of work would be loosened, and he had no doubt that half the polling cards would come back without having ever been delivered. But if the election agent, who knew whom he was employing as his clerks, undertook this work there would no risk, and the candidate would know that he got value for his money. Then there was another objection. The Amendment was wholly unnecessary if inserted to prevent bribery and the employment of a great number of persons colourably, because, as the amount was limited, it was clear that there would be no money to spend in colourably employing a single clerk who was not absolutely employed. Under these circumstances, it seemed to him that the candidate was being needlessly hampered in the management of his election.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he desired to amend this Schedule, in order to reduce the vast army of paid agents. He calculated that in a constituency of

60,000 electors there would be 240 paid clerks, messengers, and polling agents. Such a number was a great deal too many, and so long as this system of paid agents was maintained candidates would not get the help of people who would otherwise be willing to come forward and take part in the election, and would do away with a great part of this vast army. There being a Maximum Schedule, the payment of such people would have to be reduced in order to bring them within the Schedule. In a polling place for, say, 1,000 electors, there would be one election agent and a deputy agent, and in counties there would be one polling agent and one deputy polling agent for each station. A polling agent, in addition to the clerks and messengers, would not be wanted, and he thought it most desirable to reduce the number of these people to reasonable proportions. Then they would get men who took a real interest in politics to do the work voluntarily.

Mr. SALT said, he had an Amendment which he was afraid would rather tend to increase than decrease this vast army of paid officials. He quite felt that it was desirable to reduce the pressure on candidates to put numbers of friends on the list of persons employed, and for that purpose it was necessary to fix a limit to the number of paid officials; but that principle might be carried too far. Why did they have paid persons at all? The services paid for, and the services rendered voluntarily, were of a totally different character. There was a large number of persons who took an interest in political matters, or who wished to serve a friend who was a candidate, and were ready to undertake such voluntary work as canvassing and looking after the voters; but there was a vast amount of actual business—and very unpleasant business—to be carried on during an election, especially in a large constituency. There must be at each polling station two or three representatives of each candidate to watch voting throughout the whole day. That was work which was tedious and uninteresting, and the people who did it were the people who ought to be paid. Looking at this clause, he arrived at rather a different conclusion from that of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), because, although he was just as anxious as the hon. Member to keep down unnecessary expense, he was afraid that if they did not allow a sufficient expense to carry on the business of an election this clause would be evaded just as every enactment which was not reasonable in itself was evaded. With regard to election agents, he had great doubt whether a large constituency could be really worked by one election agent. There were two kinds of duties which an election agent had to perform. One was, to carry on the administrative business of the election, and that was one of the highest and most difficult duties; but there was also the financial part of the business to be looked after. He had found it extremely convenient to have one agent to look after the accounts, and another to advise upon the policy of the canvass, and to be responsible for anything outside finance. He quite believed that in a large constituency those two officials were wanted.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member (Mr. Salt) contended, first, that there ought to be a possibility of having more paid persons than the Schedule contemplated, because several persons were needed at each polling place. By the 3rd sub-section of this Schedule one representative was allowed in each station. With regard to the necessity of having one general election agent and another financial agent, he would give the hon. Member a little personal advice. He had never got his financial business so well done as when it was done by voluntary assistance.

Mr. HICKS said, he thought it was desirable to have only one election agent, and that the number of sub-agents should be specified. He did not, however, agree in the view that the work at the head office could be carried on by one clerk, and that the arrangement contemplated in this Schedule would be impracticable. One sub-agent and one sub-clerk in each sub-district might suffice for the work; but at the head office the head agent must have a sufficient number of clerks to work with him. If the Committee adopted the suggestion of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and allowed the work to be done by a law stationer or some publisher, how far would that carry them? If a law stationer was so employed, would he not also have to receive the answers to circulars and to register them; and, if so, did he not then become practically an election agent, together with several men in his office, by working for the purposes of the candidate?

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. LABOUCHERE proposed that Sub-section 3 should be left out of the Schedule. Personation agents were simply men employed to watch anybody who was suspected; but he had seen these men in very many cases absolutely doing nothing, and he found that the sole reason why they were placed at the polling booths was that they were the relatives of some electors. So long as power was given to employ a large number of these agents, electors would almost force candidates to employ then. His contention was that two clerks and two messengers in each polling station would be quite a sufficient staff, without having personation agents besides.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, to leave out Sub-section (3.)—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section (3) stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, only one man was to be in each place to prevent personation. This sub-section did not require a candidate to have any personation agents at all. The maximum scale would prevent an excessive number being employed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not wish to put the Committee to the trouble of a Division, as there was no absolute question of principle involved; but he hoped the Attorney General would allow something in the direction of the Amendment, in order to reduce this vast number of employed people; otherwise constant pressure would be put upon candidates to employ relatives of electors.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. RAIKES said, he thought that if there were to be these booths in polling districts, it would be found impossible to work them, except with two messengers to each booth. He had a lively recollection of elections in which there was an enormous number of surplus messengers forced on the candidate; but he thought the Government were going rather too far in restricting the number to one. There might be a large constituency with 3,000 voters to bring to the poll and pass through the booths in a day. There might be 10 stations, but, with only 10 messengers, a candidate would be absolutely helpless. He hoped the Attorney General would accept his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, line 10, leave out "one messenger," and insert "two messengers."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. ARTHUR PEEL said, he also proposed to substitute two messengers for one messenger. As the Schedule stood, there was to be only one messenger for every complete 500 people, and unless there was a complete 500, there would be no messenger. He should be glad to learn from the Attorney General how the election of the incomplete 500 would be worked?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, if there were 2,100 electors, there would be four messengers. Then there would be the odd 100 to be dealt with. He was willing to provide that any such odd number should have a messenger. He wanted to keep one clerk and one messenger to each 500 people, and to avoid having a great number of these messengers, who were a perfect pest. He would, therefore, propose to omit the word "complete."

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 43, line 7, after "borough," by inserting—

> "And if there is a number of electors over and above a complete 500, then one clerk and one messenger may be employed for such number, although not amounting to a complete 500."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he wished to move an Amendment with the object of limiting the number of clerks. He had put down the number at 10; but that might be considered too few. In a large constituency there would be an enormous number of these people, and he hoped the Attorney General would consent to some limitation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member will not be in Order in moving that Amendment.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, it was easy in a borough where there were 10 clerks and messengers to use them in any part of the constituency; but that was not the case in counties. A messenger in a county could not be brought up suddenly to the central office; and he wished to know whether a distinction could not be drawn between the head office and a district office in a county? In a district office, one messenger and one clerk were ample; but in a county that number would not be sufficient.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) explained that one messenger was allowed to each polling district, and he should not suppose that the messengers would be required to go from one district to another.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, the object of the clause he wished to move was to place certain boroughs in the position of counties. These were boroughs which contained very large and dense populations, and were not in the strict sense boroughs. The borough which he represented measured 13 miles east and west, and about eight miles north and south. It contained two considerable towns—one with nearly 20,000 inhabitants, and another with between 4,000 and 5,000 inhabitants—in addition to 10 villages, some of which had large and mixed populations, and some had sparse populations. If the test as to whether boroughs were to be included in counties was to be the density or the sparseness of the population, he thought he was entitled, on either of those grounds, to ask that his Amendment should be accepted.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, line 34, after the words "Much Wenlock," to insert the word "Christchurch." —(*Mr. Horace Davey.*)

Question proposed, "That 'Christchurch' be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this question had been dealt with when the case of the borough of Leominster was discussed. He did not think it desirable to re-open the question.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *this day.*

And it being ten minutes to Seven of the clock, the House suspended its Sitting.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.—[BILL 7.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir William Harcourt,*
Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke,
Mr. Solicitor General.)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 12th July.*]

[TWENTY-FIRST NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. ERNEST NOEL said, the Amendment which he had to move was one in the opposite direction of that which had been moved by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey). The hon. and learned Member had moved to include Christchurch among the boroughs which were to be put in the position of counties; and his object was to exclude district boroughs within the meaning of the Ballot Act from having the provisions of each part of this Schedule applied to them as if such boroughs were in reality counties. He was quite sure that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General would accept the Amendment, because all those who were interested in the matter were consenting parties to it. Those who were connected with district boroughs considered that they were quite as able to conduct their elections as any other borough; and, therefore, they did not wish to have any unnecessary privilege. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, line 24, leave out after "Aylesbury" to "1872," in line 25.—(*Mr. Ernest Noel.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this Amendment raised the question whether certain boroughs in Wales and Scotland should be treated as counties, or as boroughs. As far as he could learn, both from the Welsh and Scotch Members, they wished to place these boroughs upon the lower scale of election expenses, and they ought to be at liberty to do so. Other boroughs, such as Christchurch and Leominster, desired to increase the expenditure by being treated as counties; but he found, from communications which had made to him in regard to the Welsh and Scotch boroughs, that they wished to be treated as if they were English boroughs, and not to be inserted in this Schedule. He could not see why they should not have their desire carried out.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the speech they had just heard from the Attorney General was very different from the one they had heard from him in the Morning Sitting. They were told in the morning that the boroughs treated as counties were historical boroughs.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) remarked that in that case the expenditure was increased.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the Attorney General had told them that the list ought not to be changed under any circumstances; but he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was bound to say that if he consented to the omission of these words, he would not preserve the historical list which he had been so desirous of maintaining in the case of Christchurch and Leominster. Hon. Members on that side of the House had thought that the Attorney General meant to abide by the list; but if once he opened the flood-gates upon this particular question, he would warn the hon. and learned Gentleman that he would be overwhelmed with applications on the Report from all boroughs who thought they ought to come in on the other side.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): But they do not wish to come in.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he believed that the hon. and learned Gentleman would find not only Christchurch and Leominster, but many other boroughs, claiming to be included in the list, and that he would have a large number of applications pressed upon him when they came to the Report. In the morning the Attorney General had taken a clear and definite ground, and he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had felt inclined to support him—namely, that they ought not to change the historical list of boroughs, which had always been treated in old Acts of Parliament as counties. He regretted to see that they were now departing from that arrangement.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Not in the slightest degree.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he could not understand why the hon. and learned Gentleman should say he was not departing from that arrangement. He was going to strike out one of the historical list. It made no difference whether the result would be to increase or decrease the expenditure. It was, at any rate, a borough which was included in the list, and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had distinctly declared that he would not disturb that old list, which had been handed down from Act of Parliament to Act of Parliament. If the hon. and learned Gentleman did, he gave him fair warning that every one of these boroughs who thought they ought to be regarded as counties would press its claim upon him.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had afforded him very generous support during the time the Bill had been in Committee — a support which he should never forget—but he thought the right hon. Gentleman misunderstood the object of this Amendment. There were certain boroughs which asked for an increased scale, and preferred to be regarded as counties. That was the historical list he had referred to; but, on the other hand, there were certain district boroughs which asked to be treated as boroughs, and not as counties. Those district boroughs did not want to incur increased expenditure, and why should the Committee compel them to expend more money than they wished? He was afraid that the right hon. Gentleman did not properly appreciate the question. These boroughs were on a different principle altogether.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, the real question was, whether or not elections could be properly conducted in certain groups of boroughs upon the scale of borough elections, or whether they ought not to be regarded as counties?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): They have all agreed to be included in the lower scale.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, his evidence was exactly to the contrary effect. He had made inquiries, and he understood these district boroughs were anxious to be placed on the higher scale.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had communicated with the Representatives of these boroughs, and they were all of them desirous of being included in the lower scale.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was afraid that if the hon. and learned Gentleman hastily accepted this Amendment he might find himself involved in some difficulty, and that he would run a risk of establishing a bad precedent hereafter. As far as he (Mr. E. Stanhope) had evidence before him, he believed that many of these boroughs desired to be included in the same scale as counties, and not in that which applied to boroughs. He would not profess, however, to put his opinion against that of the Attorney General.

MR. ERNEST NOEL said, he hoped he might be allowed to say a word in answer to the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope). He had taken the trouble, before bringing forward his Amendment, to make inquiries of all the Members who sat for district boroughs; and, surely, they ought to understand their own interests, and how they could best conduct their own elections, better than the hon. Member, who had never had anything to do with any one of these boroughs. Hon. Members who were really interested in the question had fully studied it, and they knew what they required, and they had come to the unanimous conclusion that they could conduct their elections on the lower scale of expenditure. He believed there was only one solitary Member who thought the larger scale might, perhaps, be better; but even that hon. Member allowed that it would be perfectly easy to conduct the elections on the lower scale of expenditure. If that were the case, it seemed to him to be somewhat strange that those who knew nothing about the question, and had no interest in the matter, should decide that the boroughs which were concerned should be subjected to exceptional legislation.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not wish to prolong the discussion. He found that he had been labouring under a misapprehension. He had been under the impression that the Amendment was to strike out the borough of Aylesbury.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) remarked, that the Amendment simply struck out the words from "Aylesbury," so as to exclude district boroughs.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought it was not desirable to carry the objection further; but if the facts had been as he supposed his objection would have had great force. He had no desire that either Aylesbury or any other borough should incur more expense than was necessary; but he entirely agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) that the evidence they had was to the contrary. He would not, however, put his opinion against that of the hon. and learned Attorney General; and, under the circumstances, he would not further oppose the Amendment.

MR. LEWIS FRY wished to remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), when they were discussing the question of sub-agents, had expressed a desire to treat Woodstock as a county, and not as a borough. By this Amendment, Woodstock would continue to be treated as a borough. Was he to understand that the Amendment referred to the question of sub-agents?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): No.

MR. LEWIS FRY said, he had gathered that it was only in respect of the sub-agents that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had desired the borough of Woodstock to be treated as a county.

MR. RAIKES said, he was well acquainted with the Principality of Wales, and he was glad to hear that the Members for district boroughs in the Principality were of opinion that they would be able to conduct the elections within a smaller scale than that scheduled in the Bill, because he believed that if they referred to the Returns of the election expenses connected with the last General Election they would find a marked discrepancy, as far as some of the Welsh boroughs were concerned, between the scale fixed in the Schedule and the amounts actually expended. As far as he remembered, speaking from memory, at the last contested Election for the Flint Boroughs, the hon. Member who represented that district spent four or five times the amount of money the Schedule would allow him to spend; and although he could well understand that there would be a desire upon the part of the hon. Member under these circumstances to curtail his expenditure, he was very much inclined to think that the facts of the case were against the Schedule. He thought the Committee ought to look at the circumstances of the case, and not merely to the wishes of the Scotch and Welsh Members, who were obviously and naturally anxious — as, indeed, every Member of Parliament was—to spend as little as possible upon his election. He had the honour of being a voter in a district borough which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Richard Grosvenor) knew very well, and in which the contributory towns were at a considerable distance from each other. Probably there would be a distance of 30 miles from one place to another. The central agent could only reside in one borough, and it was necessary, therefore, to have sub-agents of considerable responsibility in various other districts. He, therefore, thought the amounts allowed on the lower scale would not be sufficient to cover the expense of elections in such districts. It was altogether impossible, in a constituency numbering 2,000 or 3,000 voters, spread over a considerable distance, to conduct the election with the small machinery and expense as if the borough was all together. Anybody who had had anything to do with such districts must be aware that the candidates had to expend money at the same rate as if they were conducting a county election, owing to the remoteness of one polling station from the other. Quite apart from any Party question in the matter, he was afraid that the Attorney General would find that he had made a mistake in accepting this Amendment, and that it would not, in every case, be either possible or practicable to conduct an election in district boroughs on the same terms and at the same expense as in an ordinary borough election.

MR. WARTON said, they were promised a new Reform Bill soon, and he presumed that when they came to deal with that new plan of representation two or three boroughs were likely to be grouped together. He, therefore, warned the Committee against the danger of adopting this Amendment in hot haste, without due reflection or consideration. It might be found, after the new Reform Bill had been passed, that some of these grouped boroughs would be even larger than the district boroughs which now existed.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he rose not to prolong the discussion, but to express a hope that the Committee would not divide. It was obvious that it would be quite useless to take up the time of the Committee by dividing upon this Amendment; but, at the same time, he was anxious to warn the Attorney General that, although he had no doubt the hon. Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel) had acted in perfectly good faith in the matter, there was no evidence from either side of the House that the facts were as they had been stated. As far as he had been able to gather, the opinion generally was in opposition to that which had been put forward by the Attorney General. He would not, however, oppose the omission of these words; but he was afraid that it might be necessary to raise the question again.

Question put, and *negatived.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had a verbal Amendment to move to the Schedule. He desired, in line 5 of Schedule I., to leave out "each part," and insert "Parts II., III., and IV."

Question, "That the words 'each part' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'Parts II., III., and IV.' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that before they left this part of the Schedule altogether, he wished to put a question in regard to the action of the election agent. He dared say the Attorney General would know that there were a great many counties in which the practice was for the election agent not to take charge of any polling district; but there was no provision of that kind in the Bill.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member propose to move any Amendment?

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he would propose an Amendment for the purpose of raising the question.

The CHAIRMAN: I may point out to the hon. Member that some time ago he raised a discussion upon a particular point without proposing an Amendment, and considerable confusion was created in consequence. For that reason I wish to know if the hon. Member proposes to move an Amendment now?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he would appeal to the hon. Member (Mr. E. Stanhope) to raise the question he desired to call attention to on Report.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he would do so.

PART II.

Legal Expenses in Addition to Expenses under Part I.

Mr. LABOUCHERE moved, after "charges," to insert—

> "Within the limits of the Parliamentary Election Returning Officers' Act, 38 & 39 Victoria, chapter 84."

The object of the Amendment was this —the Returning Officer was a very powerful gentleman, and he occasionally charged a good deal above the Schedule. He desired by this Amendment to prevent the possibility of such an occurrence, and in the hope that the Attorney General would accept it he would move it without further comment.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 43, line 29, after the word "charges," insert "within the limits of the Parliamentary Election Returning Officers' Act, 38 & 39 Victoria, chapter 84."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that the effect of this would be that if any election agent, being told by the Returning Officer that he had paid out of his own pocket more than the expenses allowed by the Statute, repaid such excess to the Returning Officer, the candidate would lose his seat. He (the Attorney General) had had no Notice of this Amendment; and, therefore, if the hon. Gentleman persisted in it now, he must oppose it. It would be well, perhaps, if the matter were left for consideration on Report.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, there were some cases where it would be impossible for the Returning Officer to bring his charges within the Parliamentary limits. He had been told by a Sheriff of a county that his necessary expenses amounted to nearly twice the sum he could legally charge the candidates, and that he was really dependent upon the goodwill of the candidates as to whether he was recouped for the payments he had to make over and above those allowed by law. The Committee ought to know in what position a Sheriff would stand under such circumstances. Could he legally obtain payment from the candidate, or would the candidate be liable to penalties if he paid the Returning Officer a sum beyond that allowed?

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he knew that in some cases a Returning Officer charged a good deal more than he ought to do; and on Report he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) meant to bring up a clause to prevent such a state of things. Of course, it was necessary that the candidate should pay the Returning Officer's expenses; but he did not think he ought to be required to pay in so substantial a way as he was now required to do. A great many things might be done more cheaply, and he thought that if the charges were defrayed out of the rates, the ratepayers would take care that they were very much less than at present. If the Attorney General would say that on Report he would look into the matter, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would be quite content to leave it as at present.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that if the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross), or the Attorney General, would bring up an Amendment on Report he would withdraw this Amendment. His sole object in moving it had been to prevent collusive arrangements being made between Returning Officers and candidates.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he knew nothing about Returning Officers, for he never spoke to one in his life. He was, however, certain that Returning Officers did impose more expenses on candidates than they ought to do.

MR. WARTON said, he did not know whether the Attorney General had read the account of the expenses of the Returning Officer at the Liverpool Election; but certainly it was most interesting reading. He was glad the Attorney General had rejected this clause, and would remind him of what occurred at the Liverpool Election. The Returning Officer there found he was absolutely obliged to enter expenses beyond the amount allowed by law; and, therefore, part of his expenses were thrown on the borough. It was very difficult to get his polling stations at the price allowed. On the other hand, however, there were a great many places which could be obtained for a nominal sum; but the Returning Officer was not allowed to lump them together. He (Mr. Warton) was certainly of opinion that, supposing one station to cost ten guineas, and another two, and another one guinea, and so forth, it would be better to lump them all together. The candidates at Liverpool had to pay a large sum of money, amounting to hundreds of pounds; but even this did not satisfy the Returning Officer, who had a very just grievance in respect of the charges he was allowed to make for polling stations. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General brought up a fresh clause on Report, he (Mr. Warton) hoped he would take this matter into consideration.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS, Amendment made, in line 32, after the word "publishing," by inserting "issuing and distributing."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the Amendment he had now to propose was a consequential one. The Committee would remember that there was a great deal of discussion as to the number of committee rooms that should be allowed, and they passed a clause in which it was held that it was an illegal or corrupt practice—he forgot which—to engage a greater number of committee rooms than stated in the Bill. At that time the Attorney General told them that they had better take the discussion upon this sub-section. Therefore, without making a long discussion of it, he would explain, in one or two words, what the object of his Amendment was. According to the statement of the Attorney General, there should be a committee room for every complete 500 electors. Now, in some boroughs persons resided in houses outside the borough, and in such cases it was very necessary to have a committee room for even fewer than 500 electors. What was wanted was to bring the electors together, and the committee room was a central point for which they made, and from which it was customary for them to go to the poll in a body. By this clause they allowed a vast number of committee rooms in large places, such as Liverpool. He believed that in Liverpool there could be as many as 130 committee rooms. The Attorney General had said that it was not likely that the different parties in Liverpool would incur the expense of having the maximum number of committee rooms. But the Attorney General ought to bear in mind that there was always a tendency to have a committee room at every point, and that there would always be some persons urging a candidate to have a committee room here and a committee room there. He had no doubt that men would be found engaging more committee rooms than were necessary. In his original Bill last year the Attorney General divided all the expenditure under various heads—under printing, stationery, and the like. This was the last relic, and he did not think it was necessary it should remain in the Bill. It would be necessary on Report to strike out the clause specifying the number of committee rooms which might be engaged; but that, however, was an exceedingly easy matter. He now begged to move that the words "in a borough" be struck out.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, line 35, leave out "in a borough."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, they had admitted the words in the first part of the Schedule itself; and, therefore, they ought to reject the proposed Amendment. It was very necessary that they must lay down a limit to committee rooms in some way or form.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, it would be quite easy to strike out the form of words on Report, and he would engage to make a Motion to that effect if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would support him.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he did not think such a Motion would be in Order now. The Report stage was the proper time at which an Amendment of this kind, which necessitated an alteration in a portion of the Schedule already passed, should be brought up.

Mr. DODDS: Hear, hear!

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) was always very ready to cry "Hear, hear!" Whenever a Minister rose and talked sense or nonsense, "Hear, hear!" came from the hon. Gentleman, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would very soon get his reward. The Attorney General had told him (Mr. Labouchere) that he was not in Order. The Chairman, however, thought he was in Order; therefore, let them have a Division on this matter at once.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he did not quite understand in what position this Amendment would leave the matter. He did not think that the experience of most Members of the House would lead them to coincide with the view of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). His (Mr. Tomlinson's) idea of the proper number of committee rooms was one for each polling place, and that was rather a different quota to what was suggested in this clause.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. RAIKES proposed to leave out from "committee room," in line 36, to the end of Sub-section (6), and insert "for every polling district in the borough, and one central committee room." The sub-section would then read—

> "In a borough the expenses of the number of committee rooms for every polling district in the borough, and one central committee room."

It seemed to him that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had conceived rather a mistaken idea as to the most convenient unit with regard to fixing the number of committee rooms. All hon. Members who had practical acquaintance with such matters knew that boroughs were mapped out for the purposes of elections. He was not now speaking of boroughs of under 15,000 inhabitants, but of the larger boroughs of the country. These boroughs were mapped out into a certain number of polling districts, and the contending parties had their machinery for each of the polling districts. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had only represented a small borough; but it had been his (Mr. Raikes's) lot to be associated with large constituencies; he, therefore, might lay claim to know more about this matter than the hon. and learned Gentleman. Certainly, he had always found what he now stated to be the case. He believed that if they were going to have an arbitrary unit, such as that of 500 electors, they would have nothing but confusion. A polling district in one of the Northern towns would probably contain as many electors as some of the Somerset boroughs. In Oldham, the borough represented by the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert), there were several thousand electors in a polling district; but it might happen that one district was so peculiarly situated that a committee room would be required for even less than 500 electors. He certainly was of opinion that they ought to have a committee room in each polling district, and he trusted that the Attorney General would assent to his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 43, line 36, leave out from "committee room" to end of Sub-section (6), and insert "for every polling district in the borough, and one central committee room."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) remarked, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) was entirely under a misapprehension. His (the Attorney General's) experience was, as a matter of fact, quite as extended as that to which the right hon. Gentleman had laid claim. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that many large boroughs had no polling districts at all; indeed, it was at the option of the local authority whether or not a borough was divided into polling districts. His hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) had just told him that in his constituency (Durham) there was a population of 18,000, yet there was no polling district. He (the Attorney General) believed that Oxford had no polling district; indeed, it would be found that half the boroughs of England had no polling districts at all. It would thus be seen that in such boroughs more committee rooms would be allowed under this Schedule, as it now stood, than would be allowed if it were amended as was now suggested.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. ARTHUR PEEL, in moving to insert after "every," line 36, "polling district or for," said, that this Amendment was simply consequential on the concession which the Attorney General had been good enough to make.

Amendment proposed, in page 43, line 36, after "every," insert "polling district or for."—(*Mr. Arthur Peel.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that he was in the unfortunate position of having 999 electors; and, therefore, he should prefer the Committee to adopt at the end of the section the words agreed to by the Government in the previous case — namely, that if there were a number of electors over and above any complete 500, a committee room should be allowed for such number of them not amounting to a complete 500.

Amendment proposed,

In line 39, after "borough," insert, "and if there is a number of electors over and above any complete 500 then one committee room for such number of them not amounting to a complete 500 shall be allowed."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS proposed to insert, after the word "expenses," in line 1, page 44, the words "of one central committee room, and in addition." The object of the Amendment was not to add to the committee rooms, but simply in counties to allow a central committee room, which the Committee must see it was very necessary to have.

Amendment proposed, in page 44, line 1, after "expenses," insert "of one central committee room, and in addition."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. SALT proposed to add the following sub-section to Part II., page 44:—

"(8.) A sum not exceeding five hundred pounds in counties, or two hundred pounds in boroughs, under the head of special expenditure arising from unforeseen circumstances, and not in respect of any matter constituting an offence under this Act."

He reminded the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General and the Committee that the expenditure was restricted to the very smallest limit. Probably most hon. Members who had taken an interest in the Bill had calculated for themselves how far they could safely and properly keep their own expenditure within the limits provided by the Bill. He certainly had made his own calculations. He had always been very careful with regard to election expenses, and he was able to give the Bill the credit of saying he believed he could work his election comfortably enough within the limits of expenditure prescribed. But, at the same time, in order to do that, in order to keep within the limits that the Bill laid down in this Schedule, it would be absolutely necessary for any candidate to bring his expenses very considerably within the limits of the Bill. In the midst of the excitement and turmoil of an election it was very difficult to keep a hold upon everybody and upon every expense; and it was only reasonable to calculate that every expense in an election, however legitimate it might be—every expense for printing, advertising, messengers, and all other such matters—must of necessity exceed the estimate formed at the beginning of the election. They, therefore, could not start to contest an election without making their calculations, so as to bring their expenses considerably within the amount laid down by this hard-and-fast line. Something perfectly unforeseen might happen to make it necessary, quite suddenly, to send throughout a county or a borough a large number of circulars at a very great cost. It was quite possible, and not improbable, that an opponent might issue some circular which, of necessity, must be contradicted at once by means of a circular or placard. Such a thing would be quite unexpected, but no one would dispute that such cases had happened; the contradiction of some foul aspersion or false rumour might very possibly carry the total expenditure for the election very considerably beyond the amount named. Now, under those circumstances, the proposal which he had to make was that, beyond the expenditure laid down in the Schedule of the Bill, there should be allowed a special sum for special expenditure; but that sum should be limited to £500 in counties, and £200 in boroughs. Of course, he suggested that any expenditure of this kind should be confined to circumstances that were not opposed to the principle and object of the Bill. He could not help thinking that, on the whole, that was a reasonable proposal. They wanted to limit expenditure in elections as much as possible; but, if this Act was to have the effect it was supposed it would have, it was absolutely necessary that it should be dealt with in a businesslike and reasonable manner. To his mind the provisions were much too stringent. He believed the Bill would really lose its force by the absurdly stringent character of its penalties and restrictions. If they were to put all these various rigid rules into an Act of Parliament they should allow some safety-valve by which hon. Members—and he had no doubt all hon. Members would wish to do so—who wished to keep within the lines of the Bill might do so with some possibility of carrying on their business in a convenient manner. With these words, he begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the sub-section would not come in at this point.

MR. SALT said, he should be very sorry if he had spoken all this to no purpose.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought the hon. Member was quite right in moving the sub-section here.

Amendment proposed,

In page 44, add the following sub-section:—"(8.) A sum not exceeding five hundred pounds in counties, or two hundred pounds in boroughs, under the head of special expenditure arising from unforeseen circumstances, and not in respect of any matter constituting an offence under this Act."—(*Mr. Salt.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could not accept the Amendment, as it would put an end to the Maximum Schedule. The hon. Member could hardly expect him to accept it; but as he was anxious to meet the hon. Member's views he would agree to strike out the words—

"Not exceeding the maximum amount of ten pounds for every one thousand electors in the county or borough, and not exceeding in the whole the maximum amount of one hundred pounds."

That would leave at large the amount which might be spent upon miscellaneous matters, so long as the maximum was not exceeded. If these words were left out, a candidate would not be confined to £10 or £100, and his agent would have to consider what miscellaneous matters were most urgent. By the Amendment he proposed, he (the Attorney General) should be meeting the hon. Member more than half way.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, the question was a difficult one, and he rather agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General with regard to it. The hon. and learned Member said he would leave out the words imposing a limit. Well, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was not in favour of that, because the expenditure might then be of any amount for these miscellaneous subjects.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): No. The maximum of total expenditure cannot be exceeded.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was aware of that; but it would be difficult to restrain and keep within bounds this miscellaneous expenditure if no limit were fixed. The sum of £200 should be the limit for both counties and boroughs. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would accept that limit they would have a specified sum beyond which they would not be able to go. That would be far better than the hon. and learned Member's proposal.

MR. ANDERSON said, he considered it would be a most dangerous thing to throw out the limit of £100 and £10 for every 1,000 electors, as there would then be a tendency for the amount to increase, and it might be from £100 to £620 in his case. [THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: No, no!] That was so, for whenever they had a general maximum the tendency was to work up to it. Their endeavour ought to be rather to keep down the maximum than to increase it. The hon. Member who had moved the Amendment admitted he could comfortably manage his election within the limits of the Bill; but that was his experience of the past, and hon. Members on the Ministerial side of the House thought that his experience in the future ought to be a great deal better. They wished him to manage his election in the future more economically than he had done in the past; and, with that view, they considered the maximum in the Bill was already too high, and ought to be lowered. He objected to any extension of the maximum.

MR. SALT said, he would adopt the hon. and gallant Baronet's (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) suggestion, and propose that the maximum should be £200 both for the counties and boroughs. Probably the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would accept that. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL: No, no!] He (Mr. Salt) wished to point out that, however anxious a candidate might be to keep within the maximum expenditure, he might find it impossible to do so, owing to suddenly arising and unexpected circumstances. This might not be the case in more than one election out of 50; but, certainly, here and there, it might be found impossible to avoid exceeding the maximum in consequence of unforeseen difficulties. It was only reasonable that there should be some way of meeting difficulties of this kind; and he would, therefore, suggest that the limit in counties and boroughs should be fixed at £200.

Question put, and *negatived.*

PART III.

Maximum for Miscellaneous Matters.

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), Amendment made, in page 44, line 10, after "in," by inserting "Part I. and."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he would now propose to leave out after the word "Schedule," in line 10, the words—

> "Not exceeding the maximum amount of ten pounds for every one thousand electors in the county or borough, and not exceeding in the whole the maximum amount of one hundred pounds."

This would leave out all reference to amount; but, of course, the maximum of election expenses would remain the same. There might be matters, not specified in Part II., on which it might be necessary for the candidate to spend more than was allowed by the present maximum in Part III. relating to miscellaneous expenses. By the adoption of this Amendment the general maximum would remain unaltered, and the candidate would be able to spend a little more under Part III., and a little less under Part II.

Amendment proposed, in page 44, line 10, leave out all the words after the word "Schedule," down to "pounds," inclusive, in line 13.—(*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. RAIKES said, he desired that words would not be put into the clause which would have the effect of preventing him from moving to alter £100 to £200. The Chairman could easily put the Question so as to leave him an opportunity of bringing forward his proposal—by putting the Question that the words down to the word "borough" stand part of the Bill, for instance.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) agreed with the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) that the question could be so modified so as not to interfere with his Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 44, line 10, leave out all the words after the word "Schedule," down to the word "of," in line 13."—(*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether the hon. and learned Gentleman was sure it would be quite safe to adopt his Amendment? If they left out all limit they did a great deal towards putting an end to the effect of Part I. of the Schedule. [The SOLICITOR GENERAL: No, no!] It was only right that there should be some limit to expenditure in this matter. They might fairly leave out the words "not exceeding the maximum amount of ten pounds for every one thousand electors in the county or borough," and insert "two hundred pounds," in place of "one hundred pounds," in the lines following. It seemed to him that, for the sake of the candidates themselves, it was necessary to have a limit.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, if they stopped at the word "borough," and someone moved to substitute £200 for £100, they could take a Division, and a saving of time would be effected. The matter had been sufficiently discussed.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell), Amendment made, in page 44, line 10, by leaving out all the words after the word "Schedule" down to the word "not," in line 12.

On the Motion of Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS, Amendment made, in page 44, line 13, by leaving out the word "one" and inserting the word "two."

PART IV.

Maximum Scale.

MR. RAIKES said, they had now reached a point upon which there would be little difference of opinion, as to which there would be a general desire to curtail expenses so far as they could reasonably be curtailed. He rather differed from the Attorney General as to the precise estimate which should be agreed to as to the proper amount of the expenses, and he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would forgive him. The hon. and learned Gentleman proposed that where the number of electors on the register did not exceed 2,000, the maximum expenditure should be £350, and where the number of electors exceeded 2,000, the maximum should be £380, and an additional £30 for every 1,000 electors above 2,000. Well, he (Mr. Raikes) proposed that if the number of electors on the register did not exceed 1,000 the maximum should be £300, and where it exceeded £2,000 it should be £500. His proposal he would rather contrast with that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). The hon. Member was not in his place to-night, he was sorry to say; but there was very little difference between their two schemes. His (Mr. Raikes's) proposal did not descend to such close particulars as the hon. and learned Member's, his wish being merely to fix an initial limit in the first instance. The Attorney General was prepared to allow £350 to be spent in a constituency which did not number more than 1,000; but, to his (Mr. Raikes's) mind, it would be possible in very small constituencies of less than 1,000 electsrs—of which there were still some in the country—to conduct an election for less than £350; and he, therefore, proposed that they should start with a constituency of less than 1,000 electors, and there fix the maximum expenditure at £300. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry was prepared to put the maximum of £350 for such constituency. The hon. Member proposed that where the number of electors did not exceed 500, the maximum should be £200; where it did not exceed 1,000, £350; 1,500, £400; 2,000, £500; and an additional £40 for every 1,000 electors above 2,000. They had to consider this matter not in connection with small constituencies only, but as being the initial figure in all constituencies. They must be careful that they did not fix such a sum that, even with the accumulating amount for each increasing 1,000 electors, they might have too little for the proper conduct of an election in a large constituency. He (Mr. Raikes), in his proposal, rather proposed to reduce the expenditure where the number of electors was less than 1,000, and to increase it where the constituency ranged from 1,000 to 2,000. He did not believe that a sum of £380, where the number of electors did not exceed 2,000, with an additional £30 for every 1,000 electors, above 2,000 was an adequate amount. He had had rather a wide experience of constituencies and of elections, and he should not be following a right course if he did not endeavour to turn to some account such experience as he had gained on this particular question. He had had the honour to be four times a candidate for the City of Chester, which was a borough containing about 6,000 electors, and on each occasion the amount of the expenses had been different. The cheapest election of which he had had experience was that in which the expenses of both candidates amounted to about £8,500, and that election only lasted five days. So far as he was concerned, it was an exceptionally economical election, for his principal agent declined to receive a fee for his services, and besides that the election was as economically carried on as any election could be. Whereas, on other occasions, his principal agent had taken £200 for his services, on the occasion he was referring to nothing was taken. He had no reason to think that his opponents spent money improperly, and he did not think the total was an unreasonable expenditure in a constituency of 6,000 electors. The Bill, as it at present stood, would give £380 for 2,000 electors, and £120 for the additional 4,000 electors, which would be £500 altogether. He was bound to say that, with all their wish to see elections conducted as economically as possible, he very much doubted whether it would be possible to conduct one in such a constituency as that for £500. Let them take the case of a larger constituency with which he was familiar—one containing 13,000 electors. He found that the expenditure that they would be allowed to incur there would be £380 for 2,000, and an addition of £330, representing £30 per 1,000, above 2,000. That would entitle them to spend in that borough over £700 during an election. Well, he was inclined to think it would not be practicable to conduct an election in a borough of that size for the sum of £700, if it extended beyond a day or two. He did not himself see how it would be possible. He wished to put it to the Committee, and to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General—and he did not wish to see a single shilling more than was necessary taken from the pockets of the candidates—that there would be a danger of falsification of accounts, if they were going to put on election agents a rule which was not to be exceeded, and were going to say that a man who represented 13,000 electors was not, under any circumstances, to spend more than £700. Although the Attorney General had acceded to an Amendment permitting a larger expenditure under the head of Part III., miscellaneous expenditure was included in the maximum scale of Part IV. He did not make any objection to that; but he did not want the Committee to run away with the idea that the sum to be spent under Part III. was to be in excess of the amount to be spent under Part IV. Whatever unforeseen emergency might arise, the total expenditure in a constituency of 13,000 would be limited to £700. If the Committee in its wisdom thought it right to impose such a limitation, he had no doubt the candidates, and, he hoped, the election agents, would be as careful as possible to observe it; but he felt they must not shut their eyes to the very great temptation which would be afforded to persons connected with electioneering to cook the accounts, so as to bring the total expenditure within these limits. If they set a man to do a task which he believed to be practically impossible, they would expose all persons connected with the accounts to the temptation of breaking the law. He was afraid there was a good deal of account-cooking at the present time under the existing system. The matter was one well deserving the attention of Parliament. He remembered being engaged in an election, some time ago, in which there was a good deal of advertising done — in which advertising was largely resorted to by both sides. The other side, he thought, had advertised rather more than the side upon which he was engaged. Well, the whole expenses on the other side were returned at a less sum than, he believed, the advertising alone could possibly have been done for, leaving an absolute "*nil*" to represent the whole of the other expenses of the election. He should be sorry to believe that either the candidates or the persons directly connected with the management of the election were parties to any misrepresentation of the facts. He should be the last person to insinuate such a thing; but he was sure that, though the accounts might have been made up on some principles that commended themselves to some of the persons engaged in the making up, they were not principles which would pass muster in an ordinary commercial audit. If they were going to draw an extremely tight line, they would be exposing persons engaged in elections to the temptation to take special and peculiar views as to the figures they had to submit when they published election accounts. He did not at all wish to detain the Committee with any unnecessary observations on the subject; and he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would acquit him of a desire to unreasonably extend election expenses. In the scale he had submitted he had endeavoured to approximate to the absolute necessities of the case; and he thought that if they adopted a scale at variance with the facts and experience of most hon. Members in the House, they would be likely to open the door to fresh and aggravated evils much in excess of the scandalous corruption which disgraced the last General Election. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 44, line 26, leave out "2,000—£350," and insert "1,000—£300; 2,000—£500."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question proposed, "That 2,000 stand part of the Schedule."

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he believed that more than half the quarrels which took place in the world, in other matters besides politics, arose from the fact that people did not understand one another—did not thoroughly understand the words they discussed. He had risen to, if possible, make it clear what it was they were talking about. He agreed with what the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down said as to the figures in the Schedule; but he wished there to be a definite understanding as to what those figures meant. Was it meant that the figure for a single or bye-election was to be the same for a double or General Election? When there were only two candidates standing against each other there might be no difficulty at all; but when they were discussing this maximum expenditure in the Schedule, let them understand what it meant. If the cost to each candidate at an election was to be allowed to be £350 for 2,000 electors, two candidates on the same side might spend £700. If an election could be conducted properly for £350, it was clear they could not conduct it properly if they were to spend £700; and, on the other hand, if only £350 were to be spent on two candidates on the same side at a General Election, at a bye-election, if the single candidate was only allowed to spend half that sum, he would not have enough for his constituency. What was it they meant, when they put such a sum as this down? He had considered the matter very carefully, and had only been able to arrive at a rough calculation; but as the result of that calculation he would suggest that whatever sum they put down in the Schedule, either for counties or boroughs, should be the sum which a single candidate should spend at a single election. When they came to a double election, it was clear that two candidates joining together would not require to spend double the amount allowed to a single candidate, because there would be a number of expenses that could be curtailed or cut off; but, at the same time, the two candidates would require to spend more than one candidate. He would propose, therefore, that at a double election two candidates together should be able to spend half as much again as a single candidate. Let them find out what was to be the starting point, or initial expense, for an election in a constituency where, for instance, there was only one Member to be elected. Having fixed that sum, let them provide that two candidates putting up together in a constituency returning two Members could spend half as much again as the one candidate. If they agreed upon that they would know where they were. Let them now discuss what a single candidate might spend, and then, when they came to candidatures, they could put in another figure.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) begged to thank the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) for drawing attention to this matter, and to ask the indulgence of the Committee for a few moments whilst he made a statement as to these expenses, which might travel a little beyond the Amendment which had been moved. He wished to make the statement now, as it might affect some other Amendments. They had now come to a part of the Bill where they were no longer dealing with penalties and controversial matters—they had come to a part in which they could all use their best endeavours to economize expenditure. As far as he could discover, the cost of the last General Election amounted to £2,500,000, and he believed that to be a low estimate, for allowance must be made for a considerable sum for expenses which were never intended to be returned for the cases in which no return had been made. His view was that a very large proportion of that sum went into the pockets of very undeserving people; and it was to be sincerely hoped it went out of the pockets of very deserving people. If they accepted the maximum as it was now framed in the

Bill for boroughs, and that for counties with a slight extension, they would reduce the expenditure from £2,500,000 to £800,000, or one-third. He was certain, from the experience they had of the Returns, that a General Election in the future could be conducted for that sum. He could give instance after instance of elections which had been conducted at a cost much below the maximum contained in the Bill. In the case of Peterborough, where a maximum of £410 would be allowed under the Bill, only £332 had, at the election held a few weeks ago, been expended. He could also give instances where, in county elections, less had been spent than would be allowed under the Bill, and his opinion was that what could be done in one constituency could be done in another. Certainly, £800,000 was sufficient to be spent on electioneering at a General Election. The expenses returned relating to English county elections—entirely irrespective of Returning Officers' expenses, and of some counties where there was no Return made, and of all the expenditure beyond that returned—amounted to £615,800. Under the Bill, that amount would be reduced to £200,000 or one-third. He hoped, in this respect, the Bill would be regarded as a relief to the agricultural interest. As to English boroughs, the expenditure returned at the last General Election amounted to £595,424; but under the Bill it would only be £209,000 or, again, one-third. He would point out that, although the general reduction would be two-thirds, in individual cases it would be very unequal. In the county of Durham, the expenditure returned had amounted to £46,000; but under the Bill it would be £6,500. In Lancashire, it had amounted to £76,600; but under the Bill the amount would only be £23,000. He could not leave Wales entirely without a word. The election expenses in one county of that Principality—as to the purity of which so much had been said—had amounted to £20,100, although the number of electors was only 5,200. He had much pleasure in stating—and he was sure the Representative of the county would share that pleasure—that under the Bill in future the expenditure would not be more than £1,700. He could give instances where the expenditure would fall below what he was about to propose; and he asked the indulgence of the Chairman and the Committee whilst, in dealing with this Amendment, he referred to both counties and boroughs. He had dealt with boroughs with more confidence than with counties, because he had more knowledge and experience of them. In dealing with boroughs he had calculated and put down in the Bill what he thought would be sufficient for a single election. The maximum he had adopted had been calculated for a single election—that was to say, where two candidates fought one against the other. He had adopted the figure after careful consideration, and after taking the best advice on the matter. He had looked at the Returns of many boroughs of different sizes; and he felt confident that, by striking off the use of conveyances and by the non-employment of paid assistants, the amount mentioned for boroughs was amply sufficient. The arguments brought to bear in the matter would have to be strong before he should be convinced that additional expenditure would be required in boroughs. As regarded counties, however, he had always to consult county Members. He had nothing to guide him in respect to counties as he had in respect to boroughs; therefore, he had consulted county Members on both sides of the House, who, he was certain, desired to have no unnecessary expenditure. He believed that the maximum in the Bill in regard to counties might be safely increased; and he was inclined to think that if the suggestion of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) were adopted, the expenditure in counties would still be an economical one. The right hon. Gentleman proposed that the amount allowed for counties should be £60 instead of £40 per 1,000 electors. He (the Attorney General) wished to adhere to the maximum expenditure, as stated in the Bill, in respect to borough elections —which amount was sufficient for a single contest—and he wished, also, if the Committee would allow him to do so, to meet the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) in respect to the scale for counties. In this matter they had some difficulty to face, particularly in regard to joint candidatures; and he had waited to see if any solution would be proposed. Well, a solution had been proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and by the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt) in a direction which, after full consideration, he was inclined to agree to. If they had sought in any way to increase the expenditure, he should have very much objected to it; but they had sought to diminish it. He was perfectly willing to diminish it, and to say that where there were two candidates who wished to have joint committee rooms, and to contest the election together in all respects, they should have the amount they were allowed to spend increased by one-half above the amount a single candidate would be allowed to spend. The right hon. Gentleman suggested that where there was a joint candidature they should take off a quarter of the expenditure allowed to each, which was a quarter of the gross expenditure. The result of this would be, if they would allow him to give an instance, that if the expenditure allowed in the case of a single candidate was £500, they might take a quarter off, if the candidates united, leaving the gross amount £750 for a joint candidature. That was the suggestion which came from the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Gentleman opposite. He had considered this matter very fully, with the assistance of others; and the result was that he was diminishing the expenditure in regard to joint candidature in boroughs — he would ask hon. Gentlemen sitting below the Gangway to remember that—and he had accepted the increased expenditure of the right hon. Gentleman as he had suggested it, and, practically, as it was suggested by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis). He did hope this would be considered a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. He had endeavoured to satisfy hon. Gentlemen opposite, and to economize as much as possible. He had reduced the borough expenditure by a quarter wherever there was a double candidature; and although there was an increase in respect of single candidatures in counties, yet the increase of expenditure there was counterbalanced by the reduction which would take place when there were two candidates, as he had mentioned, when a reduction of one-fourth would be made. In cases where there were three candidates he thought there should be a still further reduction, and he proposed to take off one-third instead of one-fourth from the amount they would otherwise be legally entitled to spend. If they were entitled to spend £500 each—that was, £1,500 between them—the three would be allowed to spend two-thirds of that amount, or £1,000. That was the scale he now presented to the Committee, after listening to what had been said, and obtaining what information he could from various sources. He believed this proposal would bring the working of their electoral machinery into perfect order, and would save no less a sum than £1,700,000 in a General Election. There had been two or three matters to provide for under the circumstances of accepting this joint candidature. It was not at all an easy matter to deal with, because they had to determine what a joint candidature was. He had done his best to frame a definition, and that definition they would have to put in the Bill. There were two or three copies of this definition in print. He would not ask them to consider the clause at present; but it would be introduced into the Bill and brought up on Report. The clause would be an elastic one; and it seemed to him he had done all he could to meet this expenditure of joint candidates. He would not discuss the provision he proposed; and, apologizing for having wandered away from the Question before the Committee, he would ask them to go back to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes).

Mr. GREGORY said, he could not but think that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had met the case of the counties very fairly, and had very properly modified the scale in the case of joint candidates; for doing which, it seemed to him, there had been very substantial ground. Joint candidatures generally took place at the time of a General Election. A bye-election was an isolated case, and a candidate found little difficulty in obtaining what assistance he required. At a General Election, on the other hand, the services of agents, managers, and so on, were not so easily procured; and there was, therefore, ground for increasing the maximum. He was happy the hon. and learned Gentleman had made a concession in this respect. As to the clause the hon. and learned Gentleman intended to bring up on Report dealing with joint candidatures, he hoped that where candidates had separate agents, but joint committee rooms, they might be looked upon as joint candidates.

MR. ANDERSON said, he knew more about boroughs than counties; and on behalf of those he thanked the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for the concession he had made. The scale the hon. and learned Gentleman had proposed was quite satisfactory; and he (Mr. Anderson) hoped, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) would not now press his Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman, in moving his Amendment, omitted, in the details of his speech, to say that the sum in the Schedule did not include the Returning Officer's expenses. Those were all additional, and, in reality, those expenses in a borough ought to be the principal part of the cost of an election. They were expenses which a candidate could not control. It was in the power of a candidate to control, more or less, all other expenses; and he ought to be able to control them and easily keep them within the scale of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of advertising as being a great source of expenditure. It was carried on to excess everywhere; let them cut it down, and they would get rid of a great part of the expense. Advertising was simply a mode of bribing the Press, and was one of the most nefarious expenses connected with elections. If they could cut it down it would be better for everybody, and elections would be much more pure. One thing he did not understand—namely, that nothing was said in the Schedule as to cases where no contest at all took place; and it was quite certain that an electorate might be considerably corrupted by gross and excessive expenditure in cases where contests did not take place. In the very last Return presented to the House there were some glaring cases of gross expenditure at elections of this kind. He would rather not name the instances, although he could do so if necessary.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he merely rose at this moment on a point of convenience. This Part IV. was divided into two sub-sections—No. 1 applying to boroughs; and No. 2 to counties. He wished to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General whether it would not be more convenient to discuss the case of the boroughs first, and that of the counties afterwards? If they did this, the proposal affecting counties would remain over for future consideration.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped the Committee would confine itself now to the case of the boroughs.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman for what he had said about the counties. The course the Government intended to take was a wise and proper one; but the question of the counties was not now before the Committee; therefore he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would not go into it. As to the boroughs, for the life of him he could not see where there was anything in the Bill to intimate that the maximum was not intended to apply to each candidate—quite the reverse. As the Bill was drawn, it was clear each candidate could spend the amount put down for the election; and that where there was a double election, and two Members to be elected, the two might spend double the amount of one; and that where there were three Members to be elected—as in Glasgow and Birmingham—they might spend three times the amount. If the Amendment—with which he entirely agreed—were to be proposed, and if it was clear that two candidates putting up together would not want to spend as much as two candidates who put up independently, it was equally clear that the amount in the Schedule for both boroughs and counties would have to be increased for single elections. There could be no doubt that, as the Bill was presented, the maximum was intended to be the sum that each candidate might spend in both counties and boroughs; and that was why he had said they should not allow themselves to get into a difficulty as to the meaning of words. As the Bill stood, each candidate might spend exactly what was in the Schedule; and now that they were going to say that if two candidates stood together they need not spend so much as double the amount, it was clear it was an open question whether the amount in the Schedule ought not to be increased for single candidates.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the calculation in regard to boroughs was made with reference to single elections; and it would be far too much simply to double that for joint candidates. Whilst he admitted the incongruity to which attention had been drawn, he would point out that candidates need not unite unless they liked. If they chose they could remain separate, then each would have the benefit of the sum in the Schedule. Because they increased the amount in counties, in order to arrive at a right sum for single candidates, that was no reason why they should increase the amount allowed in the case of boroughs, if sufficient was allowed under existing circumstances. This was a matter for calculation. They had different circumstances to deal with in counties from what they had to deal with in boroughs. He had yielded to the right hon. Gentleman in regard to counties; but he could not yield to him in regard to boroughs unless he showed that the amount allowed was not sufficient. The borough Members had not shown that the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman should be adopted.

MR. WHITLEY said, he had been very much surprised indeed to see the change of front on the part of the hon. and learned Member to-night. Up to the present moment they had all believed that the amount in the Bill applied both to joint and several candidates. What had struck him (Mr. Whitley), and what, he thought, must have struck every Member of the Committee, was this—that by the change they had made they had raised great difficulty in the way of the proper carrying out of the Bill. Why should they expose candidates to additional penalties to those they had already placed on them? Why should they put before them the danger of being guilty of illegal practices? As had been said, it would be difficult to find conveyances in the case of one candidate; but in the case of two joint candidates that difficulty would be greatly enhanced. Each candidate would have his own agent, and each agent would have different sub-agents, for whose action both the candidates would be held responsible. It would be seen, therefore, that they were not only increasing the expenditure, but adding to the dangers and difficulties of a contest, by the arrangements they were now making without adequate reason. He was never more surprised in his life than he was to hear the hon. and learned Gentleman turn round and say that he had yielded to hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House. It was totally the reverse. The hon. and learned Gentleman had changed his ground for the first time, and had said the reason for it was that he understood he was acting in accordance with the views of Members on the Opposition Benches. He (Mr. Whitley) repudiated ever entertaining such a view. He had believed, and had been willing all along, that the maximum in the Schedule should apply not only to general, but to individual contests; and now the hon. and learned Gentleman turned round and accused him of having altered his views. The fact was, there had been a change of opinion on the part of the Government at the last moment, and it was highly unfair to bring this charge against Members of the Opposition. For his own part, he was satisfied that the change in the views of the Attorney General would cause very great consternation throughout the country; and he believed that they were so framing this Bill that it would be next to impossible to work elections under it. It was easy to say joint candidates might appoint different agents if they liked; but it would be easy for an agent or sub-agent employed by one candidate to invalidate the election of the other by doing work for him. Such a thing might be shown to be an illegal practice. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman told them they might have separate committee rooms; but let them take a case like his (Mr. Whitley's) own constituency—namely, Liverpool. He had an enormous number of committee rooms, and was that enormous number to be doubled? He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would not consider that he had yielded anything in this matter. He had yielded to himself, and hon. Members only wished him to carry out that which he had himself intended up to the present. The change which had taken place in the views of the hon. and learned Member at this moment was most inconvenient, and he (Mr. Whitley) should oppose it to the best of his ability.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, it was perfectly understood that this Bill was not framed on the ideas of advanced

Radicals, nor would this maximum ever for a moment satisfy them. The Bill, it was well known, was brought in to please Conservatives and Liberals. Whenever a complaint had been made as to there being too many clerks employed at elections, and too many committee rooms used, the hon. and learned Gentleman had always drawn attention to the fixed maximum contained in the Bill, beyond which, he said, no one could go—he had said that if they spent more in one direction they would have to spend less in another. The hon. and learned Gentleman had given a pledge to the Committee—by which means he had very materially reduced the length of the debate—and it was to the effect that in no case would he increase the maximum scale without the universal consent of everyone in the House. Owing to this, so far as he understood it, they had not discussed many matters which otherwise might have been discussed. The hon. and learned Gentleman, however, had explained that in one particular case—in the case of counties—he had, to a certain extent, agreed with the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite by raising the maximum in the Schedule; but, against that, he had, to a certain extent, reduced the maximum in the case of two candidates who stood together. It might, therefore, be said that the hon. and learned Gentleman had stood to his guns. He (Mr. Labouchere) had put down an Amendment for the purpose of reducing the maximum, for the reason that hon. Members on the other side had put down Amendments with the object of increasing it—he had thought his Amendment would pair off against the Amendments of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that it would keep the Attorney General steady to find that, if he yielded to the other side, he would have opposition to face on this side. The Amendment he (Mr. Labouchere) had put down, he was glad to say had had its effect, and the Schedule practically remained as it was. He himself was hardly satisfied yet, because he should like to see the maximum reduced by some 70 per cent, so as to put poor men in the same position as rich men in regard to elections, and in that manner to give constituencies a larger choice of Representatives. That, however, they could not obtain; therefore, they had to be content with what they could get for the present. Before sitting down, he wished to make a remark as to the singular ingratitude of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) displayed in his references to these Schedules. Under the Bill, the hon. Gentleman would have an immense amount to spend at an election. He (Mr. Labouchere) had been reckoning him up, and he found that he had a constituency of 60,000. [An hon. MEMBER: 63,000.] Well, 63,000; that only strengthened his argument. The hon. Member would be allowed, as a single candidate, to spend £2,120 on an election, and yet he came here asking for more. He could spend more than almost any hon. Member in the House, and yet he was the one who came here and complained that candidates would not be allowed to spend sufficient under the Bill. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not intend to move the Amendment standing in his name; and he hoped that, as the Attorney General had acted so fairly between both sides as to stand to his Schedules, there would not be a long discussion on this matter.

MR. ONSLOW said, that if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) went to a Division on this question, he should not vote with him. He agreed with the Attorney General, so far as his own experience went, as to boroughs; but he should like to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman one or two questions. Supposing there was no contest in a borough where there was only one, or where there were two Members to be elected. According to the Schedule, these gentlemen could spend up to the maximum, and, no doubt, they would, in order that they might have an advantage at the next election. Would that be right? It did appear to him to be absurd to say that if there was no contest the candidate should be allowed to spend exactly the same amount as if there was a contest. He would call attention to this further matter. Supposing there were four candidates at an election, two on each side, and that they started two joint candidatures. All might go well for a time, but a disagreement might take place during the contest, and the candidates might desire to work independently. How were they to break their joint candidature? The Committee were under great inconvenience in not having the proposed new clauses before them. This was one of the most vital points of the whole Bill, this question of expenditure; yet they had not got before them the clauses proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) had said he did not think the expenditure sufficient, and proposed to raise it; but, according to his (Mr. Onslow's) experience, when once they did away with conveyances, and with the heavy expenditure on printing, which all knew was a scandal, £350 would be quite enough to pay for the candidature of any gentleman who stood for a constituency below 2,000. He would also call the hon. and learned Gentleman's attention to this—that if they did not look out they would be, by the proposed clause, leaving a loop-hole for what he might call dishonest practices, for everyone would want to spend as much as he could. Candidates, although they might know they were fighting exactly the same cause, would not join—they would not let people know they were joint candidates, in order that they might spend a little more. In conclusion, he would again press on the attention of the Committee that if there were to be no contest at all, by this Schedule they would allow each candidate to spend quite as much as if there was a contest. It seemed to him that, under such circumstances, any amount of corrupt practices would be committed.

Mr. WARTON remarked, that he did not wish to say a word about the amount of the expenditure, but wished to point out that what had appeared to be a concession a short time ago—the substitution of £200 for £100—was really no concession at all. They had, in Part I., a certain number of persons to be employed, in Part II. certain legal expenses, and in Part III. provision for miscellaneous matters. All these expenses would have to be incurred, and there would be nothing for suddenly arising emergencies under the 3rd Part of the Schedule. The object of the 3rd Part was to make provision for any unforeseen contingency, and to permit any extra expense which might be found to be necessary. He wished to press on the hon. and learned Gentleman that, *a priori*, before they went into the matter of the amount of the maximum they ought to consider whether Part III. ought to be included or not. If there was £350 allowed for a borough election, and if, owing to some informality, or some unforeseen emergency, £200 of this had to be expended under Part III., it would leave only £150 for all the expenses under Parts I. and II. Would the hon. and learned Gentleman, before the Report, consider this important point? He would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman to strike out Part III. altogether—it could be easily done if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) would withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would see that considerable change had been introduced into this question by the statement he had just made. With regard to boroughs, the hon. and learned Gentleman said he had not only considered the matter very carefully himself in the light of considerable experience, but had referred it to those on whose opinion he most relied, and they had reported in favour of the scale in the Bill. But now a considerable change had been introduced, for the hon. and learned Gentleman told them that where two candidates stood jointly a quarter of the expense was to be taken off. He must say that gave Members on the Opposition side of the House a right to ask for some little time to consider whether or not the original scale ought not to be altered. The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman now before the Committee was not only to increase the scale, but, in one particular case, it was to reduce the amount in the case of a small constituency. Where there were more than 1,000 electors he proposed to increase it. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) did not say the scale of his right hon. Friend was a perfect one; but he maintained that they had a perfect right, after the change which had been introduced, to take time to consider whether or not the original scale ought not to be altered. That being so, he did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman would desire to divide on the Amendment. He rather hoped he would do so to express his sense of the position in which the Committee was placed by the change which had taken place. But if he did not do so—or even if he did do so—he (Mr. E. Stanhope) claimed a right for hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House to consider the matter carefully, and have brought up before them on Report any proposal which might be thought necessary for dealing with the question.

MR. RAIKES said, he was sorry he could not accede to the request made to him by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). He did not think it would serve a good purpose to withdraw the Amendment, in order to give an opportunity for re-opening the question on Part III. He regretted he should not have the support of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) on this occasion, and he regretted still more that he did not share the hon. Member's experience as to the economy with which an election could be conducted. No doubt, some hon. Members were more fortunate than others in the constituencies they had the honour to represent; and he did not think the experience of the hon. Member for Guildford was that which was general throughout the country. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), he (Mr. Raikes) certainly should be one of the last persons to keep up the enormous and, he thought, extremely cruel charges for advertising. If this Bill had the effect of knocking on the head the system of enormous advertising, that, at all events, would be one good result derived from it. He hoped he had not given anyone to understand that he desired to keep up these charges. It had been pointed out that the effect of his Amendment would be to reduce the scale in very small boroughs. Well, he proposed to draw the line at 1,000 constituents, and to reduce the amount which might be actually expended within the limits of such a borough. His proposal seemed to him to be more comprehensive and elastic than that of the Government. He did not wish to trouble the Committee by recapitulating the particulars and instances he had referred to when he brought forward his Amendment; and he would only say that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had offered no arguments or facts in opposition to them. The sole fact the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to rely upon was that his scale would have the effect of causing the borough elections in the country for the future to cost one-third the amount they cost at the last General Election. That, he thought, was a result devoutly to be wished. With regard to candidates, he would merely say that it appeared to him it would have been more simple and more fair in the case of a single candidate standing against two candidates to have allowed him to spend as much as his opponents. Whether the amount each candidate who stood jointly might pay was 75 per cent, or any other proportion of the amount he would pay if he were alone, if a candidate opposed two gentlemen together singly, he should be allowed to spend as much as though he stood with another person. He wished to draw the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to the fact that there was nothing in the Schedule to deal with the City of London, where there were four Members. [An hon. MEMBER: Oh! Yes.] No; the hon. and learned Attorney General had made provision for three candidates, but not for four. He thought it was the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board who said there were cases where four candidates could have joined in the City of London.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: There have been; but the occasion does not exist now.

MR. RAIKES said, it might not be long before they saw four candidates standing in the same interest—in Birmingham, Glasgow, or the City of London, for instance. He would ask the Committee to divide on his Amendment, as he thought it desirable to make a protest against the scale of expenditure it was proposed to put in the Bill, which, if adopted, would only lead to an enormous aggravation of the evil of false accounts, which he believed to have been the most corrupt practice during the last General Election.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, they ought to come to some understanding upon this matter. The Attorney General must remember that this Bill had been sent down to every constituency in England, and every constituency, both county and borough, had argued the same way, and had read the Bill in the same light. The constituencies had understood that Schedule to prescribe the amount that each candidate might spend in his election. Now, if the Attorney General would consent to raise the sum of £30 to £40—["No, no!"] He heard hon. Gentlemen say "No, no!" but the

Committee wanted to come to the end of the Bill; and he was afraid that unless they could arrive at some satisfactory arrangement on this matter, the debate might be prolonged for some nights. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had understood that if a candidate in a county were allowed to spend £1,000, two candidates would be allowed to spend £2,000. He had no desire to exceed the Attorney General's maximum of £2,000 in the case of a joint candidature; but what he did want was where there was a single candidate standing, he should be able to spend more than £1,000 if necessary. He had put upon the Paper a new clause, which, however, he meant to withdraw. Its object was that in boroughs two candidates standing together ought to be able to spend one-fourth less than they would if standing separately. What he now proposed was that, in the case of boroughs, they should alter the allowance of £30 for every 1,000 electors to £40; and he asked hon. Gentlemen to look at the practical result of the Schedule. If a candidate stood singly, he would be able to spend £1,000; but, in conjunction with another candidate, he would only be able to spend £1,500. [Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: No.] The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) dissented from that view; but he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would ask the hon. Gentleman whether he himself did not believe that when this Bill went down to the country, everyone thought that the £350 put down in the Schedule to be spent in a constituency where there were less than 2,000 electors was the sum which each candidate might spend? There was not the slightest doubt that the Schedule had been understood in this way. The suggestion he now made he made in good humour, and apart from any desire to allow the expenditure of one farthing more than the maximum. If they took off one-fourth in the case of a joint candidature, and substituted £40 for £30, they would find a candidate was not allowed to spend one single farthing more than anyone thought he would be able to spend. Such was the principle he wanted to carry out, and he was persuaded the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General could not find any fault with it. If they were to have joint candidatures, they must be on the same ground in counties as in boroughs; otherwise they must stick to the Bill as originally drawn.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had now departed from the course he had taken up throughout all this debate. He (the Attorney General) had given way to the right hon. Gentleman in almost every particular, and yet they were now told by him that they would have to continue the discussion for many nights more, unless he yielded on this point too. Now, he (the Attorney General) must ask the Committee—for he had to appeal still to their indulgence—to consider the position in which they were placed. Respecting the maximum allowed under the Bill, it had been pointed out by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) that joint candidates would have a great advantage over a single candidate, and he (the Attorney General) at the time stated he would endeavour to meet the case. How had he endeavoured to meet it? There was now an Amendment on the Paper in these words—

> "In the case of two candidates standing jointly, the expenditure authorized as a maximum expenditure allowable under this Schedule shall, for both candidates together, be only one-half greater than the amount stated as allowable to a candidate standing singly."

Now, that was precisely his suggestion; yet that Amendment stood on the Paper in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). That was applicable to counties and to boroughs, and he had accepted the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman in its very terms, and yet the right hon. Gentleman now came down to the House and said that if the Government persisted in taking such a course they would be required to spend many more nights in the discussion of the subject. He (the Attorney General) had raised the rate with regard to counties, because the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) wished it; but he did not hesitate to say that in a Division, five out of every six borough Members would vote in favour of the rate of maximum for boroughs now proposed. Why did the right hon. Gentleman ask him to alter the rate for counties? Because he had altered it in regard to counties which required the alteration? No; he simply asked him to add an unnecessary Amendment, and an Amendment which was not required or wanted in respect to every single candidature, because they were going to take off elsewhere. The right hon. Gentleman had distinctly said that, irrespective of the assumption whether £350 was a right sum to allow or not, they ought to increase it because in the case of double candidatures they decreased the expenditure allowed. There was certainly some rule of conduct in Parliamentary life, and he could not purchase immunity for the present protraction of the debate by any further concession to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross).

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was sorry the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, who really had borne a great many of their criticisms and comments with such good temper, should now, when they were approaching the end of their labours, introduce anything like heat into the discussion. There was really no occasion for it at all. Indeed, the hon. and learned Gentleman had misapprehended the point he had endeavoured to state. Without the smallest degree of heat, he (Mr. E. Stanhope) would put the Committee in possession of the difficulty which suggested itself to his (Mr. E. Stanhope's) and his hon. Friend's minds. A surprise had been sprung on the borough Members. Every borough Member, almost without exception, sitting on the Conservative side of the House, accepted a certain scale of expenditure imposed in the Bill. They had come down to the House to-night to be told that an Amendment was going to be proposed on Report, to the effect that in cases of joint candidature the expenditure was to be decreased by one-fourth. He was not surprised, under such circumstances, that many borough Members looked at this matter from a very different point of view, and insisted that the original scale should be revived.

MR. GRANTHAM said, they must remember that some hon. Gentlemen had lived in the constituencies which they represented for a considerable portion of their lives. That was so in the case of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), and the consequence was that he was so much respected in the town that it was not necessary for him to spend any great amount of money on his candidature. Parliament, however, could not legislate for one class of people alone. In many constituencies a man was put up who was a total stranger, and, therefore, he had not the same advantages as a local candidate would have. All along they had been discussing this Bill upon the assumption that they would be entitled to spend, if there were two candidates standing together, twice the amount prescribed by the Bill. It was, therefore, very hard that now, at the last moment, they should be told that, in the case of a joint candidature, they would be allowed to spend one-fourth less than two candidates acting singly would be permitted to spend. Personally, he considered that the same measure of justice should be meted out to boroughs as to counties. He was prepared to accept willingly and with satisfaction the concession which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General made respecting counties, but he could not think that boroughs had been treated as fairly as counties.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that, as the Representative of a somewhat large borough, he should vote with his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) if he went to a Division. It so happened that those Members who had expressed approval of this scale represented comparatively small boroughs. He, however, considered that £30 for every additional 1,000 electors was a very small addition upon the initial sum. The additional amount suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) would probably be necessary for the proper management of a borough election.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the alteration, which they understood from the Attorney General was to be made in the Bill with reference to the Schedule, was most important. He (Lord George Hamilton) did not now speak in the interest of county Members, because he thought the concession which the Attorney General had made, so far as counties were concerned, was a a very important one. He had had the advantage of hearing the earlier part of the discussion of this Amendment, and he had taken the trouble to work out the result of his right hon. Friend's Amendment with reference to counties, and he hoped the Committee would bear in mind the facts he would now lay before them. The suggestion of his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire increased the expenditure both of single as well as of double candidatures in counties—it considerably raised the amount which any candidate, standing alone, could spend, and it slightly increased the amount which two candidates, standing together, could spend. The Attorney General had adopted a certain portion of the Amendment of his right hon. Friend in regard to counties; but he had diminished the amount which could be spent by two candidates standing together in a borough. In point of fact, the Government had raised the expenditure in counties above the amount they had first considered necessary; but they had reduced the expenditure which, in their Schedule, they had considered necessary in boroughs. He entreated the Attorney General to consider whether he could not treat boroughs somewhat in the same way in which his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) proposed to treat counties. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL: No.] No! Why not? [Hon. MEMBERS: We do not want it.] Why not? He was not so sure on that point. Certainly, there were many Members who, representing very large towns, were afraid that if the expenditure of a joint candidature were lessened by one-fourth, it would not be possible to conduct their election properly without exceeding the scale laid down in the Schedule. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL: Oh, oh!] The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General exclaimed "Oh, oh!" but the hon. and learned Gentleman only represented a small borough. Those who represented large boroughs—and there were a good many sitting on the Opposition side of the House—were of opinion that if the Government cut off one-fourth of the expenditure which, in the Bill as originally drawn, they were allowed to incur, they would not have sufficient means of conducting their election. He (Lord George Hamilton) should, therefore, support the Amendment of his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes). Whether they were successful or not in carrying the Amendment, he earnestly hoped that the Attorney General would listen to the appeal now made to him. The hon. and learned Gentleman had, as had been frequently admitted, shown singular tact and good temper in meeting the various criticisms which naturally must be showered on anyone who had the management of a Bill which peculiarly affected every individual Member of the House, and all they now asked was that he would exercise a little more of his ingenuity and ability in order to apply the same system to borough as well as to county Members. If the hon. and learned Gentleman could do this, he (Lord George Hamilton) was perfectly certain he would find that any appeal to the Opposition would meet with a most favourable reception.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he considered that, as a Representative of a very large borough constituency, he was entitled to make a few observations upon this matter. The main principle which had guided the Government all through this Bill was that expenditure at elections should, as far as possible, be diminished. He could not, however, conceive how it could be considered that this object would be attained by the proposed alteration, because if they diminished the expenditure of two candidates standing jointly, they must inevitably produce the result that two candidates standing on the same side would stand separately with a view of preventing their expenditure being decreased. He certainly could not understand the logic of the proposed alteration; and objecting, as he did, to candidates being left to the discretion of the Judge in this matter, he should oppose the amended clause.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the appeal he had made to the Attorney General was very simple. He would undertake to say there was not a single constituency from one end of England to the other that did not believe, until half-an-hour ago, that each candidate, whether standing jointly or separately, might spend the maximum allowed by the Schedule. ["Divide, divide!"] He supposed he might be allowed to express his views upon this matter; but if hon. Members would not listen to an appeal, or to any argument at all, of course he would have no other course open to him but to move to report Progress at once. He re-asserted that there was not a single Member, or a single borough constituency in England, Wales, and Scotland, that did not believe, when the Bill was sent down to them, that each candidate in a constituency, in which there were not more than 2,000 electors, might spend £350, if he liked. And all the recommendations that had come up to Members had been on the supposition that if two candidates stood together they might spend £700. Now they were told, for the first time, that in regard to boroughs the Schedule was to have a different meaning from what it had in respect to counties. He thought the Attorney General had met the case of counties very fairly, but that he had not acted with equal justice in the case of boroughs. In the case of boroughs, the Schedule allowed that for every additional 1,000 electors, a candidate might incur an additional expenditure of £30. Now, if the Attorney General would change that £30 into £40, the result would be that if two candidates stood together they would only spend the precise amount every elector in every constituency of the country had believed they would be allowed to spend. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) did not wish to increase the expenditure by one farthing; but he did not think it fair that, at the last moment, this proposition should be started upon the Committee.

Mr. INCE said, the Government had in this Bill specified the sums which they thought fit and proper to be expended in elections. It was manifest that if £350 was a sufficient and proper sum to be expended when there was only one candidate in the field, twice the amount ought not to be permitted when two candidates were standing together. Only the same printing would be required for two candidates acting jointly as for one standing singly. Only the same number of committee rooms would be required; and, indeed, hon. Members who had had a larger experience than he had must know that the cost of a joint candidature would very slightly exceed that of a single candidature. He was inclined to think that if the Attorney General had made an error at all, it had been in not making a larger reduction in the case of a joint candidature.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, they had understood up to this that the proposition with regard to maximum expenditure was final. He had been puzzled to know how, under the Schedule, he could conduct his election; but now he found that even the very moderate amount allowed by the Schedule was to be decreased. Personally, he did not fear the result if a Dissolution were announced next week, because he would simply have to go to his constituents, and, in order to secure his return, announce his determination to oppose Her Majesty's Government. Let them take, however, the case of an ordinary election, where there was a good deal to be said on each side. In such a case, he was particularly desirous of knowing how it was possible, in view of the great expenditure which had to be incurred in committee rooms in the City of London, and Westminster, and other parts of the Metropolis, and in view of the great expense of advertising in the daily papers, to conduct an election even on the original terms proposed? He hoped his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) would go to a Division, because it was their duty to protest most strongly against this alteration being sprung on the Committee.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he must deny that this proposal had been sprung on the Committee, and to support his views he need only remind the Committee of what really had occurred. When this matter came before the House on the second reading of the Bill, it was pointed out that the amounts fixed in the Schedule were for single candidatures, and it was said that, if that were so, they were allowing too much in the case of a joint candidature. That was really pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and by several other hon. Members. No complaints were made that the maximum was too little for a single candidature; but complaints certainly were made that it was too large in the case of two candidates standing together. He (the Solicitor General) could not understand the position taken up by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley). Did the hon. Gentleman mean to say he was perfectly content the maximum should be a great deal too low in the case of a single candidature, but that he was not content it should be proportionately increased if two or three candidates stood together at a General Election? The hon. Member moved no Amendment to the Schedule, and had given no Notice of any Amendment. As a matter of fact, the two last elections at Liverpool had been single elections, so that it was evident the hon. Gentleman was quite content that in the case of single elections the maximum should be fixed at an amount at which, in his opinion, it was impossible to fight an election. Surely that was a logical conclusion to draw from the remarks of the hon. Gentleman. It must be remembered that this Schedule applied to a vast number of cases where there could not be joint candidatures; indeed, one-half of the constituencies in England only returned one Member. In the case of those boroughs, no objection had been raised that the maximum was too small, and no one had proposed to raise it. It had, however, been said that it was a blot upon the Bill that too much was allowed for two candidates who were fighting together, in comparison with what was allowed for a single candidate. The Government had said they would try to remedy that state of things, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had put an Amendment on the Paper with the view of meeting that blot, and to provide that in the case of boroughs, and counties as well, where there was a joint candidature, there should be a reduction in the expenditure, in order to put things on a proper basis. The right hon. Gentleman, it was true, moved some increase on the county expenditure, but did not move that increase in respect of boroughs. It, therefore, could not be said that the Government had taken the Committtee by surprise, because, as a matter of fact, they had only, in this matter, endeavoured to meet objections raised by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) himself would admit that the clause he had put down on the Paper needed a great deal of qualification. They could not incorporate it in the Bill as it appeared on the Paper, and, therefore, they must bring up a new clause. They were prepared to accept what was suggested by the other side, and proposed to carry it out by a new clause on Report. What he submitted to hon. Gentlemen now was that, inasmuch as this matter could not be finally dealt with until the Report, they should now be allowed to proceed with the Bill. It was unfortunate that, in his anxiety to meet the views of hon. Members opposite, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General should have told them beforehand which of the Amendments he would accept. If he had not done that, probably by this time the Committee would have got through the Bill. What had happened would certainly be a lesson to the Government in the future.

Mr. WARTON said, he protested against the statement just made by the hon. and learned Solicitor General, that no one on the Opposition side of the House had objected to the scale for boroughs. He (Mr. Warton) distinctly objected to this clause when he moved the rejection of the Second Reading of the Bill. On that occasion he pointed out that, under this ridiculously low scale, there was not even enough to pay an agent. He had stated, on a previous occasion, that the maximum of expenses was absurdly low, and, therefore, it was not the case that no such objection was made. As the matter stood, it seemed to him to have been very carefully contrived for the purpose of catching Conservative candidates, because it had this effect, that if a joint address were issued, or a joint committee room engaged, or anything whatever done conjointly, they became at once joint candidates; and they knew perfectly well that in counties nearly all the candidates would be joint candidates. There were many boroughs which had only a single Representative; but in all the counties, with the exception of a very few which were triangular, there was a double election. It was, therefore, quite clear what was the object of the Government; it was to catch the Conservative candidates.

Motion made, and Question proposed, Schedule 1, page 44, line 26, leave out "2,000 . . £350," and insert "1,000 . . £300," "2,000 . . £500." — (*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 128; Noes 67: Majority 61.—(Div. List, No. 202.)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that as the hon. Member for Londonderry was not now in his place, he rose to move the Amendment standing in that hon. Gentleman's name. Nobody wished to prolong this Committee beyond to-night; but he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was bound to say that the constituencies would be very much shocked if they found that they were to be cut off suddenly, quite against their expectations, by the provision in the Schedule which he confessed he had never thought would cut them off. He thought that both sides were quite agreed about the counties—there was no difficulty about them at all—because they had all come to the conclusion that by increasing the initial sum and cutting off one-fourth they would arrive at the same result as was contained in the Schedule. However, the Attorney General had promised to deal with that afterwards; but in the case of the boroughs it was different. No doubt, the Government would be able to find out the whole state of the case before the Report; and he suggested that the whole thing had better stand over until the Report in order that they might then deal with it completely. He made this suggestion in the interests of the Bill; and he understood, from the speech of the Solicitor General, that the Government would not be unwilling to consider the whole question. He quite admitted that these were matters which could not be decided straight off; for, with regard to boroughs, they would have to provide for the case of single-Member constituencies, which would not be met by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Londonderry. As a matter of form he would move the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Londonderry.

Amendment proposed, in page 44, Part IV., leave out lines 26 to 29, and insert—

" If the number of electors on the register		The maximum amount shall be
Does not exceed	500	£200
Do.	1,000	£350
Do.	1,500	£400
Do.	2,000	£500, and an additional £40 for every 1,000 electors above 2,000

Provided that such maximum shall in no case exceed £2,000."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Question proposed, " That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was quite willing to accept the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, and leave the whole matter to be considered on Report.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that, in that case, he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he hoped his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General intended to keep to the arrangement proposed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Oh, certainly.

Mr. GRANTHAM: Because some of us may not be here then.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I certainly shall keep to the arrangement.

Mr. WARTON moved the insertion, in page 44, line 29, of these words—

" The person returned as election agent shall be paid for his services by salary in addition to the maximum expenses."

He said he regarded this proposal as one of considerable importance, because where the maximum was fixed at so low a sum it would be impossible to engage respectable agents if their emoluments were to be included in the maximum. A great deal had been said about voluntary efforts, and no doubt it might be found in many constituencies that men would come forward and work for nothing; but they ought not to expect that as a principle. The labourer was worthy of his hire, and if they wanted to have a respectable labourer they must pay him a decent wage. Such men expected to be engaged, and they expected to be well paid when they were engaged. They were worth being well paid, for they worked well, and they ought to be amply remunnerated. In a borough where £350 was the maximum, there was not enough to pay a respectable solicitor for becoming an agent. A respectable solicitor ought to be properly paid, and a large part of the £350 was not too much to give him. He hoped the Attorney General would give his serious attention to this proposal. It was a most important point, because if respectable agents were not appointed it would be impossible to conduct the elections properly, and all sorts of illegal and corrupt practices would creep in. Such men as were to be found in the ranks of the Legal Profession ought to be well paid.

Amendment proposed,

In page 44, line 29, insert—"The person returned as election agent shall be paid for his services by salary in addition to the maximum expenses."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could not accept the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), Amendment made, in page 45, line 5, by leaving out "each part," and inserting "Parts II., III., and IV.;" in page 45, line 6, after "county," by inserting—

"And in a district borough not divided into polling districts, each contributory place shall be deemed, for the purposes of the said parts of this Schedule, to be a polling district."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

SECOND SCHEDULE.

PART I.

FORM OF DECLARATION AS TO EXPENSES.

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendments were agreed to:—In page 45, line 15, after "agent," insert "[*or if the candidate is his own election agent* 'by me'];" page 45, line 23, leave out "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of;" page 45, line 25, after "agent," insert "[*if the candidate is also his own election agent leave out* 'to my election agent'];" page 45, line 29, after "agent," insert "[*or if the candidate is his own election agent* 'myself'];" page 45, line 31, leave out "in connection with or incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of;" page 46, line 23, leave out "in connection with or as incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of;" page 46, line 32, leave out "in connection with or as incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of;"

Page 47, line 5, at end, insert "[*or where the candidate has named himself as election agent,* 'I, C.D., candidate at the election for the county [or borough] of on the day of , acting as my own election agent, make the following return respecting my election expenses at the said election'];"

Mr. Warton

page 47, line 7, after "candidate," insert "[*or where the candidate is his own election agent* 'paid by me'];" page 47, line 20, after "himself," insert "[*or if the candidate is his own election agent* 'paid by me as candidate'];" page 47, line 21, after "me," insert "[*or if the candidate is his own election agent add* 'acting as election agent'];" page 47, line 23, after "election," insert "[*or if the candidate is his own election agent leave out this item*]."

On the Motion of Mr. BUCHANAN, Amendment made, in page 47, line 39, after "printing," by inserting—

"To M.N. (advertising) . . . . £."

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in page 48, line 26, after "C.D.," by inserting "[*or if the candidate is his own election agent leave out* 'as election agent for C.D.']."

PART II.

FORM OF DECLARATION AS TO EXPENSES.

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment were agreed to:—In page 49, line 15, leave out "in connection with or as incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of;" page 49, line 21, leave out "in connection with or as incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of;" page 49, lines 25 and 26, leave out "in connection with or as incidental to," and insert "in respect of the conduct or management of."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

THIRD SCHEDULE.

CORRUPT PRACTICES (PREVENTION ACTS).

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendments were agreed to:—In page 50, line 16, in third column, leave out "section twenty-four," and insert "Part III.;" page 50, line 27, at end, add—

44 and 45 Vict. c. 45.
The Universities Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881.
Sub-section seventeen of section two.

In page 50, line 28, at end of Schedule, add,—

Part Three.
Enactments defining the offences of bribery and personation.
The Corrupt Practices Prevention Act, 1854, 17 and 18 Vic. c. 102, ss. 2, 3.

(Bribery defined.)

"2. The following persons shall be deemed guilty of bribery, and shall be punishable accordingly:—

(1.) Every person who shall, directly or indirectly, by himself, or by any other person on his behalf, give, lend, or agree to give or lend, or shall offer, promise, or promise to procure or to endeavour to procure, any money, or valuable consideration, to or for any voter, or to or for any person on behalf of any voter, or to or for any other person in order to induce any voter to vote, or refrain from voting, or shall corruptly do any such act as aforesaid, on account of such voter having voted or refrained from voting at any election;

(2.) Every person who shall, directly or indirectly, by himself, or by any other person on his behalf, give or procure, or agree to give or procure, or offer, promise, or promise to procure or to endeavour to procure, any office, place, or employment to or for any voter, or to or for any person on behalf of any voter, or to or for any other person, in order to induce such voter to vote, or refrain from voting, or shall corruptly do any such act as aforesaid, on account of any voter having voted or refrained from voting at any election;

(3.) Every person who shall, directly or indirectly, by himself, or by any other person on his behalf, make any such gift, loan, offer, promise, procurement, or agreement as aforesaid, to or for any person, in order to induce such person to procure, or endeavour to procure, the return of any person to serve in Parliament, or the vote of any voter at any election;

(4.) Every person who shall, upon or in consequence of any such gift, loan, offer, promise, procurement, or agreement, procure or engage, promise, or endeavour to procure the return of any person to serve in Parliament, or the vote of any voter at an election;

(5.) Every person who shall advance or pay, or cause to be paid, any money to or to the use of any other person with the intent that such money or any part thereof shall be expended in bribery at any election, or who shall knowingly pay or cause to be paid any money to any person in discharge or repayment of any money wholly or in part expended in bribery at any election."

(Bribery further defined.)

"3. The following persons shall also be deemed guilty of bribery, and shall be punishable accordingly:—

(1.) Every voter who shall, before or during any election, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, receive, agree, or contract for any money, gift, loan, or valuable consideration, office, place, or employment, for himself or for any other person, for voting or agreeing to vote, or for refraining or agreeing to refrain from voting at any election;

(2.) Every person who shall, after any election, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, receive any money or valuable consideration on account of any person having voted or refrained from voting, or having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting at any election."

The Representation of the People Act, 1867, 30 and 31 Vic. c. 102, s. 49.

(Corrupt payment of rates to be punishable as bribery.)

"Any person, either directly or indirectly, corruptly paying any rate on behalf of any ratepayer for the purpose of enabling him to be registered as a voter, thereby to influence his vote at any future election, and any candidate or other person, either directly or indirectly, paying any rate on behalf of any voter for the purpose of inducing him to vote or refrain from voting, shall be guilty of bribery, and be punishable accordingly; and any person on whose behalf and with whose privity any such payment as in this section is mentioned is made, shall also be guilty of bribery, and punishable accordingly."

The Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, 31 and 32 Vic. c. 48, s. 49.

(Corrupt payment of rates to be punishable as bribery.)

"Any person, either directly or indirectly, corruptly paying any rate on behalf of any ratepayer for the purpose of enabling him to be registered as a voter, thereby to influence his vote at any future election, and any candidate or other person, either directly or indirectly, paying any rate on behalf of any voter for the purpose of inducing him to vote or refrain from voting, shall be guilty of bribery, and be punishable accordingly; and any person on whose behalf and with whose privity any such payment as in this section mentioned is made, shall also be guilty of bribery, and punishable accordingly."

The Universities Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1881, 44 and 45 Vic. c. 43, s. 2.

(Corrupt payment of registration fee to be punishable as bribery.)

"(17.) Any person, either directly or indirectly, corruptly paying any fee for the purpose of enabling any person to be registered as a member of the general council, and thereby to influence his vote at any future election, and any candidate or other person, either directly or indirectly, paying such fee on behalf of any person for the purpose of inducing him to vote or to refrain from voting, shall be guilty of bribery, and shall be punishable accordingly; and any person on whose behalf and with whose privity any such payment as in this section mentioned is made, shall also be guilty of bribery, and punishable accordingly."

The Ballot Act, 1872, 35 and 36 Vic. c. 33, s. 24.

(Personation defined.)

"A person shall for all purposes of the Laws relating to parliamentary and municipal elections be deemed to be guilty of the offence of personation who, at an election for a county or borough, or at a municipal election, applies for a ballot paper in the name of some other person, whether that name be that of a person living or dead, or of a fictitious person, or who, having voted once at any such election, applies at the same election for a ballot paper in his own name."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

FOURTH SCHEDULE.

SHORT TITLES.

Schedule *agreed to.*

FIFTH SCHEDULE.

ENACTMENTS REPEALED.

On the Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendments made:—In page 51, after line 10, insert—

1 and 2 Geo. 4, c. 58.

An Act to regulate the expenses of elections of Members to serve in Parliament for Ireland.

The whole Act except sections two and three.

Page 51, line 20, in third column, leave out from "from," to "section," in line 23, both inclusive; page 52, line 14, in third column, leave out from "candidate," to end of line 16; line 29, in third column, after "twenty-four," insert "the offence of personation, or of aiding," to "hard labour, and;" and in line 36, in first column, leave out "and 44."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the Attorney General had promised to consider certain Amendments on the Report. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would undertake that the Amendments he proposed to move should be drafted some days before the House was asked to discuss them.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Oh, certainly. I will give as long Notice as I can of any Amendments that I have to propose.

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *upon Monday* 23rd July, and to be *printed.* [Bill 265.]

STATUTE OF FRAUDS AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 204.]

(*Mr. Reid, Mr. Whitley, Mr. Arthur Elliot.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

MR. TOMLINSON moved, in page 1, line 15, to leave out the words "and what were the terms thereof." What he wanted to secure by this Amendment was that where a person sought to establish an agreement against another person, he should be prepared to put its terms into writing, and should not be enabled to spell out what the agreement was from the oath of the other party.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 15, to leave out the words "and what were the terms thereof."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. R. T. REID said, the reason for the retention of the words was that, unless they were left in, this might happen—that where an action was brought by the executors of a deceased person, they might put the defendant on oath and make him show what the contract with the deceased person was. No action could be brought under the Bill upon any contract except against a man who admitted that the contract was made.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought it was a very doubtful policy to allow agreements to be proved in that way, where no actual writing existed.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 68; Noes 4: Majority 64.—(Div. List, No. 203.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter past One o'clock, till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, July 16, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Prison Service (Ireland) * (145).

Second Reading — Factories and Workshops Amendment (113); Turnpike Acts Continuance* (132); Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) (142).

Third Reading—Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order* (72); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (74); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5)* (100); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * (102), and *passed.*

Royal Assent—Medical Act (1858) Amendment [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. 19]; Registry of Deeds (Ireland) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. 20]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. cxxxviii.]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxi.]: Local Government Provisional Order (Highways) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxii.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxiii.]; Inclosure Provisional Order (Hildersham) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxiv.]; Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxv.]; New Forest Highways[46&47 *Vict.* c. lxxxvi.]; Forest of Dean (Highways) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxvii.]; Drainage (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) [46&47 *Vict.* c. lxxxviii.]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxix.]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xc.]; Local Government Provisional Order (No. 10) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xci.]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcii.; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) [46] & 47 *Vict.* c. xciii.]; Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xciv.]; Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 2) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcv.]; Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 3) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcvi.]; Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 4) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcvii.]; Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Fraserburgh Waterworks) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcviii.]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcix].

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—INSANITY INDUCED BY OVERWORK IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in rising to call the attention of the House to the increase of insanity; and to ask the Lord President, If the Education Office has inquired into the effects of overwork in elementary schools, alleged to have occurred by various letters in the daily press; and to ask him, if he will reconsider the letter of the Education Office of the 19th January 1882, sanctioning compulsion by Board schools in the matter of home lessons? said, that for some time those who watched over lunacy had endeavoured to cherish the hope that its increase was only apparent, and due to the removal of lunatics from workhouses to the asylums; but now, at last, the Lunacy Commissioners admitted that lunacy had increased, and this same admission was made last Thursday by Mr. Hibbert, when speaking on behalf of the Government on the Vote for the Lunacy Commission. The recent increase of lunacy must be principally attributed to intemperance; but it was nothing as compared with the increase of brain disease, which might shortly be expected, unless the warnings given by some of the highest authorities in the Medical Profession were to be disregarded. Those warnings pointed to overwork at schools as producing fatal effects. Dr. Hack Tuke said, in his address at the Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association in August, 1879—

> "It is in schools and colleges that we must sometimes seek for the causes of mental disturbance. Brain-fag and epilepsy often proceed from educational strain, and Dr. Andrew Clarke writes to me in these words—'I am witness to the irreparable mischief sometimes done at school.' At a certain high school in a large town, I know of two of the same family who died of brain fever, the physicians certifying that it was caused by educational over-pressure."

Dr. Crichton Browne, Visitor of Chancery lunatics, said, at the Annual Medical Meeting, in August, 1880—

> "Of the many conditions tending to the increase of mental disease I would specially direct your attention to education. . . . . Injudicious haste or ill-considered zeal may work serious mischief among fragile or badly nourished children, by inducing exhaustion of the brain. It is a curious fact that, since the recent spread of education, the increase of deaths from hydrocephalous has not been among infants, but among children over five years of age."

Much other testimony might be produced of the bad effects on children of overwork; but it could not be necessary to multiply instances, after all the correspondence which had been so recently published in the daily Press. There could be no doubt that this overwork, and the complaints against it that had arisen on all sides, were due to the increased severity of the Revised Code, and the difficulty of satisfying the School Inspectors so as to obtain the grant. In one of the schools, in which some children had died of brain fever, and where several of the teachers had broken down from overwork and anxiety, the hours of work all the year round had been seven and three-quarters, and for three months before the examinations, the dunces, or less forward children, had an additional hour, from 8.15 to 9.15, making eight and three-quarter hours. Those hours of overwork did not appear in the time table of the school. The teachers worked exactly by the time table as far as it went, and then worked overtime. This overtime work was not peculiar to one district, for, lately, an address was delivered in the South of England to schoolmasters against this very thing. This overtime was also exacted from children in Board schools. An ex-Chairman of the Wolverhampton School Board wrote—

> "I was Chairman of the Wolverhampton School Board. We were obliged to issue a circular to the masters and mistresses of our Board schools forbidding this being done, as we found that for some weeks previous to the examination it was the common practice to keep the whole children at work overtime with a view to preparing them for the examination, and we found their play hours unduly curtailed, and too great a strain put upon some of them by this practice."

The Education Department would, of course, say that the school boards and managers of elementary schools ought not to allow this overtime work. That was true; but the teachers said it was the only way in which they could get "excellent" for their schools, and earn the grant. Why should the Education Department dangle "excellent" before every master and mistress, and, having, with every new edition of the Revised Code, raised the standard of learning, make it really wrong for those teachers to attempt to get "excellent" and to secure the grant? One of the set of schools from which complaints had arisen had received "excellent" for all the schools, yet the Department had deducted £57 from those schools, under Article 114 of the New Code. Some years ago, the Standard for examination in Arithmetic used to be lower in girls' than in boys' schools, because the girls had to spend a considerable time in learning sewing and knitting. This was altered now, and boys and girls had to pass the same examination. With regard to the letter of the Education Office of January 19, 1882, intimating that the School Board would be justified in refusing admission of a boy into the Board school—

> "Until his parent undertook that he should do home lessons, and otherwise conform to the rules and discipline of the school."

This letter arose out of the objections of a father at Todmorden, in Lancashire, who considered five or six hours a-day as much work as his children were physically well able to bear. The schoolmaster claimed that parents were bound to see that their children performed all the tasks that he ordered them out of school hours, and this was enforced by flogging and otherwise punishing the children on their return to school, if the schoomaster's requirements were not complied with. As to flogging and other punishments, when a father selected a school for his son, it was but natural that the schoolmaster should be *in loco parentis*, and exercise discretion as to the school children; but in these cases of compulsory education, where the father could exercise no selection, it seemed to follow that the discretion of the schoolmaster as to flogging ought to be limited. Now, apart from the bad effects mental and physical of this overwork, this action of the Todmorden School Board and the support given to it by the Education Office appeared to be illegal, and *ultra vires*, and contrary to the Education Act of 1870, Section 74, Sub-section 2, according to which the compulsory powers under which the byelaws were framed were not intended to go further than to "determine the time during which children were to attend 'school.'" If that was so, until the Act of 1870 was amended, the Education Office would be bound to withdraw the sanction which it had given to overwork and home lessons. The noble Lord concluded by asking the Question of which he had given Notice.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in reply, said, that, with regard to the alleged fact as to the increase of insanity, he was unable to give any information, and must leave that question to be dealt with by others, for it was not part of the duty of the Education Department to deal with the subject of insanity. He regretted his noble Friend (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had mixed up that matter with the other Question addressed to him, because it only had the effect of imparting an air of gross exaggeration to the statement relative to the effect of overwork in elementary schools. That question was a very reasonable one to raise as regarded some schools; and he should be happy to give the best answer he could to it. His noble Friend had asked him whether the Education Department had inquired into the truth of the statements that had appeared in letters in the newspapers, and so on. He could assure his noble Friend that the Education Department were making very careful inquiries into the matter. The Education Department had also consulted the most experienced of their Inspectors upon the subject—gentlemen not only of the greatest experience, but who had the greatest sympathy with the children, and who would, therefore, not be likely to sanction any regulation from the Education Department which might result in causing overwork. The result of the inquiries made showed that while there were here and there cases of such a thing as overwork on the part of children, and more so on the part of ardent pupil teachers, who were anxious to distinguish themselves, and attain the object of their ambition, upon the whole, there was very little ground for the wide and highly-coloured statements that had appeared in some of the newspapers. His noble Friend had given a very positive opinion as to the cause of the overwork, saying that it arose entirely from the increased requirements of the Code. That, however, could not be the source of the overwork, if there were any. Whatever overwork there might be, he was confident it in no way proceeded from the requirements of the Code, which, so far from having been increased, had been relaxed. The Code of this year, just come into operation, was distinctly more easy in its requirements than before. The truth was, that overwork did not take place in consequence of the requirements of the Code, which was anything but a cast-iron rule, applicable to all schools alike, but arose from mistakes — very often made with the best intentions—and from over-zeal on the part of the managers of schools. His noble Friend had mentioned a case in which the children had been kept under instruction for seven or eight hours a-day. But that was entirely beyond the requirements of the Code, which required a school time of 25 hours a-week, or an average of five hours a-day—four hours for secular instruction, and one hour for religious instruction and other matters, which filled up the time. That was the maximum required by the Education Department; and any instruction to the children beyond those hours was entirely the doing of the local managers, and not under the authority of the Code. He had recently read an able and interesting discussion that took place at a meeting of the Society of Clerks of School Boards; and it was evident, from that discussion, that the real cause of overwork was to be found in the requirements of local educational authorities. The main cause of the excessive pressure from which children and pupil teachers sometimes suffered arose, he thought, from the want of regularity of attendance, from the want of regular instruction from the beginning of the school year to the end, and from too great and ambitious an endeavour as regarded the teaching of subjects which were not compulsory, and which were often beyond the strength of the school staff to teach properly. To attend to this, however, was the work of the school managers; but there was no reason why they should go beyond their powers. Any school might earn a very fair grant by confining itself to the ordinary subjects of instruction; and it was, undoubtedly, a mistake for the managers of a school to attempt more than their staff enabled them to accomplish. His noble Friend, who had referred to a correspondence on the subject of home lessons, was mistaken in thinking that the Education Department intended to lay down any compulsory rule with regard to home lessons; neither had it done anything to stimulate the practice of enforcing such lessons. It was the opinion of the Inspectors, and of the best of the teachers, that while, in many cases, these lessons were extremely useful and desirable, they were by no means desirable in all cases. In the case at Todmorden, to which the noble Lord had specially drawn attention, the reasons for the refusal of the Department to interfere with the discretion of the School Board were to be found in the particular circumstances of that case, and were in no way connected with a desire to lay down any general rule of a compulsory kind. The father of the boy gave no reasons for refusing to allow his son to learn home lessons. He simply refused to allow his boy to learn them, without alleging one single excuse. In the correspondence which had taken place on the subject the Department had done no more than decline to interfere with the discretion of the school managers. He would assure his noble Friend that the Education Department generally would impress on the managers of schools the absolute necessity of guarding against overwork on the part of pupil teachers and children.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, that if the noble Lord (Lord Stanley of Alderley), in calling the attention of the House to the increase of insanity, meant to assert that insanity in general was on the increase, he was much in error. He (the Earl of Shaftesbury) questioned very much whether recent cases of insanity were out of proportion to the normal increase of the population. If the figures appeared larger than formerly, he should suspect that it was owing to the searching out of numbers of old chronic cases who were now brought into asylums and workhouses throughout the country, and which had hitherto been left out of the reckoning. In his opinion, there was considerable ground for entertaining the belief that insanity would rather diminish than increase. The Temperance movement and Bands of Hope were beginning to produce great effect, and the Blue Ribbon movement would, perhaps, produce the greatest of all. But if the noble Lord alluded to a special kind of insanity, arising from nervous disorders and brain disease, produced by overstraining of the intellectual powers, especially among those just rising into adult life, he would be right; but the number of persons so afflicted was not large enough to affect the statistical Table of Insanity in general. The noble Lord, however, had done well in bringing this subject before the House, for the matter was really serious. In 1871 there were, according to the Census of that year, 32,901 males, and 94,239 females employed in this country as teachers, schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, governesses, professors, and lecturers. In 1882, there were admitted into the asylums of England and Wales 183 persons belonging to the teaching class, 38 males, and 145 females. They had not as yet the aggregate number of that class existing in 1882; but, supposing that it had risen to 200,000. the proportion of lunatics would be very large; and it should be remembered that there were much larger numbers who were more or less affected, but who fell short of actual insanity. The same might be observed of the children who might be intellectually weakened for life, but who, perhaps, might never actually enter the doors of an asylum. Many people had begun to see that the forcing system in schools, and the burning competition for place and position among teachers, were producing much mental injury. He considered that the state of things which existed was well worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

LORD NORTON said, that nobody asserted that there was anything in the Code itself which necessitated overstraining. The insanity referred to by his noble Friend (Lord Stanley of Alderley) was owing to the fact that the pupils' brains were overtaxed, not so much by the requirements of the Code, as by the manner in which effect was given to the demands of our present system. The letters of the Inspectors which he (Lord Norton) had seen stated that what was stipulated for in the Code was not real, but merely nominal — the whole thing was a sham. In a town like Birmingham, there was hardly a child in any elementary school over 13 years old, and it was a mere farce to attempt to teach science to children of that age; yet there were attached to the School Board of Birmingham two officers called "Demonstrators of Science," who lectured on science experimentally, asked questions of the children, and answered them themselves. It was abundantly proved that overwork, with all its attendant evils, resulted from the system now in force of giving grants for a show of such instruction under the Code, the tendency of which was to make the children the slaves of the teachers, who were, to a great extent, paid by such results, and had, therefore, the strongest motives for preparing exceptionally clever children to exhibit feats of learning, a process which necessarily did the children far more harm than good. The Treasury had to lavish public money for results not merely useless, but actually injurious to body and mind. That being notoriously the case, the Lord President might, perhaps, have regarded in a more serious light the facts that had been adduced. The Code, of course, ought to be reduced to the actual practice of the schools; there should be no parade and empty show of knowledge, and no stimulus should be given to the teachers in the shape of prizes for extra work. Let them give children of all kinds a solid elementary education they could afterwards take advantage of, and not make only a show of education to obtain an income for themselves out of Treasury grants.

After a few words from Lord ELLENBOROUGH,

[Subject dropped.]

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—EXTENSION OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF STATE-SUPPORTED TRAINING COLLEGES.

RESOLUTION.

EARL FORTESCUE: I entreat your Lordships' kindest indulgence to the remarks which I am about to make, because I am most painfully sensible of my inability to address you as you have a right to expect to be addressed. I can only assure you in all sincerity that I never intrude upon you without the greatest reluctance from a sense of duty alone, when I believe that the views and arguments which commend themselves to my judgment will not be presented to you by any other of your Lordships. I must begin by explaining why I have changed the form of the Notice which I had originally given. The fact is, my own strong and long-cherished opinions had been so much strengthened and revived by my renewed study of the question with a view to address you to-day, that I became anxious to put them formally on record. Hence my present Resolution—somewhat tardily, I allow—placed on the Notice Paper, and drawn up without concert with any of your Lordships, to embody, at least, my own protest against the proposal of the Irish Government. As to that, I feel bound to say—though I confess I was at first inclined to suspect otherwise—fuller inquiry and investigation have satisfied me that it is the result of their honest conviction, which I share with them, of the existence of a very real lack of properly trained or even competent teachers in Ireland; and further—but here I differ with them both as to their plan and, if that were good, as to the extravagance of the terms offered—that this was the best way of supplying that unquestionably real want. The Chief Secretary for Ireland writes last March to the Commissioners of National Education—

> "In His Excellency's view the importance of instruction in the art of teaching cannot be overrated. It is not sufficient that teachers should possess certain scholastic attainments. They should be trained in the best methods of imparting instruction and of school organization, so that on the one hand there may be no waste of teaching power, and on the other the children may be most readily and effectively taught the rudiments of an elementary course of instruction. This can only be accomplished by a careful system of training, and His Excellency, therefore, entirely approves of the proposal to extend the opportunities of training in Normal Colleges to young persons about to become teachers. With this view the Government are now prepared to encourage and facilitate the establishment of Training Colleges under local management in Ireland by authorizing the Commissioners to make grants towards their maintenance; and as the English scheme of Training Colleges is the outcome of a vast official experience, the Government are of opinion that it might with advantage be adopted, pure and simple, by the Commissioners of National Education. As the expenditure upon the support of the proposed Training Colleges may in the course of some years become a charge of great magnitude, the Heads of Her Majesty's Government have impressed upon His Excellency the importance of insisting upon a strong and effective administration of the inspection and control of these institutions."

This system consists in taking a number of young persons of either sex, as the case may be, and educating them apart at the expense of the State, chiefly in the same branches of learning that are commonly given in places of general secondary education: superadding only a certain amount of special instruction in the art of teaching, with regular opportunities for observing the exercise of that art by experts; and, further, a certain amount of actual practice in it under skilled superintendence in schools conveniently provided for the purpose, and hence called practising schools. I am quite aware that this system, during its short existence of some 20 to 30 years, has attracted more and more of official confidence and approbation: but I believe those of the non-official and non-clerical public, who have bestowed any thought upon the matter, are becoming more and more doubtful of its soundness in principle, and of the value of some, at least, of its results in practice.

It was natural that the first Training College should have been established as a separate institution. The fact was only recognized in England at all since my own school days—and nowhere very much earlier—that teaching really was an art capable of being studied and learnt; and, in the words of Mr. Trevelyan's letter, that—

> "It is not sufficient that teachers should possess certain scholastic attainments. They should be trained in the best methods of imparting instruction and of school organization, so that on the one hand there may be no waste of teaching power, and on the other the children may be most readily and effectively taught the rudiments of an elementary course of instruction."

If instruction in the art of teaching had not been, in the first instance, given separately in special Training Colleges, it would have been difficult to show the distinct results of that training, and, by that crucial test, to convince the public of its great advantages. The whole idea was new to the civilized world. It is not surprising, therefore, that many highly educated Englishmen, including some actually eminent teachers, should be even now sceptical about the value of the system. For myself, however, I may say that, after some reading on the subject, and personal visits to the earliest Training School in England, I early become a convert to the utility of such special preparation for the profession of teaching; and was, indeed, an early contributor towards that school—I mean, of course, the one at Battersea, which my Friends Sir James Shuttleworth and Mr. E. Tufnell, the pioneers of the system in England, with such enlightened and patriotic generosity, established there at their own risk. Its value soon became known from its results; and by degrees, as the want of competent teachers came to be more recognized in England, more Training Colleges were established by the different Christian Churches and the larger educational societies of the country. But with these Colleges the State had for some time nothing to do. The students either defrayed the large part of the cost of their board and training not provided by subscription, or had it defrayed for them individually by friends who took a personal interest in them. By-and-bye the State came forward and gave more and more aid, both towards building such Colleges and in the shape of Queen's Scholarships to students, till far the greater part of the cost of the students' maintenance and instruction came to be paid by the Treasury, with, I must add, the usual consequence of State manufacture, excessive direct cost of the article produced, and heavy indirect expense for inspection, verification, and examination. Concurrently with these successive changes in the system, the character of the students also gradually changed. The late Principal of the Exeter Diocesan Training College —which I had with some difficulty persuaded some Devonshire Liberals to join me in supporting in its infancy under Bishop Phillpotts—told me, as I stated to the Schools Inquiry Committee, that the proportion of independent and State-supported students there had just about been reversed in his time. He spoke highly of both lots, but said they were marked by different characteristics; and he thought that the independent ones, though, perhaps, rather less intellectual, were, on the whole, rather the more satisfactory. Since that, what had been a very large majority has become the rule almost without exception, and the Government grants have become more than large enough, in my opinion, to defray all reasonable working expenses. When this had been so a certain time, I felt it my duty, along with a certain number of others, to discontinue my subscription to that College.

One early and unhappy result of the payment by the State of the bulk of the expenses of students at Training Colleges was to lower the profession of an elementary schoolmaster in the eyes of the middle class, so that they have long declined adopting it for their sons; though it is—thanks to the Treasury—far less costly to prepare for, and, on the average, better remunerated at starting, than many other employments under Government or in private business, which they eagerly seek for their sons after preparing for them at their own expense and often paying a premium besides. Of this I have personally seen some striking instances. There were, according to the Education Report of 1881, indications of the profession being to a certain degree glutted at last by the increased annual supply of teachers from these Training Colleges so unwisely multiplied, and their standard for the time so unduly relaxed, to meet the obviously temporary demand caused by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and other spasmodic attempts since, in the shape of Statutes and Codes, to remedy at once, *per saltum*, the lamentable neglect of more than two centuries. I find, in the last Report on that of 1882, anxious mention of the number of places found for them with the average amount of salary, indicating the continued operation in England of that law of supply and demand so scornfully ignored by the Government both in their grand and petty legislation. I am speaking especially of the male teachers; for the female teachers were from the first being constantly withdrawn by marriage; and though I have the facts about both sexes with me, I shall continue to speak of male teachers only to save time. The annual outcome of male teachers from those Colleges to be provided annually with situations amounts to between 600 and 700, and more than 100 besides from Scotland, even after the contemplated reductions in number there. I cannot help suspecting that some of the recent requirements of additional teaching power in schools, which have been so heavily felt by voluntary school managers, not having, like the school boards, the unlimited purse of the ratepayers to draw upon, have been partly occasioned by the desire to find places for this large annual outcome of teachers, as well as to improve the teaching in the schools, if not also to give a quiet lift to board schools against voluntary schools. There are well-founded complaints enough of the slowness of promotion in the Army and Navy: but the officers of those two Professions, besides the danger of occasional war—and it is seldom that we have not a little fighting to do somewhere in our extended Empire—have always the perils of the sea and of tropical climates to encounter, with proportionate risks, causing corresponding vacancies.

But the congestion in the safe and uneventful teaching profession, especially among the males, will soon be much greater. That able and widely-circulating paper, *The Standard*, in a remarkable article on the whole system of pupil teachers and Training Colleges, says—

> "The number of adult teachers is already far beyond the wants of the community."

After describing, as a consequence of the system, the rejection, by competitive examination, of two pupil teachers for every one who succeeds in winning a place in a Training College, the writer goes on to ask—

> "What is to become of the thousands of young people who work as teachers till they are 19, and are then compelled to drop out of the profession?"

Adding, further on—

> "The consequences are very serious."

He then proceeds to describe the pupil teacher under the English and Scotch Government system—

> "If he has the assistance of a painstaking master he usually develops into a thoroughly useful teaching machine by the time he attains the age of 18. But he is nothing more than a machine."

He also says—

> "If we consider the course of training which a pupil teacher undergoes, it is plain that the whole plan tends to produce a kind of narrow specialist, who is useless when taken off his own ground."

I must not stop to trouble your Lordships with passages on the same subject in *The Farmer*, or *Chamber of Agriculture Journal*. But from the pupil teacher I must revert to the student after quitting his Training College, and say that very shortly, if not now, this training, so costly to the State, and so useless to the recipients of it for any other profession, will only lead to their further swelling the already over-crowded list of candidates for clerkships, which it has been long the tendency of successive Governments, by their educational policy, to augment. For it should be remembered that almost every student in the Training Colleges has for years been drawn from the wage class; that the sympathies of this powerful, well-organized, and increasing body are, therefore, wholly with the employed against the employer; and, moreover, that their idea of the dignity of labour is too often confined to labouring with a pen in the hand or behind the ear. The influence of these separate Training Colleges upon their students, and of these students, when become teachers, upon their pupils, especially in what Bishop Temple, strongly deprecating them, calls, not "advanced," but "non-elementary" elementary schools, tends uniformly to divert more and more hands from the work of production, whether in agriculture, manufactures, or mining, into the work of clerks and shopmen, and such like; or, in the language of political economy, into the work of verification or distribution—multiplying these just when, in consequence, there are fewer transactions to verify and less produce to distribute. Of course, being exclusive and separate establishments set apart for one profession alone, every class feeling and professional prejudice must inevitably become intensified in them, from the nature of things, and not from the fault of their inmates, as is so forcibly remarked by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners—

> "Every Training School has, in some degree, the fault that attends all strictly professional places of instruction. It tends to narrow the mind a little, to give too distinctly professional a cast to the character. It is complained that the trained masters in this country often show that they would have been better, had they been educated in company with those who were preparing for other employments."

I can understand and respect the sentiment which leads the Roman Church to insist on educating her future priests after a certain age in separate seminaries kept exclusively for them without the admixture of any lay students, though I cannot sympathize with it, for I have always agreed with the many clergymen who declare it to be a great advantage both to themselves and the Church of England, that all her clergy are educated along with their lay comrades at school and College. But what I have never been able to comprehend is, why young persons being trained to be teachers should be brought up on a totally opposite system, in what I have heard called Protestant Maynooths. The want of more friendships and wider acquaintance with their contemporaries of other callings, and a certain "priggishness" observable in too many of them, which may be distinctly traced to this cause, can alone, in my opinion, account for the notorious lack of general popularity of that, with very rare exceptions, highly estimable and well-conducted body of men, the elementary schoolmasters of England. The very able and instructive Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission (understood to have been drawn up by Bishop Temple, no mean educational authority) deals with this as well as with most other educational questions. And here I must be allowed to read to your Lordships the names appended to that Report, presented in December, 1867, which was the result of an exhaustive inquiry at home and abroad, carried on not only by themselves, but by a number of highly qualified Assistant Commissioners during several years—Taunton, Lyttelton, W. F. Hook (afterwards Dean), F. Temple (now Bishop of Exeter), Anthony Thorold (now Bishop of Rochester), T. D. Acland, E. Baines, (of Leeds), W. E. Forster (since Chief Secretary), P. Erle, and John Storrar. The present Lord Derby and Sir Stafford Northcote, who became Cabinet Ministers while Members of the Commission, stated that they did not sign, partly because they had latterly been unable to attend the meetings or study the evidence, and partly because they thought it better not to do so as Members of the Executive Government.

The Commissioners give their reasons for declining to recommend the establishment of any Training College for masters of endowed schools, though they say of England—

> "It is to the Training Schools that the great improvements in elementary teachers is really due;"

and they say of France—

> "The Normal School at Paris supplies the French schools with teachers not to be surpassed in the world."

But they go on further to say—

> "The Prussians have no such Training Schools, and yet their teachers are admirably qualified, and in many respects better fitted to succeed in English schools than the French would be. The French teachers are teachers and nothing else. They are not educators; they do not undertake to form the character; they do not undertake to govern as well instruct."

And the Report continues in a remarkable passage, which your Lordships must permit me to trouble you with—

> "But the main objection to the establishment of a Training School for masters for the endowed schools by the State is that it would almost inevitably give the Government an undue control over all the superior education of the country."

I shall point out how this has already began to make itself felt in England. I had long before that repeatedly protested that this work of training teachers might be much better and very much cheaper done in connection with general secondary education; and, indeed, years ago suggested using these Training Colleges as excellent *nuclei* for new institutions on a large scale to supply the admitted deficiency in secondary education —the students carrying on together the studies which they had all in common to pursue, and those who had different specialties to follow pursuing these separately under separate instructors, as is the case at our Universities, and, in a lesser degree, at our public schools with *Modern Sides.* They would thus grow up together, and form, as the class above them do at school and College, life-long friendships and acquaintances before diverging into different professions and occupations; and would unconsciously learn besides each to regard his own and other callings with a broader and less prejudiced view.

In England, however, there would have been, in any case, great difficulties to contend with in the adoption of any such scheme; inasmuch as the work of secondary education, though very deficient both as regards quality and amount when the Training Colleges were being established, had been carried on for centuries; and, therefore, its general character had been determined. And then in England the formidable religious difficulty was wholly absent. I have repeatedly, during the last 40 years, stood with dignitaries of the Church of England and eminent Nonconformist ministers on the platform of the Training School of the British and Foreign Society, which has so long supplied that Society's schools, many Dissenting schools, many Board schools, and some Church of England schools with teachers; and which began long ago to number several of our Prelates among its patrons, besides earnest lay Churchmen.

In Ireland the case is very different. The National Education system established by the late Lord Derby continued truly undenominational, while those two genuinely-liberal Prelates—Archbishop Whately and Archbishop Murray—sat together at the Irish Board of Education. But it has long, I fear, practically ceased to be so, and throughout the greater part of Ireland has become virtually Roman Catholic. Those who call to mind how signally Mr. Pitt's intention in founding Maynooth to supply Ireland with a loyal priesthood, educated at home instead of abroad, failed of accomplishment, and how the directly opposite effect was produced, may well hesitate about approving the present scheme. That no Maynooth-trained priests were imprisoned during the recent suspension of *habeas corpus* in Ireland was, I believe, much more owing to the timidity—to use no harsher word—of the Irish Government, than to any lack of disloyalty and encouragement to lawlessness in the speeches of several reverend agitators. We may, I maintain, without bigotry or intolerance, think it a grave objection to these contemplated Training Colleges that they will surely all be denominational in a country, where difference of race has engendered internal discord terribly intensified by difference of religion, and that most of them will be as surely Roman Catholic; because they will be Roman Catholic, not in the sense that lay Universities were in Roman Catholic countries before any other religion was tolerated, but will be, in fact, absolutely and exclusively under the management and control of the priests—in short, semi-clerical schools, or—if I may venture to coin the word—practically "semi-seminaries." As a consistent Liberal, I more than once risked my seat for Plymouth by my votes for the grant to Maynooth, and especially by my vote for Sir Robert Peel's permanent endowment of Maynooth, which so unaccountably led Mr. Gladstone to retire from a Government, with whose Conservative and Protectionist policy he then professed cordially to agree. But, Liberal as I am and always have been, I confess I do not like encouraging by large subsidies the establishment of exclusive places of education under such exclusive priestly influence. I have always been for religious as well as civil and commercial freedom; and I am opposed to priestly domination, Roman Catholic, Anglican, or, I may add, Presbyterian, for Milton long ago wrote—

"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

The Protestants of Ireland seem to be getting alarmed. No wonder. I find the United Presbyterian Synod has unanimously resolved to petition against the scheme. I hold in my hand the able speech of the Rev. Dr. Bryce, ex-Principal of the Belfast Presbyterian Academy, and Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation — a veteran Liberal—from which I would, with your permission, read two or three sentences—

> "In early manhood I warmly advocated Catholic Emancipation, though in those days that was deemed little short of high treason; but it seems as if we may soon have to agitate for Protestant Emancipation, at least in Ireland, since Conservative and Liberal Governments seem to vie with one another in disregarding the great Liberal principle of religious equality, by granting exclusive privileges to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. . . . . . I come . . . to the latest step that has been taken towards the establishment of a Catholic ascendancy in place of that Protestant ascendancy which the chivalrous generosity of the Whigs in the first half of the 19th century, with so much difficulty and at so great sacrifices, at last overthrew. . . . . . Now, all the discord and crime that have brought so much misery and shame on Ireland, have arisen from

> the too great success of the execrable policy of England, relentlessly pursued through 20 generations, in artificially and violently preventing the amalgamation of the races. . . . Yet this is the policy which a 'Liberal' Government have agreed to accept at the dictation of a small knot of ecclesiastics. . . . . The Roman Catholic laity do not want it, I know well; and I have reason to believe that many of the priests are of the same mind."

In Ireland, I quite agree with the Government in thinking that some aid from public money is required—though very much less than they propose—towards getting teachers trained, as well as for getting secondary education supplied, in a way acceptable to the people; and the more because Ireland has been much impoverished under their rule. On the other hand, in Ireland, where the scheme involves such religious difficulty, the supply of intermediate or secondary education had been utterly inadequate—indeed, till the late Government's Act, hardly more than nominal. Though that Act, however, is apparently working extremely well, nearly double the number of students having been examined under it in 1881 that had been in 1879—indeed, the Commissioners say the numbers are increasing so fast that they will have to reduce the result fees unless their grant is increased—yet that Act has only very recently come into operation. There could, therefore, hardly be any insuperable difficulty in modifying it, so as to allow of the many additional teachers wanted in Ireland being trained in connection with other students preparing for other callings, instead of being all trained separately within the walls of the sort of Protestant and Roman Catholic lay seminaries proposed. Why should not the teachers required for the Irish elementary schools be dealt with as the able and experienced Schools Inquiry Commissioners deliberately recommended teachers should be for the endowed schools? After giving their reasons against establishing a Training College, they say—

> "But many of the advantages which a Training School would give might, perhaps, be obtained with none of these disadvantages, and at much less cost, by a well-devised system of certificates."

The Schools Inquiry Commissioners say such a system would be much less costly. The Chief Secretary's letter says—

> "The expenditure upon the support of the proposed Training Colleges may in the course of some years become a charge of great magnitude."

Judging from the experience of Training Colleges in England it will, indeed, be so, especially if carried out in Ireland on the extravagant terms proposed. And this brings me to the financial objections to the English system, and *à fortiori* to its proposed extension on the same expensive scale to the cheaper country of Ireland, with its corresponding lower salaries to the generality of teachers. I have many figures with me; but after troubling your Lordships at such length already, I will mention only very few of them.

I see by the last Report of the Education Department in England that the average cost of each of the 1,380 male students in a Training College has risen from a little over £56, which it was three years before, to £59 8*s.* 7*d.*, nearly £1 more than in 1881, while in the highest it was over £70. The payments of the students vary in the different Colleges, but rarely exceed £10 each for the two years, as is shown by the aggregate of fees received from the 3,121 male and female students in 1882, which was a little under £17,000, or little more than £5 a-piece. This, with their payments for books of under £4,500, makes their contribution little more than £21,000 towards the total expense of these Colleges of over £154,000, of which the Education and Science and Art Departments together pay nearly £113,000. I see that the board and establishment charges together, apart from tuition, which averages near £21, average almost £39, of which nearly £29 is for board proper; while in the accounts of the Devon and Norfolk County Schools and Cavendish College, with which I am acquainted, these two are united, and the tuition is taken separately, amounting to about half what it is in the Training Colleges, or about £10 10*s.* The Inspector has a long paragraph in his Report about the dietaries in these Training Colleges, suggesting their being more varied with fish, fruit, and jam, and complaining that some are not appetizing enough for young men engaged in brain-work. On an average of years the board at the Devon County School has been under £20, and in the Norfolk County School under £21. The average payments by parents at the Devon County School have been under

£37, including Latin and other extras; the inclusive cost per boy at the Norfolk County School is 40 guineas. The average dividend at the Devon County School for the last 15 years has been over 2 per cent, which represents some interest on the cost of building; and during its shorter existence that of the Norfolk County School has been much the same; which interest on buildings does not appear as part of the annual cost of the students in Training Colleges. For a long while all the students at the Training Colleges, except a very small fraction, have been drawn from the wage class. Why should their requirements for board and lodging so much exceed those of so many middle-class schools, which are doing good brain work too? Why they get so much more may be partly explained by what happened at the Exeter Training College. I was complaining at the Diocesan Conference of the great and increasing cost of the students, then averaging I forget how many pounds a head above £50, and was comparing it with the terms of the Devon and Norfolk County Schools, when the Chairman of the College Committee explained that the Inspector had ordered the young men beer. And this in the Diocese of Exeter, where our hard-working Bishop, a noted pedestrian as well as scholar, has long been a total abstainer, and more and more of the clergy and laity are yearly becoming so! I have heard that many of the old and recent Middle Class Schools, with moderate charges, are doing good work. I find that at the last Cambridge Local Examination, when more than 600 seniors, and 3,800 juniors, or over, in all, 4,400 were examined, four county schools, or schools akin to them in character, were among the eight, and seven county schools among the fourteen, which passed the greatest number, and this with quite their fair proportion of honours. Therefore, here, at least, there is no deficiency of brain work—but brain work elicited, directed, and maintained at far less cost, than it is at the State-supported Training Colleges.

And now, my Lords, with most grateful thanks for your kind indulgence, on which I have trespassed so long, I will only say, in conclusion, that I have tried to show, and I venture to hope have shown, that the English Training College system is not to be recommended either for permanence in England or for extension to Ireland, where it will have the additional disadvantage of raising a religious difficulty; that, according to the opinion of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, it is by no means either the only, or the best, system for us to adopt; and that there is an alternative system, which is quite practicable and much less costly—viz., one that would depend partly on local and commercial interests—these being encouraged, not cramped, by a wise combination with endowments and Government aid. I object, on principle, to the interference of the State with the practical machinery, by which a free and intelligent community provides for its own wants as it feels their pressure. The sense of want in education is comparatively recent, and perhaps, for a time, it needed stimulus and anticipation. But now that want is indisputably generally felt, there is great reason to think that the State will best promote the final object, a well-educated people, by gradually withdrawing its own official interference, and trusting mainly to guidance and encouragement.

Moved to *resolve*—

"That it is inexpedient to extend to Ireland on an equally expensive scale the costly English system of State-supported training colleges for the teachers of elementary schools."—(*The Earl Fortescue.*)

LORD O'HAGAN said, he should not attempt to follow the discursive speech of the noble Earl (Earl Fortescue), which was partly educational, partly autobiographical, partly historical, and partly financial; but had very little to do with the Motion before their Lordships. He found it impossible to ascertain, from the statement of the noble Earl, whether he was opposed to all Training Colleges; and whether he would extinguish all such Colleges in England at this moment?

EARL FORTESCUE: Not suddenly.

LORD O'HAGAN: The noble Earl, then, at some time or other, would be in favour of abolishing these Colleges, which had the approval of all who were most experienced in the conduct of education, and were largely a reproduction of institutions which existed throughout Europe. He thought their Lordships would hesitate before concurring with the view of the noble Earl, that these Training Colleges should either suddenly or slowly be abolished, to the exceeding detriment of real education. He was much surprised that the noble Earl should have taken the course he had adopted. That was neither the time nor the place in which anyone could have expected that the enormous importance of Training Colleges should have been doubted; for all those who had earned the gratitude and respect of their fellow-men as great instructors had always spoken of such Colleges as institutions of the last necessity to the advancement of the country. Let extravagant, or inefficient, or badly-situated Colleges, if there were any, be reformed, or abolished; but to lay down, as a general proposition, that Training Colleges were not desirable or necessary for the purposes of the education of a civilized people seemed to him (Lord O'Hagan) to be absurd. Teaching was an art—a delicate and difficult art—which, like other arts, had to be learnt, and required to be studied and taught with the greatest possible care, and under the most favourable conditions. The organization and teaching of a school, the utilization of the means of instruction, the comparative merits of various systems with a view to the substitution for obsolete methods of others newer and better—all this must be necessarily taught in an institution devoted to the purpose; and, if that were not done, it appeared to him they must have imperfect teaching, and not such as a country like this ought for a moment to tolerate, or to grudge the expense of procuring. When those who were not taught themselves were permitted to teach, it was the case of the blind leading the blind. It was impossible that the education of the people could be properly conducted unless teachers were properly trained. So far as Ireland was concerned, it seemed to him that that absolute necessity was unsupplied. In that regard, its position was extremely unsatisfactory, and circumstances to which he need not further allude had produced the most lamentable results. In Ireland, there were 7,365 untrained, and only 3,309 trained, teachers, and it was hardly possible to conceive anything more eloquent than those figures were in demonstrating that change was absolutely necessary. There was in Ireland only one Training Establishment subsidized by the State, and there were three Training Establishments unassisted by the State. One of these was Protestant, and two were Catholic. In 1881, the number of teachers trained in the subsidized school was 161, and of these only 59 were Roman Catholics. The inequality was due to the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church; but it was an opposition on grounds that had been over and over again countenanced by the Imperial Government. The main fact of the situation in Ireland was that of the Catholic teachers 27 per cent only were trained, and of the Protestant teachers 52 per cent were trained; while 66 per cent of the total number of the teachers were altogether untrained. In England, the State afforded a subsidy of £110,500, to support 42 Colleges with 3,150 students, and even with that machinery, there was not a sufficiently large number of properly instructed teachers. The noble Earl had complained that the amount of the subsidy was excessive; but he (Lord O'Hagan) did not think the House would be of that opinion. In Scotland, £27,000 was paid for seven Colleges, with 851 students; while, in Ireland, the whole sum given to the one subsidized College with 220 students was £7,755. That was the state of the case after 20 years' work. The matter had been again and again pressed upon the attention of Parliament, and the result was, as he had said, that now there were in England 42 Colleges with 3,150 students, in Scotland 7 Colleges and 851 students, and in Ireland one College and 220 students. Again, he asked, was it necessary to do more than state these eloquent figures? Was it desirable or proper that the country which, for many reasons, required assistance for its education more than the richer Island, should be in this position — that her children should be taught by untrained teachers at home; whilst, if they came to this country, they obtained the benefit of being instructed by trained teachers? It was a shame that, in this United Empire, there should be such a monstrous inequality between one portion and another. Nothing had been done to rectify the manifest and flagrant wrong. And, moreover, the evil which he had thus conclusively proved to exist was increasing from year to year. In 1866, there were 4,369 untrained Irish teachers; in 1874, the number was

6,284; and, at present, it was 7,067. The Commissioners had always been at one in this matter. They had, in 1866, made to the Government a proposal substantially the same as that which was now submitted; but nothing was done till the year 1868, when a Commission was appointed which drew up a Memorial to the then Chief Secretary, pointing out the inadequacy of Training Colleges in Ireland, and the necessity of taking a course like that which was now to be adopted. In 1870 another Commission was appointed, which also reported in favour of Training Colleges. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach declared that it would be a source of deep gratification, if a reasonable scheme could be devised to remedy a state of things which was a serious obstacle to the maintenance of a fit standard of education in Ireland; and he did his best to bring about that which it was now hoped would be accomplished. Under the succeeding Ministry, the heads of the Irish Government were now agreed that the importance of the subject could not be overlooked, and they announced that they were prepared to encourage the establishment of Training Colleges under local management, by authorizing the Commissioners to make grants for their maintenance; and, as the English system was the outcome of large financial experience, they declared their opinion that it might be adopted with advantage. With regard to the question of expense, it was impossible, for anyone who knew the value of popular instruction, to say that a certain provision was suitable for England, and that a proportional amount was too much for Ireland. Indeed, it might be fairly urged that Ireland was entitled to more, so as to make up for the time that had been lost. The expenditure would be guarded in the most careful way, because a part of the scheme, acting on the precedent of the English system, arranged that, before a grant could be obtained, there must be a local payment of one-fourth of the outlay to be incurred. Let them remember how poor the people of Ireland were, and how difficult it was to get local contributions for ordinary schools which, being local, were more interesting to the people than any Normal College could be; and let them ask themselves whether it was possible to imagine the danger of extravagance in such a case? If the majority of the schools were Roman Catholic, that was only because of the larger number of Roman Catholic people. He would not say more, except to express an earnest hope that the proposition to continue and extend the establishment of Training Colleges under local management would be cordially accepted, and that their Lordships would not interpose any objection to the carrying out of a scheme which was so urgently demanded, and so essential to the highest interests of the community.

THE EARL OF POWIS said, the question was, whether it would be wise to allow denominational Training Colleges, which had acted so well in England, to be extended to Ireland?—because the Roman Catholic doctrine was that, in all establishments for boarders where the principal stood *in loco parentis*, all religious instruction should be under the control of the Church. That the majority of teachers should be of the same religion as the majority of the children was reasonable, from both a Roman Catholic and an Anglican point of view. There was no reason why the development of Training Colleges which had taken place in England, being guarded by the Conscience Clause, should not, with the necessary modifications, also take place in Ireland. He was glad that this scheme was favourably considered by the Government, for he believed, among other things, it would do good to all classes in Ireland, and give the people of that country more inducement to take an interest in education; but there was one recommendation he would make, and that was that these Training Colleges should be examined by the Inspectors of the English Training Colleges. He believed that that could be done without interfering with the management and discipline of the schools, which might be vested in the Irish National Board. If that could be done, and Inspectors could be appointed, on the same footing as in England, the public, both in England and Ireland, would have a sufficient assurance that the Irish Training Schools would be kept up to the standard of English Training Schools, and that some endeavour would be made to get the Irish teachers as efficient as the English, which would pave the way for a stricter examination in the National Schools, thus bringing them more nearly up to the same standard. Subject to that improvement, he thought the scheme which had been propounded by the Commissioners of Education was one very likely to benefit the teachers of Ireland.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, the question of education, as regarded Ireland, was one of great importance; indeed, he did not know a more important one, and the action taken in the future with regard to it would have great influence on the people. What they had to consider was this—they had undenominational education and denominational education in Ireland; and what the noble Earl (the Earl of Powis) really asked them to do was, to change from the undenominational to the denominational system. The National system in Ireland was established by the late Lord Derby, on the principle of united secular and separate religious education. That had been a system which had worked admirably in Ireland, and had kept some degree of union between the different religions, and had prevented that total separation which must have resulted from the adoption of another system. But he asked the noble Lord the Lord President of the Council to answer him this—whether these Training Colleges would not be under the management and control of clergymen? The words were—"The manager shall be a clergyman, or other person of position in society." That meant that the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland were to have the training in their own hands; and the result of that system would be, as the noble and learned Lord (Lord O'Hagan) knew very well, that these Training Establishments would nearly all be in the hands of the Monastic and Conventual Institutions of the country, so that out of the funds provided by the taxpayers of Great Britain they would be establishing institutions on these principles through the length and breadth of Ireland. A great wrong would be inflicted by the denominational system on the minorities in country districts, where these must receive denominational education, or none at all. He hoped no change would be made, for he contended that Parliament ought to hesitate long before it threw over the system of mixed education, which had succeeded so admirably in Ireland. This system had long been upheld by the Liberal Party, and he well remembered an able speech made, some years back, in support of it by the noble and learned Lord (Lord O'Hagan), who now threw it over. If they did throw it over, the deplorable effect would be to encourage religious antipathy in a country where that feeling was already too strong.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, the questions of the noble Lord (Lord Oranmore and Browne) appeared to him to be rather in the nature of positive assertions than anything else. One of them, upon which he had said a good deal, related to the primary education given in the ordinary National Schools, and not to the special Training Colleges, which was the subject with which their Lordships were dealing. No doubt, there were very many small minorities or handfuls of Protestant children scattered over a great portion of Ireland, and attending National Schools, in which the education given was practically Roman Catholic, and naturally so, the country being Catholic. Those minorities were fully protected, however, by the rules of the National Board at that moment, and they would continue to be. He knew of no reason why the noble Lord should think that in future those children would be in greater danger than they were at the present moment. The noble Lord evidently thought that, in one respect, a great revolution would be produced by this addition to the Irish National system now in force; and, apparently, that those Roman Catholic teachers who might hereafter, for the first time, receive technical training in properly-conducted Colleges would otherwise have received their education in schools of which he himself would approve. Did the noble Lord really suppose that these young Roman Catholic teachers, at that moment, who were preparing themselves as best they could, and without any proper training, for the profession of schoolmaster, were being brought up in institutions of which he seemed to approve? A very small number—indeed, so small that for national purposes it was not worth while to take them into account—were so brought up; but the great bulk of the Roman Catholic teachers, who were carrying on the work of education in Ireland, had been brought up under the auspices of their own Church, and under influences quite as denominational as could obtain under the system now sought to be set up. In almost every case these young men, preparing for the business of a schoolmaster, had been brought up in large schools under Roman Catholic—he might say clerical Roman Catholic—management; and the proposed Training Colleges could, in no degree, be more denominational than those schools in which these young men were being brought up. The only difference would be that, instead of being untrained, they would be trained; instead of being unskilled, they would be skilled; and, instead of being comparatively bad teachers, they would be comparatively good ones. He was very glad to hear his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Powis) giving his valuable support to the proposal made by the National Board and by the Government—a proposal which was substantially the same that the noble Earl and his Commission recommended some years ago. He (Lord Carlingford) must say, however, that he was not prepared off-hand to accept his noble Friend's suggestion that English Inspectors should be imported into Ireland to look into and report upon the mode in which these Training Colleges were conducted. He could assure his noble Friend and their Lordships that the National Commissioners would take the most rigid care to see that in all matters of building and management, and of secular education, these Colleges came up to their requirements. He need hardly say that the school teaching of the Colleges should be in all respects upon the ordinary terms of the National Schools; and the teachers in training would, in every case, be practised in schools attached to the Colleges, which would be, as nearly as possible, identical with the other schools of the National Board. They would be expected to give full and proper Returns, in the same manner as the National Schools, and would be subjected to the same rigid rules, and to the same time table. He would remind the noble Earl (Earl Fortescue) of the Kildare Street Training School, which was the first Training College ever established in Ireland. The noble Earl would be shocked to hear that, as long ago as 1815, that School was established at the expense of the State, and it would be a candidate for the proposed grant. It was not necessary that he should trouble their Lordships at any length, especially after the speech of the noble and learned Lord behind him (Lord O'Hagan), who had spoken on behalf of the Irish National Board, with whom the Government were at one in this matter. It was proposed to adapt to Ireland the system which had long been established and insisted upon in England. These Colleges were incapable of obtaining aid themselves. The state of things that existed in Ireland seemed almost incredible to an English educationalist; and he must say that he was sorry his noble Friend (Earl Fortescue) had not given these proposals a welcome, instead of meeting them with the Motion he had made. At the same time, he was glad to have the opportunity—he was going to say of expressing to the House how utterly he disagreed with the noble Earl; but he would not say that, because he did not wish to differ with him if he could help it, but of welcoming these proposals, upon a subject in which he happened in former days to have taken a warm interest. He begged to recommend the proposal earnestly to their Lordships as the only means he knew or had ever heard of for meeting this formidable deficiency of training in the Irish National system, which was growing year by year, and was undermining the whole system of education in the country. No one had suggested any other course that could be taken, except the noble Earl who had brought forward the Motion (Earl Fortescue), and who had suggested that teachers should train themselves; but they had no means of training themselves. Of the starvation of the Irish training system there was no doubt; and if that condition of starvation in which Ireland had been kept so long were allowed to continue, the result would be a still greater deficiency of teachers. The noble Earl was alarmed lest they should over-feed the patient who was at present suffering from inanition. He (Lord Carlingford) thought that there was no fear that such over-feeding would take place, or that there would be any extravagance in this matter. The noble Earl seemed to think that the English training system was extravagant. ["Hear, hear!"] He (Lord Carlingford) was not prepared to admit it was extravagant, on the part of a country like England, to spend £110,000 a-year upon the training of school teachers—upon that part of the school system which was absolutely essential to the vitality of the whole, and which it would be the most fallacious economy to starve. But let him remind them that Training Colleges, in this matter of State aid on the one hand, and of voluntary support on the other, were in a totally different position from the ordinary schools of the country. Those schools enlisted and maintained a vast amount of local personal interest and support; but Training Colleges had very little support of that kind. They drew their students from an area so wide that it was impossible for them to command that local and personal interest which was the cause of the subscriptions which flowed in for the support of Elementary Schools. He believed, therefore, that such aid as the State had given in this country was by no means in excess of that which was required to maintain the Colleges in efficiency after they had been established, as they had been, mainly by very great and noble voluntary efforts. He saw no reason whatever why the English scale should not be applied to Ireland. The noble Earl had condemned the whole system of State-aided training. He (Lord Carlingford) said, better give it up in this country first before they refused to extend it to Ireland; but they did not mean to give it up in this country. This country, having long made up its mind to insist upon this training under these conditions for the benefit of its own people, might fairly be expected now—and it was very late in the day—to extend the same system to the Sister Country. He, therefore, heartily recommended this proposal to the favourable reception of the House. He need hardly say that if the late Duke of Marlborough had been alive, and in the House that night, he would unquestionably have lent his support to this proposal. Not long before his death he expressed himself in the strongest manner in favour of the view of the National Board, and expressed great pleasure that that which he himself had desired to accomplish, when he ruled in Ireland, now seemed on the eve of being fulfilled. He (Lord Carlingford) was convinced that not only would the proposal remedy defects which were undermining the Irish system of education at its very foundation, but that it would put an end to a state of things which constituted to the people of Ireland a great and positive injustice.

Earl FORTESCUE, in reply, said, he would not trespass upon the patience of the House again for more than one minute. It had been stated by the noble and learned Lord (Lord O'Hagan) that all civilized nations had Training Colleges. Now, Prussia was not only most successful in the arts of war, but also in those of peace. It was a most highly educated nation; Prussian teachers were, the Schools Inquiry Report said, admirably prepared and qualified; and yet Prussia had no Training Schools. He had not pressed the Government to begin immediately discontinuing—he only protested against their thus confirming and extending—a certainly very costly, and utterly artificial, system.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 113.)

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Earl GRANVILLE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it would affect, in some degree, the conditions of labour of men and women, who worked in occupations where they were liable to lead poisoning, and it also contained some new regulations for effecting improvements in the construction and sanitary arrangements of bakehouses. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

The Earl of WEMYSS said, he should not oppose the second reading of the Bill at so late an hour; but he wished to point out that it extended the principle of the Factories Act to full-grown men for the first time. He, therefore, hoped that the Committee stage would be brought on early in the day on which it would be taken, so that time would be given in order that its provisions might be fully discussed.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.

(The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.)

(NO. 142.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of MOUNT EDGCUMBE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was the same in principle as similar Bills which had been passed for other parts of the country. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss), who had spoken against the Bill "elsewhere," had since become a Member of their Lordships' House; and as he (the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe) had seen a Notice in the papers, to the effect that the noble Earl intended opposing the second reading of the Bill, he was bound to do what he could to anticipate his objections. He did not know on what grounds the noble Earl meant to base his opposition; but he was evidently one of those who thought that if one person out of 100, or out of 1,000, had a desire to do something that was not criminal, the remaining 99, or 999, had no right to prevent his having an opportunity of doing it. He (the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe) was not going to enter into the question of the abstract right of majorities; but, if the noble Earl's principle was to be carried to its legitimate length, it must necessarily apply to a great deal of legislation which many of their Lordships would be sorry to see altered. Such an objection would, in fact, be inconsistent with all closing; and the noble Earl, to be logical, would have to join hands with the anti-vaccinators, and to oppose all acts of a repressive character. A very strong opinion was entertained in favour of the measure by those who would be affected by it. The population of Cornwall, at the last Census, numbered 330,000; and he believed that it was almost an unprecedented thing, out of such a population as that, that from 120,000 to 130,000 had signed Petitions in favour of the measure. He might say, also, that all the Mayors of boroughs, legitimate officers, speaking in a sense of responsibility, had supported the Petitions; that two Town Councils, acting in their corporate capacity, had also signed Petitions, and so had three Boards of Guardians, men who knew the feelings and wants of their neighbours; whilst 46 public meetings were held wholly with favourable issues as regarded the measure. He knew, of course, it might be said that Petitions were not worth much, and that people were indolent, and signed it under the influence of others; but he would ask what other means had the bulk of the people of making their wishes known to Parliament? There were only two means open to them. One was to make a particular question a test question at the Election, which was most unsatisfactory, because an Election only occurred occasionally, and the question was subordinated by other matters of far greater national importance, and far greater than the particular object which might be had in view. And the other was by Petition. Political agitators might induce people to sign Petitions, perhaps ignorantly or thoughtlessly, on many subjects. They might offer the hope of some advantage, such as increased political power, or they might excite their passions on some real or sentimental grievance, or some class jealousy. But this was a very different question from that. The most ignorant country bumpkin knew better than the noble Earl what would be the effect of closing public-houses in his village on Sundays; and he, in the nature of a self-denying ordinance, petitioned against their being opened, thus setting the example of a sacrifice. This made the Petitions worthy of consideration. And this feeling was shown by gentlemen who had the most clear and accurate instinct of the wishes of the people in their own neighbourhood. There were 13 Representatives of Cornwall in Parliament, and all but two had given their unconditional support to the measure. There was, he admitted, a feeling that gentlemen who had their own clubs and cellars had no right to impose restrictive measures upon others. That was a very natural sentiment; and, when he was first asked to associate himself with the promotion of this measure, he entirely refused, simply on the ground that it was not the business of a person who would not be affected by the Bill to attempt to carry it into law. But having been shown that the genuine feeling of the county was in favour of it, he felt that it was his duty to support it in Parliament. They knew that the Licensed Victuallers' Association was strong, and that its strength depended simply upon its union; and it could not be made matter of complaint if a small publican should feel himself bound to throw in his lot with the others, and seek the assistance of the London Society. He knew very well that the wise men did not come from the West. Sunday Closing had succeeded in Wales. The only two objections which he had seen to it there were—first, that it had lessened the rents of some public-houses; and next, that it was harassing to the magistrates on the Border line, where men went across to drink in counties where the law was not in force, and returned before they had recovered from the effects of their expedition. The second of these objections would not apply in the case of Cornwall, as the boundary was one which could be easily maintained. The noble Earl concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he would not divide the House upon the Motion; but, at the same time, he must be allowed to say that he could not support the principle of Local Option which was to some extent, he thought, contained in the Bill and other similar Bills, relating to other counties; and he trusted that principle would never be adopted by Parliament. He should oppose the Bill in Committee.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 16th July, 1883.

MINUTES.] — NEW MEMBER SWORN—John Francis Small, esquire, *for* the County of Wexford.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—NAVY ESTIMATES, Votes 1, 3 to 10, Sec. II., 11, 14, 16.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Post Office (Protection) * [266].

Committee — Report — Mersey River (Gunpowder) * [262]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [254]; Sea Fisheries * [257]; Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment (*re-comm.*) * [39]; Companies (Colonial Registers) * [260].

Considered as amended—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [217]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [218].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Sea Fisheries (Ireland) * [31].

Withdrawn—Partnerships * [40].

QUESTIONS.

AFGHANISTAN—SUBSIDY TO THE AMEER.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any truth in the report that the Government of India intend to grant an annual subsidy to the Ameer of Afghanistan; and, if so, under what conditions?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I am afraid, Sir, I can add nothing at present to the information which I gave the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) on Thursday last. The India Office has not yet received the details of any arrangements which may have been arrived at between the Government of India and the Ameer.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether the Under Secretary had telegraphed for information; whether any ammunition was to be given to the Ameer; and whether there was any truth in the report that the grant was conditional on the Ameer's acting in the interests of the Indian Government, and in a spirit of general friendliness; and, if that was the case, could he inform the House what was the exact meaning of the words—

> "Acting in conformity with the interests of the Indian Government, and in a spirit of general friendliness?"

MR. J. K. CROSS: I am somewhat astonished at that Question, especially when I have just said that the India Office have not received the details of any arrangement which may have been arrived at between the Government of India and the Government of the Ameer.

MR. ONSLOW: The hon. Gentleman has not said whether any telegram has been sent.

MR. J. K. CROSS: No, Sir; no telegram has been sent. When any arrangement has been arrived at, I have not the slightest doubt that the Indian Government will at once inform the India Office of it.

STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, at Kilnaleek, county Cavan, a bailiff named Charles M'Cann was under police protection, and, whilst so protected, he shot one of the police in the eye; and, whether he is still prepared to continue special protection to a person of M'Cann's character?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there is reason to believe that the bailiff referred to still requires protection, which is afforded to him by means of occasional patrols in the neighbourhood of his house. On the night of the 10th of June two policemen, while on this duty, went into a shed at the rear of M'Cann's house, and while there one of them struck a light. This, together with the barking of a dog, aroused M'Cann; and, fearing that some person was there with the intention of committing an outrage, he fired in the direction of the shed, unfortunately wounding one of the constables in the eye. It is not intended to withdraw the protection from M'Cann, as it is considered that he still requires it.

METROPOLIS (NORTH AND SOUTH)—COMMUNICATION ACROSS THE THAMES.

MR. RITCHIE asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of the Engineer of the Metropolitan Board of Works in August 1882, on the subject of communications between the North and South of the Thames below London Bridge; and to the statement that the district for four miles East of London Bridge represents the trade and commerce of London, that it is inhabited by two-fifths of the entire population of London, a greater number than the combined population of Liverpool, Manchester, Salford, and Birmingham, and that while for the accommodation of the three-fifths of the population of London living West of London Bridge there are twelve road bridges and one foot bridge, in the district which represents the trade and commerce of London, and contains two-fifths of the population of London, all vehicular and pedestrian traffic between the North and South is completely severed by the river for a distance of four miles East of London Bridge; and to his recommendation of the formation of three crossings; and, what steps the Metropolitan Board of Works have taken, or propose to take, to carry out the recommendation of their engineer, and provide the communications to which he declares the East end of London to be entitled?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Sir, it has been part of my duty to make myself acquainted with the Report referred to by my hon. Friend; and, as regards the latter part of the Question, I beg to state that the Board, on Friday last, decided conditionally to proceed to obtain powers in the next Session to form communications across the Thames East of London Bridge; and the precise nature of the communications is under consideration by a committee.

MR. RITCHIE: When the hon. and gallant Gentleman says that the Board has "decided conditionally," are we to understand that the proposal which it is intended to present to Parliament is conditional upon any particular mode of raising the money necessary for carrying out the works?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he would like the hon. Member to give Notice of that Question.

MR. RITCHIE said, he would do so, and would also call attention to this subject on the third reading of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS — NEW STREETS EAST OF LONDON BRIDGE.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, If he can state the cost to the ratepayers of the Metropolis of making new streets east of London Bridge, and the amount of the contributions of districts east of London Bridge for the general purposes of the Metropolis; and, whether the Report of the engineers of the Metropolitan Board of Works of August 1882 has ever been confirmed by the Board?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I am afraid, Sir, that, owing to the overlapping of districts, it would take a considerable time to prepare, with any degree of accuracy, the information asked by the hon. Member. The Report of the engineer has not been formally approved by the Board; but, as I have already informed the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie), the Board has decided to proceed to Parliament for power to establish fresh communications, and the precise nature of the communications is under consideration by a committee.

POOR LAW (METROPOLIS) — CASE OF ANNE KANE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has inquired, or will inquire, of the Police authorities whether the old woman Anne Kane was seen by them outside the gate of the Poland Street Workhouse on the night of the 9th, and the morning of the 10th, of June; and, if so seen, how often and during how many hours?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, the Board have communicated with the Chief Commissioner of Police, and have been furnished by him with a Report of Superintendent Dunlop, from which it appears that Anne Kane was first seen by the police-constable on duty at 11 P.M., when she was knocking at the workhouse door. After refusing an order for the casual ward she went away. She did not return until 4.30 A.M., on the 10th, and left almost immediately. The police-constable is positive that the woman was not at the workhouse door between the hours of 11 P.M. and 6 A.M., except when she returned at 4.30. The day duty constable also states that she was not there when he relieved the night duty man at 6 A.M. The Report further states that the woman, at 11 P.M. on the 12th, was found drunk and incapable in Greek Street, Soho, and was charged at Marlborough Mews Station.

LICENSING — MAGISTRATES OF ROTHERHAM.

MR. J. R. YORKE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has received a memorial from the Licensed Victuallers of Rotherham representing the conduct of the Mayor of that town in declaring at a public meeting that he intended, together with other borough magistrates, to reduce the number of licenses in the borough; and, whether borough magistrates are entitled to express beforehand their opinions as to the course they intend to pursue on matters on which they have to decide in their magisterial capacity, and on the respective merits of the cases brought before them?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I took some trouble the other day to explain that a person who occupies the position of Mayor is entirely outside the authority of the Executive Government. I do not think it is very wise in administration to take people to task over whom you have no authority; and, therefore, I must decline to criticize or interfere with the action of the Mayor of Rotherham.

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED EJECTION OF IRISH AT TURTON.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there is any, and, if so, what, foundation for the following paragraph published in the "Manchester Evening News" of June 29th, headed "Banishing the Irish:"—

> "The last of the Irish families have left Turton, near Darwen, as requested by the English section of the inhabitants. There was no demonstration made, though large crowds assembled, the Irish taking the expulsion quietly. Some thirty families have been ejected. At one house twenty-eight persons were turned out, but these included lodgers. There is not a single Irish man or woman now in the town?"

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, the origin of this statement seemed to have been a trade dispute between certain English and Irish labourers at Bolton Waterworks. In consequence of the dispute eight or nine of the Irish labourers left. He had written to the Clerk of Works, and the Clerk of Works informed him that the statement in *The Manchester Evening News* was not correct. He added that he was in the district daily, and he could say there was no disturbance of the Irish residents, the persons who left being comparatively strangers to the locality who came there to work. At present there were a large number of Irish haymakers in the district, and he had not heard that they had been in any way interfered with.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD FOR SCOTLAND, THE STAFF, &c.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will lay upon the Table of the House an estimate of the probable expense of providing a staff of officials and clerks, with the necessary offices, which will be required for carrying on the business to be transacted by the proposed Local Government Board for Scotland.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, it was not possible to make any accurate estimate of the probable expense before the Bill had been discussed; but it would not be a large amount. It was not contemplated that this Office would require a considerable staff.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-CONSTABLES O'NEILL AND M'KAY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Sub-Constables O'Neill and M'Kay have been transferred from Newry to inferior stations in consequence of a complaint made, the truth of which they denied, and without any inquiries or investigation; and, whether, when one of the said sub-constables requested the county inspector to make inquiries, the county inspector ordered him to proceed to his new station at once, and at the same time directed the head constable to make inquiries, thereby securing that the man should be absent from Newry whilst inquiries were made in reference to the complaint, for the assumed truth of which he had been already punished?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the constables named were removed from Newry, but not to inferior stations, and not until after the circumstances which led to their removal had been fully considered. A charge of neglect of duty was preferred against them by a Mr. M'Blain, a merchant, of Newry. He, however, subsequently refused to prosecute, and the County Inspector disposed of the case on the written statements of the men themselves. He considered that he dealt very leniently with them, in simply removing them to another station, and not at their own expense, as, even on their own showing, their conduct was greatly wanting in courtesy and discretion. The County Inspector's action in the matter is fully approved of by the Inspector General. There is no ground for the allegations contained in the second paragraph of the Question.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE SCHOOL-HOUSE AT MUNGRET, COUNTY LIMERICK.

MR. SYNAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Mungret Agricultural School and Model Farm, in the county of Limerick, erected and established by the moneys of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund belonging to the said county, contained, from its erection, a Male National Schoolhouse for the parish of Mungret; whether, since and under the local Act of the 42 and 43 Vic. c. 220, said buildings and model farm have been let at an annual rent under said Act, and the said Male National Schoolhouse has been shut up, and the parish left without a male schoolhouse; and, whether said schoolhouse has been so shut up by and with the order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and consent of the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury; and, if so, whether the Government will order the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, or the trustees under said Act, to apply some portion of the rents and profits of said buildings and model farm to the erection of a male schoolhouse for said parish?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am aware, Sir, of the circumstances referred to in the first paragraph of the Question. The hon. Member is, however, not correct in referring to the cost as having been exclusively borne by the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund. It was aided by a Parliamentary Vote. Since the passing of the Local Act referred to, the Male National School has been transferred from the premises where it formerly was held to a separate building on the farm, where it is now in operation, and receives the usual aid from the Board of National Education. More than a year ago the Commissioners made to the manager a grant of £212, being two-thirds of the estimated cost of providing a new schoolhouse; but advantage has not yet been taken of the grant. I am making further inquiry as to whether any letting of the farm or buildings has taken place under the provisions of the Local Act.

STATE OF IRELAND—COUNTY CAVAN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a man named Whiteside, caretaker to Lord Annesley, in county Cavan, has been under special police protection; whether the district is perfectly peaceable; and, whether the police protection might now be withdrawn?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the caretaker referred to has been under the protection of the police for the last two or three years. During the past few weeks the district has been peaceable; but it is not considered advisable, at present, to withdraw the protection from Whiteside.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—EXPLOSION AT DERRY.

Mr. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the police authorities have received any information in connection with an outrage committed some time ago in the city of Derry, when a cart axle-box filled with powder was flung into a room thronged with people, and a partial explosion followed, wounding several persons, one, a girl, being so severely wounded that her leg had to be amputated; and, if so, whether any action has been taken in the matter?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the outrage to which this Question refers took place more than four years ago. Every effort, including the offer of a substantial reward for information, was made by the police to detect the offenders, but without success. The injury to the girl was not so serious as stated in the Question. Her leg was not amputated; but she suffered a slight permanent lameness, on account of which the Grand Jury, at the Summer Assizes of 1879, awarded her £250 compensation.

ARMY (INDIA)—THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE—RE-ORGANIZATION.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the result of the re-organisation of the Indian Medical Service, to the medical officers senior to the Sanitary Commissioners, was a loss of at least two administrative appointments in Bengal alone; whether the block of promotion in the Bengal Medical Service is largely due to the deferred promotion of the senior officers, consequent on this reduction in the number of administrative appointments available; whether the promotion of sanitary officers to administrative rank, after a fixed period of 26 years' service, has affected a considerable number of officers senior to the sanitary officers, by retarding their promotion to administrative rank to 29 years' service and upwards; whether section 56 of 21 and 22 Vic. c. 106, does not secure to all branches of Her Majesty's Indian Army all advantages as to promotion, and otherwise, to which they were severally entitled at the time it was passed; and, whether each Presidency has its own separate medical list, wherein and whereby promotions are regulated.

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, a similar Question was asked, on the 2nd of July, by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). In addition to the answer I then gave, I have to inform the hon. Baronet that each Presidency has its own separate medical list, and that the result of the re-organization of the Indian Medical Service, to the medical officers senior to the Sanitary Commissioners, is an immediate loss of two administrative appointments in Bengal. But to the Bengal Department, taken as a whole, there is a gain of one administrative appointment by the substitution for 11 Deputy Surgeons General of nine Deputy Surgeons General, and three Sanitary Commissioners, who rank as Deputy Surgeons General after 26 years' service. The fact that, when the change was carried out, two of the Sanitary Commissioners were comparatively junior men has, undoubtedly, retarded the possible selection of a few officers senior to them for the post of Sanitary Commissioner; but there is no block of promotion. The Act of Parliament referred to by the hon. Baronet did not provide against a change in the number of Deputy Surgeons General; and no alteration has been made in the system of selection for that grade.

TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE XXIII.—THE ISLAND OF CHIOS.

Mr. RALLI asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to the recent acts of the Ottoman Government in the Island of Chios (Scio), such as the imposition of double taxation since the earthquake of 1881, instead of a remission thereof as promised at the time; the substitution of the Turkish for the Greek language in the Law Courts; and the suppression of all the printing presses in the Island; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will impress on the Porte the necessity of restoring the autonomous Government of Scio as existing until 1866, and still in force in the neighbouring Island of Samos, or at least the advisability of appointing a Christian as Governor of the Island, which is computed to contain 50,000 Christian and about 1,500 Turkish inhabitants?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to the condition of affairs in the Island of Scio, and they have been in communication with Lord Dufferin and Mr. Wyndham on the subject. The European Commission of Reforms, by the Collective Declaration of August 22, 1880, resolved that all the Islands of the Archipelago were entitled to the benefit of the scheme of reforms drawn up by them under Article XXIII. of the Treaty of Berlin.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—EAST BARS, COUNTY LEITRIM.

Colonel O'BEIRNE asked the Postmaster General, If, in conformity with a statement recently made, the Post Office authorities have as yet taken any steps to remedy the great inconvenience the inhabitants of East Bars, county Leitrim, and the surrounding district, are daily subject to, in consequence of the irregularity and delay in the Postal delivery, the morning mail being daily one hour and forty minutes late?

Mr. FAWCETT, in reply, said, he had made inquiry into the subject referred to by his hon. Friend, and he found that it was the case that during the last three years the times of the morning trains from Enniskillen to Sligo had been so altered that they now arrived an hour and forty minutes later than formerly. The consequence was that the post arrived in East Bars and the district so much later. He had no power to control times of trains; but he was making inquiries into the subject, and hoped that some arrangement would be concluded whereby the trains would arrive as early as they formerly did.

STATE OF IRELAND—DISTRESS IN GWEEDORE.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, considering the emphatic denials given by the Reverend James M'Fadden, P.P. of Gweedore, and by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Hart, to the official representations as to the condition of distress in Gweedore and the surrounding districts, he will direct that an inquiry should be made by impartial investigators with a view to ascertain the truth; and, whether he has heard that the Reverend Mr. M'Fadden demands a house-to-house inquiry on the subject? In justification of his Question, he would read a telegram which he had received from the Rev. Mr. M'Fadden—

> "Deny the statement of the Chief Secretary on Monday night as to the state of Gweedore. I repeat that the distress in it is general and intense, and I challenge inquiry."

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government has every confidence in the impartiality and ability of the two Inspectors of the Local Government Board. They are Mr. M'Farlane, the permanent Inspector, and Dr. Wodehouse, temporary officer, and their Reports are relied on. The Government see no necessity for ordering an inquiry to be held by any other person. I have said over and over again, and I repeat it now, that I have received Reports and other information, verbal sometimes, from individuals who have equal means of informing themselves with Mr. Ernest Hart, and who take a very different view from him, and the same view as the Government. With regard to the suggested house-to-house inquiry, I may observe that it is the duty of the relieving officer to visit the houses of all applicants for relief, and to examine into their circumstances, and report to the Guardians.

Mr. CALLAN said, that, in consequence of the answer just given, he should, on Thursday, ask the Chief Secretary whether his attention had been called to the evidence given on oath by Rev. Father Gallagher (who accompanied the Chief Secretary on his tour through Donegal) before the Land Sub-Commissioners at Carrick showing the reality of the distress, when the rev.

gentleman declared on oath that many persons had died during the last year in the parishes around from the effects of hunger, and that many more would have died but for his relief, and that early in this year the hungry had to choose between eating the worst kind of seaweed or starvation? He would also ask if the Local Government Board were prepared to give an inquiry, or whether they were still of opinion that Father Gallagher's evidence was false, or, admitting it to be true, were they still determined to refuse outdoor relief, and to insist upon the "pinch of hunger" test?

Mr. O'KELLY: In connection with this matter of Government Inspectors, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is aware that a Report was made by a Government Inspector in relation to the district of Lough Glynn, in the county Roscommon, in which the Government Inspector denied the existence of extreme poverty; and whether, since then, he has received a very largely signed appeal from that district, signed by, amongst others, the parish priest, in which it is distinctly stated that this Government Inspector never appeared in the district, and never inquired from anyone in that district in reference to the existence of distress?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I had the whole case before me this morning, and examined it very carefully. If the hon. Member desires to put a further Question, and will give me Notice, I will answer it.

Mr. O'BRIEN: In reference to the right hon. Gentleman's reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), I would like to ask whether, now that there are distinct charges made upon one side that the people have been allowed to die of starvation, and upon the other side, by the right hon. Gentleman himself, that the priests have been guilty of deliberate and wilful misrepresentation——[*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now introducing matters of controversy.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I merely propose to ask, Sir, whether, in view of the facts to which I have referred, the right hon. Gentleman will give the public no sort of opportunity for determining the truth of what is a very terrible scandal?

Mr. TREVELYAN: As Chief Secretary for Ireland, I must protest against the statement that I have charged these reverend gentlemen with misrepresentation. What I said was that I had received information which led me to a different conclusion.

PASSENGER ACTS — OVERCROWDING OF A RIVER STEAMER AT BROUGHTY FERRY, RIVER TAY, SCOTLAND.

Mr. HENDERSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to an alleged case of overcrowding on board the steam tug "Renown," at Broughty Ferry on Tay, on Sunday 8th instant, whereby, the newspaper reports state, several hundred passengers were for a considerable time in most imminent danger, and that large numbers of them jumped overboard, when, on leaving the pier, the steamer appeared about to capsize; and, if he will state what means are taken to prevent river steamers taking on board passengers largely in excess of the number which their Board of Trade certificate permits; and also on whom rests the responsibility of investigating such cases as the one in question, and of prosecuting, if the facts are as stated?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I have received communications from the Dundee Magistrates of Police, the Procurator Fiscal, and the owner of the steam tug *Renown*, with reference to the overcrowding of that vessel on Sunday, the 8th instant. From the information which I have obtained, it would appear that the statement in the newspapers that a large number of passengers jumped overboard is calculated to mislead. The accounts furnished to the Board of Trade state that when the steamer gave a lurch many of the passengers jumped from the bridge of the vessel on to the quay. I have little doubt that the tug was taking on board passengers considerably in excess of the number which the Board of Trade certificate authorizes it to carry. This is, however, a matter for investigation, and, if necessary, for prosecution by the local police authorities, and not by the Board of Trade; and the owner or master in charge would, on conviction, be liable to a penalty of £20, and 5*s.* for every passenger over the specified number.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has before him any Report as to the feasibility of a Ship Canal by way of the Red Sea, and any estimate of the cost of such a Canal; whether M. de Lesseps makes it a sine quâ non of his assent to any concessions that a maximum sum of £8,000,000 should be lent by this Country to the Suez Canal Company; and, whether, in his negotiations with M. de Lesseps, he will take care to insert stipulations securing the Egyptian fellahs against all direct or indirect forced labour in the event of a second Canal being made across the Isthmus of Suez, and providing for the well-being and the adequate remumeration of those who may be employed in the manual labour of making the said canal?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): In reply to my hon. Friend's first Question, I have to say that I have heard of a scheme for a Ship Canal, not to the Gulf of Suez at all, but passing through Palestine and by the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba, in the Red Sea; but the scheme has not been brought before me, at any rate, in any tangible form. As to the second Question, I do not think it would be convenient to state the relative importance which either we or M. de Lesseps attach to any particular branch of the Agreement, at any rate in answer to a Question. In debate, of course, these matters could be brought up. As to the third Question, M. de Lesseps has no longer any right to employ forced labour, nor have we any reason to believe that any attempt will be made to resort to it. The Representatives of the Government on the Board will be instructed to secure this.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether it is to be understood that M. de Lesseps has himself the exclusive right to make a Canal or Canals across the Isthmus of Suez, or that this right is possessed by the Suez Canal Company?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): My hon. Friend has asked me a Question which appears to assume that the rights he refers to must necessarily be vested solely either in M. de Lesseps or the Canal Company. The interests of M. de Lesseps and the Company appear to be so intimately connected that I cannot accept this view without much qualification; and I could not safely answer my hon. Friend without entering upon explanations which cannot be given within the limits of an answer to a Question. I feel that it may be injurious to public interests to give any insufficient or limited explanation which may be open to misconstruction. I would take this opportunity of saying that the legal advice the Government have received on the subject has been not only that of the Law Officers, but also of the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. BOURKE: Can the hon. and learned Gentleman give the House any reference to any public document in which M. de Lesseps has claimed the exclusive right to make a Canal or Canals across the Isthmus of Suez, either by himself or by a Company?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Every Paper in connection with this subject is, I believe, before the House, and the right hon. Gentleman can look at them. If the right hon. Gentleman will refer to them, he will be able to answer the Question himself better than I can.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: In reference to the reply which the hon. and learned Attorney General has just given, may I ask him whether the Lord Chancellor has given his opinion as Lord Chancellor, or as a Member of the Government, or as a Law Officer of the Government. [The Attorney General made no reply.] If the hon. and learned Gentleman cannot answer the Question now, I will repeat it on a future occasion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Perhaps it would be convenient for me to state, in reference to the suggestion that was made to me on Friday as to the re-printing of certain Papers, that I have directed that those Papers shall be reprinted.

Mr. BOURKE: I should like to know whether the Paper "Egypt No. 6, 1876," is to be re-printed? It contains the Firmans and the concessions with regard to the Suez Canal made to the late Government.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): The Paper "Egypt, No. 6, 1876," was laid upon the Table in 1876; and, as I have stated, the Papers and the concessions to which the hon. Member refers will be re-printed *in extenso.*

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: How soon will that be done?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have ordered that the printing shall be proceeded with as speedily as possible.

MR. BOURKE: I am quite sure it would be for the convenience of the House if "Egypt, No. 6, 1876" were to be distributed immediately to hon. Members. It practically contains all the information that is necessary upon this subject.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have not the least objection, if there are copies enough to distribute. But that Paper contains a great deal that does not bear upon this question at all.

MR. BOURKE: Very little.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): A great deal, I think. I stated on Friday the Papers which did bear upon the subject.

MR. GIBSON: Will these documents show whether M. de Lesseps, on behalf of the Company, has made this exclusive claim?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The Papers will speak for themselves.

MR. A. ELLIOT (for Mr. FRANCIS BUXTON) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the "agreement" as to the new Suez Canal, Whether it is intended by Clause 6 that one of the English Directors shall be appointed Vice President of the Company as soon as a vacancy occurs on the Board of Directors, or only when a vacancy occurs in the Vice Presidency itself; who is the present Vice President, and is there any likelihood of his speedy retirement; whether the English officer who, according to Clause 9, is to be appointed "Inspecteur de la Navigation," is to have the inspection of the present Canal at once, or only of the proposed Canal when made; what will be his official head-quarters; and, what powers is he to have?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the appointment will take place when a vacancy occurs among the Vice Presidents. There are three Vice Presidents by the Statutes, and they vacate their Office every year. The "*Inspecteur de la Navigation*" will be appointed immediately on the completion of the Agreement, and his duties will have reference to the present Canal. Those duties will be at once defined in agreement with the English Directors, and expressed in the Resolution of the *Conseil d'Administration,* which will be the extension of the Provisional Agreement. His official head-quarters will be on the Canal, and he will probably reside at Port Said; but upon that I can give no undertaking.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the proposed arrangement with the Suez Canal Company for the construction of a second Canal is based on the recognition by Her Majesty's Government of the right of monopoly claimed by M. de Lesseps under his concession from Said Pacha; whether the concession for a second Canal will, to be valid, require to be ratified by the Sultan, as was necessary in the case of that under which the existing channel was constructed; whether the new Canal will, like the old one, be subject to Egyptian law, and to the ultimate sovereignty of the Porte; whether any, and what, security or guarantee will be given by the Canal Company for the repayment of the proposed loan of £8,000,000; and, whether such security will be subject to the same conditions of jurisdiction and sovereignty as attach to the existing Canal?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The first of these Questions, Sir, was answered by the Prime Minister on Monday last. In reply to the second Question, the answer must depend as to how far the second Canal is held to be a separate undertaking, requiring a second concession, or only to involve the sale of additional land for the extension of the first and existing Canal. The new Canal will have the same legal *status* as the first. The loan of £8,000,000 will rank *pari passu* with the other loans of the Company before the share capital. The conditions of Sovereignty and jurisdiction will be the same as attach to the existing Canal.

MR. M'COAN: Is it not a fact that the concession of 1854 gives M. de Lesseps the right to construct only one Canal?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a Question which I must ask the hon. Member to place upon the Paper.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is a fact that the Government of Mr. Disraeli in 1875 consented to Great Britain being represented by three British Directors on the Board of twenty-four Directors which manages the Suez Canal Company?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Before the noble Lord answers that Question, I should like to ask him whether it is not a fact that the amount of English capital under the proposed arrangement will be £12,000,000 instead of £4,000,000; whether the £4,000,000 invested by Lord Beaconsfield is not now worth more than double its original value; and whether the purchase by Lord Beaconsfield of £4,000,000 of Stock in 1876 did not save the Egyptian Government from bankruptcy?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot answer the Question of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) without Notice. The Question upon the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) I have to answer in the affirmative. The right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) stated the fact to the House in February, 1876; and in reply to a Question as to the influence thereby acquired in the administration of the Canal endorsed the words of the Foreign Secretary, that—

> "If anybody doubts that the possessor of two-fifths of the Shares in this Canal obtains no influence, it is as difficult to argue with him as with a man who says that two and two do not make four."

The right hon. Baronet then added—

> "It is not merely the number of votes our representatives may possess which will give them influence, but the fact that they will be present as the representatives of England, and, as has been well said, votes in such cases are not only counted but weighed."—(3 *Hansard*, [227], 283-4.)

MR. BOURKE, who had the following Question on the Paper:—namely—

> "To ask the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can now state whether Her Majesty's Government has come to any arrangement with the Suez Company, and what is the nature of that arrangement?"

said, that he had put that Question on the Paper 10 days ago, and, perhaps, the time had passed for answering it; but if the Prime Minister had any further information to give they would be glad to hear it.

MR. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman himself has said that the time is past for the Question; and I must say I think it would be very convenient if hon. Members, especially those who have held Office, having given Notice of a Question to a Member of the Government, would be kind enough, when they deem that it is unnecessary to put it, to intimate that it has been withdrawn.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The Question which my right hon. Friend placed upon the Paper before the statement had been made by the Government was one of importance, but one which is rendered obsolete by the state of the case. What my right hon. Friend substituted was the Question whether Her Majesty's Government have any further information, or whether they are prepared now to proceed upon the lines upon which they have invited the House to proceed?

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg pardon. The right hon. Gentleman has added words of great importance to the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) which that right hon. Gentleman did not use. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn did not ask whether the Government were prepared to proceed upon the lines which they proposed. Those are the important words added by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. Of course, that is a Question which it is perfectly legitimate to put; but it is for the Government to consider at what time they should think it consistent with the public interest to answer that Question. The right hon. Gentleman will, however, see that it is a Question which had better have been put with Notice than without Notice. I suppose I had better answer the Question which follows.

MR. BOURKE: I put down this Question some days ago, after a conference with Members of Her Majesty's Government; and, considering that it was only on Friday last that we received the information which makes this Question now obsolete, I think that the observations of the right hon. Gentleman are entirely uncalled for and undeserved. I now, Sir, beg to ask the next Question—namely, What Courts of Law will have jurisdiction over the proposed new Suez Canal which is to be made with British capital; and what security will there be for the completion of the proposed new Canal?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman appears to say that it is his opinion, when a Gentleman has put down a Question to a Minister which has become obsolete, it is not his duty to make any intimation to that Minister. Sir, I differ from that opinion. With reference to the Question, the jurisdiction over the proposed new Suez Canal would, according to the Agreement as it stands, be exactly the same as that over the existing Canal. With respect to the second part of the Question—what security there will be for the completion of the proposed new Canal—I apprehend that the security, as it stands, will be upon the whole estate and effects of the Company prior to the division of any profits of the Company. But, of course, it is in the power of Parliament to require any further specification, or to attach any conditions that they please to that arrangement.

Mr. BOURKE: That is no answer to my Question. In consequence of the reply I have received, I will ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is not aware that it has been a disputed point what Courts have jurisdiction over the Suez Canal? It was with a view to obtain some opinion from the Government on the question that I put down this Question; and it is no answer for this House to receive from the right hon. Gentleman—[*Cries of* "Order!"] Then I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman does not know that these disputes have existed for some time, and that M. de Lesseps himself has disputed, not only the rights of the Courts in Paris, but of those in Egypt and of the Consular Courts?

Mr. GLADSTONE: These are Questions which, as to my knowledge on the subject, have nothing whatever to do with the issue now before us. What I have desired to convey is that the question of jurisdiction is entirely untouched by the Agreement with M. de Lesseps.

Mr. BOURKE: That is not an answer to my Question. ["Order."]

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES (IRELAND).

Mr. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he intends to submit the Vote for the Irish Queen's Colleges; and, whether he will give full notice of his intention to do so, in order that Members so desiring may have an opportunity of discussing it?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Vote for the Irish Queen's Colleges will be taken in the usual course of the Estimates. There is no intention of bringing it forward prematurely, or of postponing it.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF 10TH JULY LAST.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take in order to give effect to the Resolution adopted by the House of Commons on Tuesday the 10th July, with regard to the continued importation of Foreign Live Animals from Countries infected with Foot and Mouth Disease?

Mr. GLADSTONE: With reference to this Question, Sir, the hon. Member is certainly aware of the ground taken by the Government with respect to the state of the law. From that ground it is, of course, not possible for them to depart. Their duty has been to consider what they will do in deference to the Vote of the House, without going beyond the powers which the law places in their hands, and what they will do is this—they will carefully go over the cases of the different foreign countries, and consider with care the evidence that is before them upon the points raised by the Motion of the hon. Member. In each of these cases they will examine whether the action which they have adopted is behind what the evidence demands which is in their possession; and, if it is, they will make it their duty to bring it up to the point which that evidence justifies.

Mr. CHAPLIN: Are we to understand that if the evidence leads them to the conclusion that there is foot-and-mouth disease in those countries they will take steps to prohibit the landing of animals from those countries?

MR. GLADSTONE: It would be difficult for me to accept at a moment's notice a Question put extempore by the hon. Gentleman. If he will kindly place it upon the Paper, I will take care to put myself into a condition to reply.

MR. CHAPLIN gave Notice that he would ask a further Question on the subject on Friday.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, after the statement made by the Secretary of State for War, as to the alarming increase in the number of cases of contagious disease in Her Majesty's forces since the abolition of compulsory examination, he still adheres to his intention of endeavouring to pass this Session a Bill for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the hon. and gallant Gentleman has not borne in mind the statement which I made on a previous day that the Government must take some further time to consider, with respect to the three Bills of importance, whether they would ask the House to proceed with them or not; and that I could not give any further intimation of the intentions of the Government with respect to these three Bills until we had got through the Committee on the Corrupt Practices Bill and made great progress with the Tenants' Compensation Bill. As soon as we are in that condition, we shall be prepared to answer this Question.

MR. PULESTON asked whether, in view of the alarming character of the information which had been given to the House, the Prime Minister intended to proceed with such a Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE said, it did not lead him to vary the answer he had already given.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—PRIVATE SECRETARIES TO MINISTERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government will present to the House a Return of the names of all persons who have been serving or temporarily acting as private secretaries to any of Her Majesty's Ministers since May 1880, specifying whether they are in receipt of a salary, or not; and, if so, the date at which such salary began, and the amount of it; and, with respect to each such person, whether he was previously a member of the Civil Service, or had passed an examination before the Civil Service Commissioners?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, with respect to this Question, my answer to the hon. Member would be that, taking it as it stands, we should not agree to the production of such a Return; and we should not agree to it precisely on the ground that it illustrates nothing as to the general question, which is, no doubt, a question of interest. What has been the traditional or frequent practice as to these appointments is a question of interest; and if the hon. Member thinks fit to move for a Return bearing upon that question over a sufficient period—for instance, since the Reform Act—we should put it in without opposition. But this is a question of what has been done since 1880, which *primâ facie* seems to involve a charge against me or my Colleagues. I am not prepared to deal with such a charge as far as my Colleagues are concerned. But as the hon. Member evidently feels some curiosity about me in this matter, I will give him some information. I will not give names, but will state the facts, in which he will see some significance. I have at present four Private Secretaries. I have had before these four gentlemen 12 Private Secretaries. Out of these, nine have been appointed out of the regular course of promotion, or, not being members of the Civil Service when they were Private Secretaries, have been introduced into it. Of these nine, four only have been appointed by me. These four have likewise received other and further appointments in the Civil Service, quite independently of me. The other five have been appointed by persons wholly independent of me.

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have given him private Notice—Whether it is true, as stated in the newspapers, that there has been an outbreak of cholera in the suburbs of Cairo; and, if so, what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take with regard to this, and for the protection of the British troops at Cairo?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The best answer I can give to the Question asked by the noble Lord is to read the telegram on the subject received to-day from Sir Edward Malet—

> "Cairo, July 16.—Five cases of cholera at Ghizeh, three miles from Cairo; three or four suspicious cases at Cairo; troops at Cairo very healthy; every precaution taken; ready to move into camp when necessary."

I may add that Sir Edward Malet states in another telegram that seven European doctors have been sent to the infected places. He states further that six Egyptian doctors, possessing European diplomas, have also been sent to these localities.

SPAIN—QUARANTINE ON ENGLISH SHIPPING.

MR. PRESTON BRUCE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the Spanish Government have imposed quarantine on all British ships entering Spanish ports; and whether he has any information as to the extent and conditions of that measure?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Spanish Government have imposed a quarantine of three days' observation on vessels arriving from England. On the receipt, last Saturday, of this intelligence, Sir Robert Morier was at once instructed by telegraph to remonstrate against this measure, and to point out that it is uncalled for on sanitary grounds, and that it will cause much inconvenience to shipping and trade. I may mention now that copies of the precautionary Regulations adopted by the Local Government Board were sent to Her Majesty's Representatives abroad last Saturday for their information and use, and for communication to the Governments to which they are accredited.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SUNDAY CLOSING (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. J. N. RICHARDSON said, he wished to ask the Prime Minister a Question of which he had given him private Notice—Whether, in view of the deputation to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on Thursday last upon the subject of the Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill, he would state to the House the course which Her Majesty's Government had decided to take in reference to that measure?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the course which the Government have felt it their duty to adopt has been described by me in a communication to the House. We have not felt that we should be justified, in the present state of Business, in asking the House to proceed with this Bill. But I do not hesitate to say that we arrived at that decision with great regret, in view of the circumstances which, in our estimation, were of overpowering necessity; and it certainly would be a still greater disappointment to us if that decision involved the sacrifice of the measure. If we are responsible at the opening of next Session for the conduct of Business, we shall take an early opportunity of asking the decision of the House on the question.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL — PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question with regard to the course of Public Business. Since the time when the right hon. Gentleman made his statement last week a very important incident has occurred, which must, to a certain extent, interfere with the course of Business which he then sketched to the House. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring the subject of the Suez Canal Agreement before the notice of the House? I also wish to be informed what is to be the course of Business this evening, because I see the Local Government (Scotland) Bill stands as the second Order for Second Reading immediately after Supply; and I believe it is the intention of the Government to suspend Supply in order to bring on the Local Government (Scotland) Bill. It is desirable to know if that is the intention of the Government, and at what hour they propose to do so?

MR. RATHBONE asked the right hon. Gentleman whether, before he brought the question of the Suez Canal before the House, sufficient time would be given to those who were seriously interested in the results really to understand the question? [*Laughter.*] What was fun to hon. Gentlemen opposite was not fun to others. When there were such large interests in question, it was not unreasonable to ask whether Her Majesty's Government would give them sufficient time to receive those explanations, which had been promised from the negotiators of the Treaty as to the grounds for it, and what it meant before they were called upon to decide upon it?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to the Questions that have been put to me, I may say that they are in part answered by the declaration which I have previously made to the House, and by which, at any rate, Her Majesty's Government conceive themselves bound; that we think it necessary to proceed, as I have said, in the redemption of our pledges with the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill, and that we do not think there is any case of urgency which would justify us, as at present advised, and in view of the undertaking we have given, were we to intercept the progress of Committee on these important Bills, except for the necessary purposes of Supply. I believe that was the undertaking, and to that we wish to adhere. With regard to the Scotch Bill to-night, we shall be certainly glad if the House should dispose, as I believe it is quite possible that the House may dispose in Committee, of the remaining Navy Estimates which will be brought before them, in time to enable us to proceed with the Scotch Local Government Bill. We cherish some hope of that, and shall be very glad to go on with the Bill should that happen. But it would not be consistent with the understanding we have given to intercept the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill, except for the necessary purpose of Supply. As to the Question with regard to the Suez Canal, I thank my hon. Friend for what he has said, and in answer to that I have to state that I believe the Report of the English Directors of the Suez Canal has been laid on the Table, and will be circulated to-morrow morning; and that likewise the Papers asked for by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) will, I hope, be circulated as soon as possible, probably within the next few days. When we approach the close of the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bills, I hope to be in a position to say something of a definite character with regard to the date when we may ask the House to take the discussion on the Suez Canal Agreement. The House is quite aware that the Agreement cannot in any sense go forward, or acquire any validity whatever, without our taking proceedings in the House. In truth, it would fall to the ground without the assent of the House; and I need not say that any idea of smuggling such an Agreement, either at this or any other period of the Session, into vitality or efficacy without its full judgment, would be entirely futile.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I may remind the right hon. Gentleman that the Session is far advanced, and that it will be impossible for the House to be satisfied with the undertaking to bring the Question on at a time when the House will be empty.

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the passing of an Agreement of that kind in an empty House, in the present lively state of a considerable portion of public opinion, is an event entirely removed from the "range of practical politics," if I may use that phrase.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether, as the Lord Chancellor is not a Law Officer of the Crown, the Rule which holds good with respect to the Law Officers of the Crown will hold good with regard to him; and, whether the Opinion he has given the Government with regard to the cession of the Suez Canal will be laid on the Table?

MR. GLADSTONE: It would be rash for me to give only a personal answer to the Question; but my belief is that the Lord Chancellor is a Law Officer of the Crown, and, indeed, the Chief Law Officer of the Crown. I hope it is not disparagement to my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General to say so, although it is true that the occasions given to the Lord Chancellor to act in that capacity are so rare that the term "Law Officers" is usually applied only to the Attorney General and the Solicitor General. I remember myself distinct occasions on which I have made reference to the Lord Chancellor in his capacity as Chief Law Officer of the

Crown. But, whether that be so or not, I think it is quite impossible for the Lord Chancellor so to sever any one of his capacities from the rest of those capacities as to allow for a moment the supposition that he can give an opinion in one of those characters which would not be binding in all of them.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the Opinion would be laid on the Table?

Mr. GLADSTONE was understood to reply in the negative.

Mr. ONSLOW asked whether, considering the great interest that India had in the proposed arrangement with M. de Lesseps, the Prime Minister would agree to telegraph to the different Chambers of Commerce in India the terms of that Agreement, in order to ascertain whether the Viceroy and the Chambers of Commerce of India would agree to the conditions proposed?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I should not think it expedient to do so.

MADAGASCAR — THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE—DEATH OF CONSUL PAKENHAM.

Mr. BOURKE: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, Whether he can communicate to the House any further information with respect to the events which have taken place in Madagascar in connection with the death of Consul Pakenham?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; we have no further information, unless it be information which is negative—namely, that vessels appear to have called at Madagascar, and not to have heard of any of the incidents excepting the funeral. But we have no further information whatever of a substantive kind.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) BILLS.

Mr. DALRYMPLE asked the Prime Minister, Whether, when he spoke about the Tenants' Compensation Bill, he referred also to the measure for Scotland of the same title; and after what hour to-night the Local Government (Scotland) Bill would not be taken?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The second Question of the hon. Member is answered by the Rule of the House. We feel it our duty to bring on the Local Government (Scotland) Bill at any time before half-past 12, should the progress in Supply enable us to do so. With regard to the Tenants' Compensation Bills, for the purpose of progress through Committee, the two Bills will be taken and considered as one.

EAST INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)

Mr. ONSLOW asked, Whether the Government would carry out its undertaking for a further discussion on the question of East Indian Expenditure?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he had twice referred to this subject already. What appeared to be the opinion of the House was, that, although the middle of July might mean the 15th or 16th of the month, they could not look so strictly at the matter, especially having regard to the approaching termination of the Committee on the Tenants' Compensation Bill.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—∞o∞—

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £937,400, Victuals and Clothing for Seamen and Marines.

Captain PRICE said, that when the Committee were last engaged in discussing the Navy Estimates it was upon the Vote for Pensions, and Progress was reported at a late hour of the night. They had now to go back to the second Vote—the Vote for Provisions—on which Business the Committee were engaged some time earlier in the Session. On this Vote it was perfectly regular to go into a review of the *personnel* of the Navy. He thought that, on the whole, and with certain qualifications, they had every reason to be very much pleased with the *personnel* of the Navy. No doubt, there were certain grievances in the Service; but, with these qualifications, it was not too much to say that, in the main, our Naval Service was a contented and happy, as well as an efficient, one; and the recent campaign in Egypt had shown that our seamen had by no means deteriorated, in any way, from what they used to be, many years ago, in the time of the old naval wars. But he was sorry to say that in one particular there was some little reason for dissatisfaction; and that was in regard to the discipline of the Service. Anyone who heard, or read, Lord Northbrook's speech in "another place," a short time ago, must have been struck with the noble Lord's statement that the discipline of the Service had not been maintained at such a satisfactory point as he could have wished; and Lord Northbrook specially alluded to the great increase that had taken place in the number of cases of mutiny and of offences against discipline, such as cases of striking a superior officer, &c. Two years ago, he (Captain Price) asked for information from the Admiralty upon this point, and the information he obtained showed him that these particular offences in the Service had been of late years rapidly increasing. Some years ago, this Parliament, in its infinite wisdom, abolished the punishment of flogging in the Navy. He had no wish to see that punishment introduced again, if it could possibly be avoided. His idea had always been that we should, at all events, try to do without it, and that if such a punishment was retained in the Service, it should only be used in time of war, or in very exceptional cases. But they had now to look at what had been the results of the alteration in the punishment. He had called for a Return on this subject a short time ago; and that Return, which was now before the House, showed a rather remarkable state of things. It was a Return of the offences tried by court martial since the year 1870, and of the number of cases of corporal punishment inflicted during that period. From that Return it appeared that the number of cases of offences against discipline tried by court martial in 1870 was 153; whereas the number so tried last year was 402; and in 1881 the number rose to so high a point as 454; but that seemed to have been a very exceptional year, for there were a great number of crimes of all classes committed in that particular year. The number of corporal punishments during that period of 10 years decreased from 57 in 1870, to 4 in 1880; and there had been none since; so that while there was a rapid decrease in the number of cases of corporal punishment since 1870, there had been an increase in just the same proportion in the number of offences against discipline during the same period. The cases of striking, or attempting to strike, a superior officer increased from 28 in 1870, to no less than 96 in 1881, and 83 in 1882. The whole number of cases of striking a superior officer during the 11 years had been no less than 695; and the same held good of other offences, such as using threatening language to a superior officer, which increased from 3 in 1870, to 28 in 1882. The crime of wilful disobedience increased from 30 in 1870, to 103 in 1881. The crime of behaving with contempt to a superior officer rose from 27 in 1870, to 66 in 1881; and the cases of what was termed prejudice of good order and naval discipline increased from 11 in 1870, to 70 in 1881. This was, he thought, sufficient to show that there had been a very remarkable increase in this particular class of cases in Her Majesty's Navy. The punishment which, to some extent, had been substituted for corporal punishment was penal servitude; and the Return showed that out of the 695 cases of striking a superior officer, during the 11 years from 1870 to 1881, 78 had been punished by penal servitude. Out of the 78 men so punished, 30 were of good, or very good, character before their sentence, and their average age was only 23 years. What they had to learn from this was, that a large number of young men, many of them having previously borne good, or very good characters, and of only the average age of 23 years, were lost to the Service for a period, in some cases, of seven years, but generally of five years, for some act done by them, in most cases hastily, and without any forethought. These young men were very useful men in the Service, and their services were lost for a period of five years. His right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) intended, he believed, to call attention to this matter in detail; but he (Captain Price) had felt it his duty to make some reference to it, as he moved for the Return now before the House, which Return showed that the mischievous agitation which had been produced throughout the country had had the effect not only of spreading disease, but of spreading crime throughout the Forces of Her Majesty. Her Majesty's Navy contained, no doubt, a good body of men and officers; but there were some points on which he felt it his duty to express the dissatisfaction and discontent which reigned in certain classes, and more especially in one branch of the Service, which was a growing and important one—he referred to the steam branch—the officers of engineers, and their subordinate engine-room artificers. He knew that the case of this branch had been brought before the House several times; and the reason why it was brought up again was because little or nothing had been done to remove their grievances. The Committee were aware that in the year 1875 an important Committee was appointed by the Admiralty to sit upon this particular question. That Committee was presided over by Sir Cooper Key, an officer of vast experience, and it was a well-appointed one. It attended to its labours with a great knowledge of the question, with a determination to be perfectly fair, and with a due regard to the wishes and feelings of the Treasury. That Committee reported in 1875, and in their Report they said, speaking of the engineer officers, that the age and length of service at which a chief engineer attained promotion was increasing every year, and that whereas in 1866 the period of service spent in attaining that rank was about 12 years, it was then—in 1875—19 years and a-half. It was because matters had not been mending since the date of that Report—now eight years ago—that he (Captain Price) felt bound to say a few words upon the subject to-night. That was the Report which the Committee made as to the slowness of promotion. About that time, or, perhaps, a few years before—in 1870—a certain clause was inserted in the Queen's Regulations, which stipulated that no engineer officer—and officers of other grades too—should count his whole service for pay and retirement until he had served 11 years. That clause operated very unfairly upon engineers, for it almost effectually debarred them from ever reaching the higher scale of pay or retirement. To prove the correctness of this view he would just call attention to these figures. In 1877 there were 180 chief engineers in the Service, and of these 180 chief engineers 55, or about one-third—he would not pledge himself to the exact figures; but these were sufficiently near for the purpose—were receiving the higher rates of pay—17*s.* per day and upwards. At the present time the number of chief engineers was about 218, and of those only 17, or about 1-13th of the whole number, were receiving the higher rates of pay. He thought that was the exact state of the case, and if it was anything like true, there was some reason for saying that the engineers were in a much worse position than they were in in 1877. That "Eleven Years' Clause," as it was called, did not operate unfairly when it was introduced in 1877—he willingly admitted that—but, of course, at that time there were a much larger number of engineers who were receiving the higher rates and who could receive them, and the circumstances now were wholly altered. He would not say anything more on this point, which was thoroughly understood by the Secretary to the Admiralty; and he hoped that hon. Gentleman would announce to-night the determination of the Admiralty to make some modification in that clause which would enable these officers to serve their time as they hoped to do, and, after a certain amount of half-pay for two or three years, to obtain the full scale of retirement. There was only one other point with regard to the engineers, and that was as to their messing. It had been the policy of the Admiralty to introduce these officers by degrees into the ward-room, so as to mess with the ward-room officers, and that had been pretty fairly carried out. But at the Naval College at Greenwich there were a very large number of engineers, and they were not allowed to mess with the other officers. He thought this was a great mistake, because it was just there, at the Naval College, where the experiment—for it was an experiment—of allowing the engineers to mess with the ward-room officers could best be carried out. It was a very large mess, and questions of social difficulty were swamped in a large mess of that kind; and as these young officers studying at the Naval College by-and-bye expected to take their places in the ward-rooms of Her Majesty's ships, it would be a good thing if they were to commence in the mess at the College. Another very important section of the steam branch of Her Majesty's Navy was that of the engine-room artificers. A Circular had recently been sent out from the Admiralty which was supposed to give certain benefits to this class; but there were also certain points in the Circular which were not looked upon as at all satisfactory in any degree. One part of the Circular dealt with the time for which these men might be called upon to serve for their pensions. Formerly they were called upon to serve for 20 years; but now they were called upon to serve for 22 years. Of course, that provision had not been made retrospective; but the Circular was sent round to these engine-room artificers asking them whether they would consent to the terms. When they came to look at the Circular, they found that not only was the term to be extended for two years, but they were not to receive any increase of pay, or an increase so slight that it could hardly be seen; and there was inserted in the Circular a clause rendering them liable to disrating. That was a thing they had never been liable to before. He would not advance any opinion as to whether they should or should not be liable to disrating; but the fact was that hitherto they had not been, and they were asked now to submit to this condition for a small amount of extra pay. He wished now to draw the attention of the Committee to the results of this distribution of the Circular. A Question had once or twice been asked of the Secretary to the Admiralty as to how the Circular had been received by the class to whom it was addressed, and they had not been able to get any definite answer to those Questions, because his hon. Friend had merely said that all the Returns were not yet sent in. But he (Captain Price) wished to ask to-night whether the hon. Gentleman had not received very nearly the whole of the answers—he might say nine-tenths of them, because his information was to this effect, that 600 answers had been received. He was told some weeks ago that 600 answers had been received from the engine-room artificers, and that positively only 11 of those men consented to the new Rules, and even those 11 were men holding official positions—"comfortable billets" as they were termed—which they were unwilling to give up on any terms, even on the terms of the new Circular. He thought they ought to hear to-night whether it was the case or not, because, if it were, it showed that the class were thoroughly dissatisfied with the proposal, and that something must be done towards withdrawing the Circular. He had said something about the small increase of pay that was offered to these men, and it was so very small that he must ask the Committee to consider what it really amounted to. There were some very clever men at the Admiralty — clever mathematicians — and when they drew up a scale of this kind, it looked very agreeable and pretty at first sight; but when it was examined, they would find that it did not really cost the Treasury anything. There were some modifications made in the scale of pay, and the first one was to offer the men 3*d.* a-day more on first entry. But, unfortunately, when they got their first rise in pay, it was postponed for two years later than it used to be, so that the whole benefit amounted to this—that when a man had served for 20 years the whole increase of pay which he received was £3 6*s.* 8*d.* That was what it all amounted to during a man's full service of 20 years. Then there was the clause inserted in the Circular which rendered a man liable to disrating, so that, if an officer wanted to curry favour at the Admiralty, or the Treasury—he did not say that there was any such officer in the Service—all he had to do was to allow an engine-room artificer to commit some small crime, and then disrate him, when all the sum that he had been working for for 20 years would entirely disappear. This punishment of disrating, if carried out, would have this effect—that no extra money would be required for this class. That was the case of the engine-room artificers, and it completed the case of the steam branch of the Service. He would only say this in conclusion—that the late Mr. Ward Hunt, in discussing these matters, distinctly stated, when giving some slight improvement in pay, that this was only an instalment of what was recommended by the Committee of 1875; and he (Captain Price) thought they were entitled to ask whether any, and what, further instalments were to be given, considering that this matter now was eight years old. As to the Vote immediately before the Committee, he only wished to say one word. It was the Vote for Provisions, and he felt bound to call attention again to the large amount of difference which existed between the value of the ration to the British seaman and the small sum of money that was paid him by way of savings. He put a Question to the Secretary to the Admiralty the other day, and was told in reply that the Government saved between £60,000 and £70,000 by not giving the men the full value of their rations. Now, a man's ration was really part and parcel of his pay. He agreed to serve for so much pay—so much in money, and so much in provisions. The value of these provisions amounted to him to 11½*d.*, and if he did not take up the ration, he was paid about 6*d.*, or little more than half the value. They were told that this was done for the advantage of the seaman—that, with the small saving which he got, he was able to buy certain luxuries at the sea-port towns, such as soft bread, vegetables, fruit, and so on. But he asked them to compare that advantage with what the Government got. It was not only the £70,000 which went back into the Exchequer, but, if the Admiralty were obliged to serve out the whole ration to the seamen, it would cost them a great deal more, because they would have to pay the freightage and storage, and they could not keep their ships so long at sea. It was, therefore, very difficult to estimate the exact advantage which the Government obtained; but if hon. Members would look at the Report on the question, which was issued some few years ago, they would see that all he had stated was borne out by that document. He wished to ask the Admiralty again whether it would not be fair and ordinary justice that Her Majesty's seamen should get something like the full value of their ration? They asked, some few years ago, that the large sum of money which the Government obtained by this transaction should be thrown into a fund to provide pensions for their widows. There seemed, however, to be some difficulty about that; but, if that could not be done, the money might be returned to them in the form of pay, and then the men might reconsider the matter of providing pensions for their widows out of their own pay. As the question would come again before the House in another form, he would say no more upon it at the present time.

Sir JOHN HAY said, that, having listened to the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend who had just spoken, he would not trespass upon the subject to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman had addressed himself in his closing observations. But the Return to which he had called the attention of the Committee was one of extreme importance. The discipline of the Navy was a matter which must be interesting to the House, and the opinions of those who had served as naval officers must be more valuable on such a point than the opinions of the Civil Members of the House. The hon. and gallant Member for East Derbyshire (Admiral Egerton), whom he saw opposite, would, he trusted, give them his opinion. He (Sir John Hay) had served in 17 ships, and commanded five, and he had some experience on the subject. This Return was a matter of the greatest interest both to the Admiralty and to the country. In it they found that a proportion—a small proportion—of the men of the Navy were in the worst possible state of discipline; that the crime of striking a superior officer was increasing so rapidly, that something must be done with the view of putting a stop to it. From a Bill which had been introduced into the other House, but which, as the Order for it had now been discharged, he might refer to, they had some knowledge of this, for they found that that Bill provided that three officers—three young officers of a ship—might form a court, and might sentence to death any man who struck an officer, and their finding, with the approval of the captain of that ship, was sufficient to cause the death of the person who had so offended. The Committee must see that when a Bill of that severity was introduced and passed through the other House, and withdrawn only in consequence of the lateness of the Session, the Admiralty must be aware that the discipline in the Navy was not what was desired, for they had had recourse to a measure of singular stringency in order to restore the discipline. Communications which he had received from gallant officers, some of them holding the highest commands, led him to believe that they felt alarm at the condition of discipline in the Navy. The Return to which his hon. and gallant Friend had alluded showed that in the past year 13 men were sentenced to penal servitude for five years for striking superior officers; but that in 1870 there were only two such offences followed by penal servitude; in 1871 only two; in 1872 only three; in 1874 only one; in 1875, four; in 1876, four; in 1877, seven; in 1878, 15; in 1879, four; and in 1880 seven. After the suspension of flogging in the Navy the number increased to 17 in 1881; and last year there were 13. His hon. and gallant Friend had stated that corporal punishment had been abolished; but that was not the case. The House had not abolished corporal punishment, and he hoped the House was too wise to do so. The House had accepted a statement by the Admiralty that they were able to govern the Navy without that punishment; but they did so at their own risk and on their own responsibility; and, even in the cases of aggravated crime, they did not sanction that form of punishment. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, when he was Secretary to the Admiralty, stated, in 1881, that in view of that statement by the Admiralty the Bill for the abolition of corporal punishment would not be proceeded with, but that a Circular would be at once issued to commanders and senior officers, informing them that the Regulations authorizing the use of the lash were to be considered cancelled; but, as the powers of a court martial to award a sentence could only be removed by legislation, they were to take care that those powers were not carried out without reference to the Admiralty in each case. That was the authority under which corporal punishment was at present suspended. He wished to call attention to the result of that suspension. In the first place, he wished to ask how any hon. Members would like their sons at Eton or Harrow, or elsewhere, to be sentenced to penal servitude for five years for striking a Master? Would they not prefer that the boys should be birched? In the Navy now, instead of being birched, boys of 17 and 18 were sentenced to five years' penal servitude. The lad Louis Price, whose case had been referred to, had been of an exemplary character. He was 18 years of age; and it appeared that after having had his grog he lay down to sleep in the sun, and, being roused by the gunner's mate to attend drill, he struck that officer twice. He was tried by court martial, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude. The Admiralty had reduced that by two years; but still that boy was sent to penal servitude for three years. But that was not the only case, for of those cases given in the Return 13 were the cases of boys of 18 years of age. The country thus lost their services; and many of those youths had, previous to the particular offence, had good characters. Surely this system must be bad for the Service and for the men themselves. It could not be of advantage to the country that after these men had been carefully trained for the Service of the State, they should be sentenced to punishments which degraded them to the position of felons, and made them wretched members of society ever afterwards. When he first belonged to the Navy, about 50 years ago, the discipline was severe, and, no doubt, the lash was more frequently used than would accord with modern ideas; but in such a case as a boy striking a gunner's mate, he would get a good rope's-ending and licking from the mate, and nothing more would be heard of the matter. But the House had taken the control of the methods of discipline and punishment in the Navy; and this boy Price, instead of being punished there and then on the spot, in such a way as he would never forget, and which would do him good for ever, was placed in irons, made a felon of, and while he was deprived of his character the country lost his services. In a ship in which he served 48 years ago there were on board a boatswain's mate who had served on the *Shannon*, and a petty officer who had been on the *Chesapeake*, and there were factions on the lower deck. The commander took two of these men who had been fighting, and, ordering their left hands to be tied together, with a reef-point tied to their right hands, told them to lick each other, and threatened that the first man who stopped should lose his grog. There was no more fighting after that. Discipline in those days was maintained by severe but excellent means; but all that was now stopped. A gunner's mate might be struck, but he must not return the blow. Striking a superior officer was an offence which must be punished; but there was no punishment that would stop violence of that sort so readily as a good whipping. Many hon. Members could remember what occurred 20 years ago. An hon. Member of that House, when returning home one night, was garotted, and a Bill was brought in in hot haste, by which Members protected themselves, and under which any person garotting anyone else would receive 150 lashes. The result was that none of them had been garotted; but he ventured to say that the protection of an officer of the watch, or a petty officer in the Service of the State, was more necessary than the protection of Members of that House. It was most unwise that the House should insist on the Admiralty not using the power they possessed; and, speaking with all respect of those holding high rank, he thought they ought to have the courage of their opinions, and to authorize corporal punishment for crimes of violence. If they would do that, he would undertake to say that the offences would drop down to a very low number, and no more would be heard of the loss of valuable men, who were now sent like criminals and felons to endure penal servitude. It was absurd that a seaman might garotte an officer of one of Her Majesty's ships and not be flogged; while if he himself were to garotte the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), for instance, who was expressing dissent, he would get 150 lashes. He was only kept back by the knowledge of that penalty. He was sorry there was no naval officer present representing the Admiralty; for although the Civil Lord of the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) was as competent as any naval officer in regard to navigating, he had not had the same experience of seamen as the hon. and gallant Member for East Derbyshire (Admiral Egerton). He felt it right and just to the country and to the Committee to say that, having this power, the Admiralty failed in their duty if they did not give authority to courts martial to inflict corporal punishment for crimes which were disgracing the Navy; that being the only punishment that would restore seamen to their right senses, and, at the same time, preserve these valuable men for the service of the country. The proposal made in the Naval Discipline and Enlistment Act Amendment Bill was entirely contrary to all safeguards for good discipline and fair trial which had hitherto prevailed in the Navy. Prior to 1866, a court martial consisted of 13 officers of high rank, each drawn from a different ship, and all drawn, if possible, from ships in which the offence was not committed. The officers of the ship in which the crime was committed were the prosecutors; and an independent court of 13 officers, all independent of each other, were brought together to try the criminal. No doubt, the sentences were sometimes severe; but the court was as independent and fair and honourable as anyone could desire to be tried by. But the proposal in this new Bill was to compose the court from the ship in which the offence was committed. The captain, who was the prosecutor, was to select three officers of the ship as a court; if they were unanimous they could condemn a man to death, and the captain would sanction their decision. The great naval officers who were First Lords of the Admiralty from 1703 to 1806 would have been astonished beyond measure at such a proposal. They would have scouted it with the scorn which it deserved. He regretted that the Admiralty had introduced this hanging Bill; but if they had not the courage of their opinions, and would not extend the Garotting Act to the Navy, he would wash his hands of the business and allow them to pass their Bill next year. He hoped, however, that the country would be saved from that disgrace. In no country in Europe, nor in the United States, was there such a savage measure as this; and it was rendered necessary because the Admiralty would not tell Parliament and the country that the condition of the Navy, and the practice of striking officers, was going from bad to worse. The offences were increasing in number and in character, and the punishment of penal servitude was doing nothing to stop the offences. The hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) and others would, no doubt, attribute Price's offence to grog. The country must decide whether seamen should have grog or not; but, so long as grog was part of a seaman's rations, the authorities must take care to protect officers and the men themselves from the violence of a few men such as those whose conduct was now under consideration. He could not ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, or the Civil Lord, whether they approved or disapproved of grog being served out, because hon. Members of the Committee were not themselves aware how naval discipline should be conducted. It was the positive duty of naval officers who knew the condition of the Navy not to be afraid of stating their opinions, and urging the Committee to insist upon the Admiralty using the means they possessed for maintaining discipline in the Navy.

MR. CAINE said, that, noticing the comments made in "another place" on the case of Louis Price, he took steps to obtain accurate information as to the circumstances which led to that offence. From a high authority he had received the following statement:—

> "The truth is as follows:—Louis Price was a boy of very good character on board H.M.S. *Triumph*, who reached the age of 18 in March, 1882, was rated an ordinary seaman, placed in the first class for conduct, and with a 'good' character. The captain considered him the most promising young seaman in the ship. At once they began to serve rum to him, half-a-gill a-day. One day in April he was 'cook of the mess,' and it was the custom of the rest of the mess to let the cook have a very large share of the rum allowance. He gave some to his friends; but thoughtlessly drank much more than he ever did before. He then went on the forecastle, and fell into a heavy sleep under a burning sun. He was suddenly roused to drill when the offence was committed (striking a gunner's mate); but he remembers nothing until he came to himself when he was in irons. The offence was solely due to the Admiralty Regulation of serving out rum to such young lads, and to allowing boys of 18 to be cooks of messes, with this rum privilege. He was sentenced to penal servitude, involving dismissal with disgrace," &c.

Now, he wished to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty if he could explain how this lad of 18 got the rum ration at all, because the last Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Trevelyan) had told him, in the debate in 1881, that in future they would withdraw that ration from all boys and men below 20 years of age. If this lad had been so treated, he would not have committed this offence and incurred five years' penal servitude. The hon. and gallant Member had discussed the question whether or not such offences should be punished by flogging. He was of opinion that prevention was better than cure, and had it not been for this rum ration Louis Price would not have been in this disgraceful position. Had the promised Regulation ever been in force? Had it been discontinued, if it had been enforced? If that pledge had not been carried out, he should move to reduce this Vote by £5,000.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to call attention to the case of some classes of men employed in the Navy, which had been brought before the Admiralty and the House on more than one previous occasion. The Secretary to the Admiralty had done much to remedy the grievances under which these classes laboured; but he wished to say another word or two in the hope that, before a final decision was come to on the different Memorials presented, the Admiralty would give some further consideration to these classes. In the first place, there was the question of warrant officers. Some time ago they sent out a pamphlet, stating that they had grievances which the Admiralty ought to repair. There were nine grievances mentioned; but he would not go into them all. In the changes he had made, the Secretary to the Admiralty had gone upon too limited a scale; and he was told that all the warrant officers detained in harbour did not obtain the benefit of the relaxation given by the Admiralty. Sea-going pay was not given to warrant officers in harbour, except to those holding Admiralty appointments. Then, the warrant officers thought they were entitled to a certain distinctive mark with regard to their uniform. Everyone knew how distinctive marks were valued, and he hoped the Admiralty would grant this desire, for it would not put the country to any great expense. A third point was the question of Greenwich pensioners. He did not like to go into a comparison of the number of Greenwich pensions they had relatively to other branches of the Service, because that would be invidious; but there were 51 retired warrant officers, and only 50 of them had pensions of £5 each. They suggested that they should have a certain number of pensioners on retirement; and he trusted that this claim, which seemed to him very natural and not unfair, would receive favourable consideration from the Admiralty. Another class whom he wished to mention were the naval engineers, whose principal grievance was the 11 years' rule. Alterations had recently been made by the Admiralty to meet the case of these men; but he fancied that the amelioration granted had not been given to men who had joined the Service after 35, and that the men who had joined under 25 had not been allowed the improved position accorded to those who had joined the Service after that age. The artificers and petty officers also had certain grievances which they had represented in a Memorial to the Admiralty, which had not yet received a reply. He trusted that in consideration of the different Memorials sent up the Admiralty would pay some attention to the grievances of these various classes.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER said, he would not go into the question of pensions to officers in the Dockyards on that occasion; he rose simply to express his cordial approval of the proposed increase in the pay of engineers which was included in this Vote. He had, on a former occasion, called attention to the position of engineers and artificers in the Dockyards; and the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty then said he would take the matter into consideration; while, at the same time, he expressed his admiration of the skill and ability of the men, as well as his appreciation of their services. He trusted that steps had been taken to place these men in a satisfactory position. He would also be glad to know from the hon. Gentleman and the Civil Lord, who had visited the Dockyards, if they were in a position to state what it was proposed to do in the case of the shipwrights, engineers, and riggers? He believed the subject had been under the consideration of the Board; and he trusted that the result of their deliberations would be favourable to the men in question. He would, at another opportunity, refer to the pensions of the naval engineers.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he did not intend to go into the interesting question which had been raised by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite, although he considered it one of the most important that could claim the attention of the Committee. Had the Bill referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman been proceeded with, there was no doubt that a discussion might have arisen on it which would have been fruitful of results. But he thought, after the expression of the opinion of Parliament on a former occasion with regard to flogging in the Army and Navy, that the Government was bound not to take any further action whatever, unless they had reason to believe that the opinion of the House had changed. The one great point which they ought to secure was the raising of the character of the *personnel* of the Army and Navy; and he held that, as far as possible, that result could be secured, not by the effect of the deterrent of punishment—although he was willing to admit that punishment must exist—but by moral means—by the withdrawal of temptation to excess, and in other ways tending to raise the moral standard of those engaged in the Service. By those means he believed it would be unnecessary for the country to resort to the punishment in question. At the same time, he agreed that this was a matter which must be considered at an early date, because he presumed that the present state of things would not be allowed to continue without some measures being taken to improve it. Turning to the Vote immediately before the Committee, he pointed out that it made provision to a very large amount for the victualling and clothing of Seamen and Marines, and that the Vote had, through a series of years, gone on increasing, although, in the particular Vote before them, there seemed to be a small decrease. But, notwithstanding, that there was a decrease on the whole amount of the Vote, there was an increase on one or two significant items. Under Sub-head B there was an increase of £1,800 on a total charge of £154,000 for provisions not taken up; there was also an increase in the charge for fuel, seamen's clothing, soap, and tobacco, amounting to £3,928. All these increments seemed to require some explanation; but he rose principally to call the attention of the Committee to the first item he had alluded to. His reason for doing so was that recently circumstances had come to light which proved that the system of victualling, as now carried on, was defective, and one that had led to considerable fraud and peculation. He had no doubt that some of the increases he referred to were due to the irregularities committed under the present system of victualling ships. On a former occasion he had asked the Secretary to the Admiralty a Question in regard to a court martial held on board Her Majesty's ship *Cambridge*, in June, 1882, upon the paymaster, ship's steward, and assistant ship's steward of that vessel. At this inquiry a number of facts transpired which proved that a system of very serious irregularity and gross dishonesty had been practised in the victualling department of the *Cambridge*. At that time he asked his hon.

Friend if he would lay upon the Table of the House Papers relating to this court martial; but his hon. Friend replied that the documents in question were confidential, and that it was impossible to lay them upon the Table. He (Mr. Rylands) said that, where irregularities occurred in connection with Her Majesty's Naval and Military Services, the House of Commons should be the first to be made acquainted with the facts; but, instead of that, the circumstances attending this particular case had been carefully kept from the knowledge of the House of Commons. The Admiralty had appointed Mr. Martin and Mr. Laycock, two gentlemen of ability, to ascertain whether the system of frauds and defalcations which came to light had been going on for some time previously. Their instructions were to ascertain whether the accounts of the *Cambridge* for the previous three months had been regularly kept; and, as that was a matter of great importance, they were instructed to recommend any change which they thought necessary with regard to those accounts, and to produce a Report. That Report he had asked for; and, as he had already stated, his hon. Friend declined to lay it on the Table of the House. But he held in his hand the Report that Messrs. Martin and Laycock had made to the Admiralty, which he found had been published in *The Army and Navy Gazette*. Now, he said that the Committee of the House of Commons ought not to be compelled to trust to surreptitious documents given to *The Army and Navy Gazette*, in order to judge whether the administration of the Naval and Military Services of the country were carried on with a due regard to economy. But, supposing the account which he held in his hand to be true, it was clear that the system of victualling Her Majesty's ships was open to grave objections, inasmuch as under it serious frauds and peculations were committed. Well, the gentlemen he had named examined the account of the rations issued in the case of the *Cambridge* during the three months previous to the court martial. Hon. Gentlemen would be aware that when sailors were away on leave their rations were not issued. As a matter of fact, then, if no proper account was taken of the men away on leave, the rations would be issued in excess of the quantity actually required. Messrs. Martin and Laycock found that no proper account of the men away on leave was kept. He believed that during the three months referred to the rations issued were 4,863, against which there were 488 rations allowed for, leaving a net quantity of 3,385 rations in excess. It seemed impossible that such a state of things could have occurred on one of Her Majesty's ships. The fact was that in July the whole of the quantity of fresh meat was actually paid for as savings — that was to say, the men were paid for not using their rations; and, in addition to that, there was absolutely twice as much fresh meat paid for as the total amount of rations which the ship had a right to receive. The Report of the Examiners said it was scarcely possible to conceive that such clear frauds should not have been discovered before the commander left the ship. The result of their further inquiries was to find that no regular system existed of giving notice of leave —that was to say, the men could go out of the ship without their leave being properly checked. Hon. Members might ask this question—"If all this meat was provided for rations, what became of it?" But he understood there was no difficulty in that matter; on the contrary, there were great facilities for the disposal of ships' stores. In this case, the meat was taken off the vessel, and sold to the butchers on shore. There seemed to be no check whatever on the taking of rations out of the vessels. Now, he ventured to suggest that the system under which Her Majesty's ships were victualled was altogether wrong. He observed in the Report that Messrs. Laycock and Martin said there was reason to believe that the crews of men-of-war were the only class of persons known who were paid the value of provisions which they did not consume, owing to their being on leave. That was one objection to the system. He said that no man ought to be allowed to leave a vessel without a careful account being taken of his absence, and without the steward's mess being checked, so that he had not an opportunity of charging for provisions which were not consumed. The absence of such accounts and checks was another objection to the system; but he would go farther, and say that the victualling account of ships ought to be periodically investigated. His hon. Friend would, perhaps, say—"Of course they are investigated." He agreed that when they reached the next Vote they would find a charge for auditing accounts; there was an Accountant General, and the country paid a number of clerks in his office, on the supposition that they were employed in auditing the accounts. But that Department had not only audited, but had passed the accounts of the *Cambridge;* and, under those circumstances, he said that the audit was a perfect farce. They paid for an audit, it was true; but they did not give the Department the materials necessary for a proper audit; they had certain accounts sent to them, which they examined; but the accounts in the case of the *Cambridge* were utterly fallacious; and, on such conditions, the accounts could only be passed in the most perfunctory manner. Messrs. Laycock and Martin pointed out that, even on the face of the accounts of the *Cambridge,* there was such an extraordinary discrepancy that they could not imagine how it was possible they could pass the audit. Now, those gentlemen suggested that there should be some means taken for checking the victualling of ships on the spot. He entirely agreed with that suggestion; but it seemed to him that, in order to check irregularities of the kind which had occurred in the case of the *Cambridge,* there ought to be a better system of arrangement with regard to rations. He thought there should be an official on the spot to see that the books were properly kept. It was suggested that the paymasters-in-chief, now retired officers, might be attached to ships of the several squadrons at home and abroad, and that it should be their duty from time to time to go through the Fleet and see, as inspectors, that the victualling accounts were properly kept, and that the books necessary to check those accounts were properly entered up. He thought there ought to be some means taken by which an officer of some experience and judgment could, from time to time, be sent on board vessels for the purpose of thoroughly overhauling the books. At all events, this state of things could not be allowed to continue, because, although they had had the curtain lifted a little by the surreptitious publication of the Report, they were able to see under that curtain that there was a great deal in this Department of the Admiralty of the most unsatisfactory character. When he reminded the Committee that these charges for victualling had gone on increasing during the last 10 years, while other portions of the Vote had been kept down, he thought it would be seen that there was a grave reason for suspicion that the increased expenditure had arisen in a variety of ways from the irregularities and peculations which were possible under the present system. He felt sure that the Board of Admiralty would take this matter into their careful consideration, and he had no doubt that they were now taking steps which would prevent the recurrence of such abuses. But he would remark that, had it not been for a mere accident, the House of Commons would have known nothing of the circumstances he had described—a fact which made one afraid that, perhaps, in other Departments, with regard to which they were quite in the dark, there might be mismanagement, leading to the misapplication of public money. Therefore, he was of opinion that while it was quite right that such matters should be brought before the Admiralty—first of all in the shape of a confidential Report—it was, at the same time, also right to insist that a subsequent Report, containing full particulars, should be laid on the Table of the House, so that Parliament might be kept thoroughly advised as to what was occurring in the Department, and of the steps the Admiralty were taking to prevent the recurrence of abuses, and to secure economy. He would ask his hon. Friend in what way the abuses in question came to the knowledge of the Admiralty in the first instance, and what were the sentences awarded by the court martial?

Mr. PULESTON said, he believed that all they heard of the grievances of the different classes of men in the Dockyards largely arose from the piecemeal attempts at reform which were constantly made in matters relating to these Dockyards. It was assumed that wherever a grievance was claimed to be redressed it always meant an outlay of money. However true that might be sometimes, it was not always the case. The complaints of the Dockyard shipwrights and other artificers related to the great difference which existed between their pay, and the number of hours which they had to work, as compared with the pay and hours of work of others, whether on the Establishment or not, doing similar work, and, perhaps, giving less time. Their desire was that they should be placed more on an equality. The hired men, after a service of 20 years, received a bonus of £20; whereas the men on the Establishment received as much as £30 a-year, which was equivalent to a bonus of £500. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had once said that anyone who could show a decrease in the pension list hereafter would do a great service to the State, by removing what he termed this dead weight. That was quite true; but these pensions must not be regarded as altogether dead weight, because, while the men appeared as pensioners on the roll, it must be remembered that they were paid less wages than they would have received in private yards, because they were entitled to pensions. With regard to the naval engineers, he pointed out that in 1876 a Committee, presided over by the present First Sea Lord, sat to consider their case, and made certain recommendations. Now all that the engineers had asked from that time to the present was that the recommendations of that Committee should be carried out. That was the general position occupied by the naval engineers, and he could not see that in making that demand they were asking too much, especially now, in view of the greatly-increased and increasing importance of their duties. The Committee referred to consisted of men who thoroughly understood their work; and he recollected that the late Mr. Ward Hunt expressed regret that he could not give more than an instalment of what they recommended, although, as he said, the rest would come in the course of time. An improvement had been effected in the position of the engine-room artificers; but it had been done in that jerking way of which he complained—that was to say, that in endeavouring to produce contentment in one quarter they had given rise to discontent in another, by the way the alterations had been effected; and now the cause—and the just cause—of discontent was greater than ever, by reason of the terms of the recent Circular. The subject of this class, and of that of naval engineers, had been referred to over and over again; it had been spoken about and written about; and letters had been addressed to the Admiralty on the subject, so that he ventured to say there remained nothing new which he could bring forward with regard to it. These questions, although difficult in themselves, were easy of solution, if taken into consideration as a whole and thoroughly threshed out; and he believed that if the Lords of the Admiralty and his hon. Friend opposite would carry out that practical and feasible suggestion, they would hear less and less on the floor of that House of those grievances which were constantly being dinned into their ears. They had the benefit of an easy approach to the Civil Lord and Secretary to the Admiralty; but still the First Lord sometimes wielded the authority, and when he occupied a seat in the House of Commons they had been in the habit of approaching him. They had not now that privilege, and they were obliged to say in Committee that which they would not need to say had they the privilege of approaching the First Lord, which they considered they ought to have. When grievances were brought forward by those who represented the Dockyard interest, people were too apt to say that they did so because they were the Representatives of Dockyard men. As a matter of fact, he (Mr. Puleston) had hardly ever brought before the Admiralty that which he had not thoroughly digested himself; and he had often received their approval and concurrence when he introduced a grievance, though they might have said that it was difficult, for various reasons, for them to meet the grievance brought before them. The question of engine-room artificers particularly was a grievance. There had been some change made now to increase the time a seaman might serve; but that did not affect those already enlisted. In the case of engine-room artificers the Admiralty said—"We will improve their position in our own way," and the engine-room artificers argued—"You are improving us backward." Those men were required to work in a heated atmosphere, and 20 years' service for them was a very much longer service, comparatively speaking, than 25 or 30 years in any other branch of the Navy. He, therefore, thought that if some hon. Members wanted to bring forward such matters as that, it was quite right they should do so, and have the credit of doing so from an entirely right motive. When he spoke upon a former occasion, he referred to a Report made by the Committee of which his hon. Friend the Civil Lord (Sir Thomas Brassey) was Chairman. That Committee made inquiries as to the constructors; and he (Mr. Puleston) would like to know whether it was intended to lay on the Table a Report as to the Constructor's Department of the Navy? He also hoped some information would be given to the Committee as to the pensions of seamen's widows. He desired also to bring under the notice of the Committee the position of the warrant officers and naval schoolmasters. What the warrant officers really wanted was a step in rank on retirement, and to be put in the same position as those in a relative position in the Army. It was certainly not asking too much that warrant officers should be put on the same footing as corresponding men in the Army. The case of the naval schoolmasters was a very small one, yet a very important one. The position of the naval schoolmaster was not nearly so good as that of the marine schoolmaster; for instance, while the naval schoolmaster only got £91 a-year, the marine schoolmaster received £120. There was also some difference between the two men with regard to pension. Why should there be that difference? Surely there were no more efficient men in the whole Service than the naval schoolmasters; and, therefore, why the difference he had referred to should exist he did not know. But as long as it did exist, as long as there was that great discrepancy between class and class in the Dockyards, and between men like warrant officers and others, and those in a relative position in the Army, between the naval schoolmasters and marine schoolmasters—just as long would they have the men complaining, and complaining, as he thought, justly, and requiring that their grievance should, at least, be considered. Once more he would say that he believed much good would be done for the interests of the men, as well as of economy, from the administrative point of view, by having a Committee to go exhaustively into the subjects to which he had referred.

Mr. D. JENKINS said, he was glad that flogging had, once for all, been abolished in the Navy. He did not think, as was contended in some quarters, that corporal punishment—degrading punishment like flogging—was of a reforming character. He hardly thought it was fair for hon. Gentlemen opposite to compare flogging with the cat-o'-nine tails with flogging with the birch rod. Anyhow, the days of flogging had gone by, and some other means of punishment must be adopted. He could not help thinking that the acts of insubordination which had been referred to had in many cases been caused from want of experience, or want of tact and management on the part of officers, rather than from any fault of the seamen.

Mr. T. C. BRUCE said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) that the position of the engineers and warrant officers required serious consideration. It was found, by a Commission which inquired into the subject, that the engineers were entitled to certain privileges. The Commission, however, was appointed nearly eight or ten years ago; and certainly the position of engineers, not only in the Naval Service, but in the Mercantile Service, had not diminished in importance, but had rather increased in importance, since that time. Now, there was no reason to be surprised that under the circumstances the engineers should feel themselves, to a certain extent, aggrieved that the privileges which the Commission considered ought to be accorded to them had never, so far, been granted by the Admiralty. They were granted in part by Mr. Ward Hunt; but then that part was only given in instalments. He (Mr. T. C. Bruce) could not think his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would ever have the engineers with him unless the privileges recommended by the Commission were fully conceded. His hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) had made a kind of an apology for speaking on these subjects, because he was a Member for a Dockyard borough. Now, he (Mr. T. C. Bruce), as a Member for a Dockyard borough, thought he was perfectly entitled to speak of matters which came directly under the observation of his own constituents, and which so peculiarly affected his constituency. He did not intend to speak of the different classes in the Dockyards, because if he had any observations to make he presumed they would be more in Order on the Dockyard Vote. Neither need he refer to the classes whom his hon. Friend (Mr. Puleston) had mentioned. There was only one matter he wished to say a word about, and that was the position of the warrant officers. What these men asked would not cause any great expenditure, and he could not help expressing his opinion that everything ought to be done to maintain a contented spirit amongst the warrant officers, for in the Navy there were no more valuable officers than those men. If we had, as we should have, in case of war, to make a sudden increase in the number of men, the maintenance of discipline in all minor matters would really depend upon the warrant officers, and the petty officers under them; and he could not help thinking that it would be an unwise economy, if economy there would be in it, to do anything which would render that service less acceptable to the men, and which would render the warrant officers less contented than they deserved to be.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, before the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) replied to the various questions which had been put, he (Mr. W. H. Smith) wished to say a few words on the Vote itself, and upon the discussion which had taken place on a subject of the greatest importance for the discipline and well-being of the Navy—he referred to the remarks which fell from his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay), and to the observations of the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price). There was no more grave question for the Committee or the country at large—and certainly for the Admiralty—to consider than the maintenance of discipline, and the mode by which discipline should be maintained in the British Navy. The Returns which had been presented were certainly Returns of a very grave character. If hon. Gentlemen would look through the list they would see that, in the great majority of cases of those who had been sent into penal servitude, the character beforehand had been "good," "very good," "fair," "very good," "good"—in other words, that the general character of the men who had been, for breaches of discipline, sentenced to various terms of penal servitude, averaging from five to ten years, had been "good"—that was to say, there had been no marks against them. Their conduct had been good on board ship; indeed, had been such as would entitle them to be considered good members of society. There was another very sad circumstance connected with the Return, and that was that in almost every case—no; he noticed there were cases in which men of 25 years, and 37 years, and 31 years, had been sentenced to penal servitude—but, in the majority of cases, the men who had been so sentenced had only just emerged from boyhood—were, in fact, 20 and 22 years of age, and, in some cases, only 17 and 18 years of age. He thought it was a most unfortunate circumstance that, in order to maintain discipline in the British Navy, for acts which certainly would not involve punishment for anything more than a few days' detention under any other case, and in any other employment, it had been necessary to inflict penal servitude upon the men, and to attach to them for life the character of felons. That was a very grave fact indeed. He was one of those who could not undertake the responsibility of abolishing corporal punishment, and he could not do that because he felt that it was necessary there should be some powerful deterrent against the crime of insubordination. Everybody knew that corporal punishment was inflicted with the greatest possible care on board ship; the average of cases, he believed, was less than one a-year. [Sir JOHN HAY: Two in the last year.] But the result undoubtedly was to deter men from the commission of those naval crimes—Service crimes—which would not be called crimes in the ordinary acceptation of the term. Now, they were told that they were compelled to class the men who were guilty of offences against discipline, and of no other crimes, with criminals—to compel them to herd with criminals in the case of imprisonment with hard labour, for unless they were sent to Lewes Gaol they must herd with prisoners, and they must associate with them in a common gaol. He believed he was right in saying that, and in asserting that if the Bill which was presented to Parliament had become law, and powers were obtained to send the men to ordinary gaols, their condition would be still worse, for they would be consigned to gaols where there were no powers of separation, no power of distinguishing one description of criminals from another. He only referred to this to impress upon the present Board of Admiralty the great responsibility they incurred if they did not find some mode of inflicting summary punishment for offences against discipline. He was as conscious as any naval officer, or as any person who had anything to do with the sea could be, that discipline and obedience to orders, and good conduct on board ship, were of the very first necessity. But he did hope and trust that if, as the hon. Gentleman the Member for Falmouth (Mr. D. Jenkins) said, it was quite unnecessary to inflict corporal punishment for offences of this kind, those in authority would find some method of deterring men from the commission of crimes against discipline and good order in the Naval Service without making the men criminals, without attaching to them for life the brand of criminals, and without completely ruining their prospects as British sailors and British subjects. He concurred with the observations which fell from his hon. Friend opposite who spoke as to the desirability of aiming at a higher standard of men. That, no doubt, had been the object of succeeding Boards of Admiralty, for the system by which boys were now trained was a system which was, in the best sense of the word, paternal, and produced the best possible effects. He believed those who had studied the present condition and the past condition of the British Navy would fully admit that there had been, and there was now, a growing improvement in the character of the men; but, if that was the case, it would be a monstrous thing that a boy who, overcome by temptation, lost his temper, should, in order to be properly punished for an offence he might have committed, be made a criminal for life. Reference had been made to the case of the *Cambridge* court martial, and he was inclined to second and support the suggestion which had been made in the course of the debate. He thought that if anything had gone wrong in the Service after the Admiralty had fully and fairly considered the confidential information which they had received, and after they had dealt with the matter upon their own responsibility, it was well that information should be given to the House of Commons, and to the country. He had no doubt his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell - Bannerman) would fully admit that that was the principle which would strengthen the hands of the Department and his Colleagues in dealing with a question such as that arising in the case of the *Cambridge*, and would have a very useful effect throughout the Service generally. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) did not think it was at all desirable at any time to endeavour to hush up, or hide, any serious troubles that might arise. It was a great misfortune that irregularities should occur; but it was impossible, taking human nature as a whole, that here and there trust should not be betrayed, and that some screw would not be found to be loose in the system under which business was conducted. It was, however, always better that a clean breast should be made by the parties concerned, because they all knew it was absolutely impossible for any Department of Government, or any set of men, to devise a system of management which would at all times be proof against failure, or against the dishonesty of persons who had to carry it out. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) would be the last to find fault with the Department who found it possessed dishonest servants. He knew that irregularities and misconduct would occur; but when they did it was well to see as much as they could of the cases which had led to unfortunate results, so that they might do their best to rectify them in future. He thought the House of Commons would always be inclined to strengthen the hands of a Department of Government which sought to give full information. There were one or two points in this Vote on which he would like to have information. In the first place, he wished to know whether the blue-jackets and marines under this Vote were now up to the strength which had been voted? It was most necessary that the Committee should be assured, at least, that the reduced numbers were fully maintained. He wished also to know whether there was a sufficient reserve of stokers and engine-room artificers in the event of its becoming necessary to commission one or two ships in a hurry, as was sometimes the case? He knew that at one time there was a deficiency in the supply of stokers, and he was inclined to lay some stress on the matter, because everyone knew that trained and experinced stokers were as necessary for the economy and successful navigation of our ships of war as our blue-jackets; perhaps they were, on the whole, rather more necessary than blue-jackets. He would like also to know whether the present Board of Admiralty were satisfied with the conditions under which they obtained officers for the Marines? The question had been frequently discussed, and he confessed that he had great doubt as to whether the system which he left in existence was a satisfactory one. Without saying anything in the slightest degree offensive to the officers who joined the Marine Service, it might be said that the Marines obtained the leavings of the Army to a very considerable extent, and that that had an injurious effect upon the self-respect and the self-esteem of the officers of the Corps. If some means could be found of separate examination, separate competition, and separate nomination, so that gentlemen could enter the Corps without having first of all striven to enter the Army and failed, there would be a greater sense of self-respect and independence, and there would be all the advantages which belonged to the condition of a great Service which had rendered most valuable assistance to the country in the past. The Marine Service was a Service which ought to be considered of higher importance to the Navy than as a Service to the Army. It had been frequently looked to as a reserve to fight our battles when difficulties had occurred, and when the Army had not been strong enough to do its proper work. The first duty of a Marine was to be on board ship, and be efficient there; and therefore he (Mr. W. H. Smith) was anxious to know whether the Regulations laid down with regard to prizes for shooting; whether the gunnery pay suggested some time ago had been earned and issued; whether, in point of fact, the present Board of Admiralty were seeking to make the Marine rank and file thoroughly efficient as artillerymen on board ship, and as a constituent part of the British Navy? Parliament had discussed at different times the treatment which the Marines received in connection with the Egyptian Expedition, and he would not now refer to that further, for it was past and gone; but anything that could be done to maintain the Marine Force in complete and thorough efficiency ought to be done. The Marines were a valuable addition to the strength of the British Navy; and if we were compelled suddenly to commission a number of ships, the Marines ought to be, and would be, of the highest value and of the highest importance to the country, and he should regard any decrease in the efficiency of that body as a great misfortune to the country. There was another point to which he desired to draw the attention of his hon. Friend—namely, the credit sub-head was larger by £19,000 than it was last year. He did not wish to suggest the reason of this; but it looked as if the expenditure had been estimated at the least, and the receipts at the highest, possible amount, which was sometimes the case. Perhaps his hon. Friend would give him some information on that point. But the subject on which he was most anxious to obtain information was as to whether the seamen and Marines were now up to their strength, and whether there was a sufficient supply of stores to meet any demand which might arise?

MR. GORST said, he entirely supported what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) with reference to the Corps of Royal Marines. It was always valuable to hear the opinion expressed on subjects of this kind by Gentlemen who had filled the Office of First Lord, because, while they were in Office they were so much under the influence of the permanent officials at the Admiralty that they were unable to express their genuine opinions in the House; when, however, they sat upon the Opposition Bench, they were, so to speak, unmuzzled, and able to state the views which they entertained. Therefore it was with pleasure that he heard the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the Corps of Royal Marines, for he was sure that those opinions were the result of the experience he had gained when he was First Lord, and which, as First Lord, he would hardly have ventured to express to that Committee. He believed nothing could be more unsatisfactory and more mistaken than the present position of the Royal Marines; that Corps was admittedly one of the finest in the Service; everyone praised them, the public

Press lavished upon them every description of laudation, and yet they were never treated as they should be in actual fact. They had the disadvantages of both Services and the advantages of neither. He could not help recollecting how they were treated in the Egyptian Campaign, when a large Force of Royal Marines were employed, and when the services which that Force rendered became even the subject of Royal eulogy; yet, notwithstanding this, the large Force of Royal Marines on shore in Egypt was not allowed to have a General of its own, but was officered by a General of the Army. The officers who commanded the Force were not even able to discipline their own men; and, in many cases, superior officers had to be landed to go through the defaulters' list and inflict the necessary punishments on the men. So remarkable was the treatment of this Corps that in the first account which came to this country of the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir they were not even mentioned; those who read the telegrams did not think that the Corps had taken any part in the engagement; and it was only when the list of the killed and wounded arrived that the engagement of that Force was known to the country. It was of no use for the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty to express his opinion with reference to the Royal Marines, because he was under the influence of the Board of Admiralty; but through him he asked the First Lord to take the position of this Corps into the most serious consideration, because if they were to be maintained as a valuable Force they must cease to be officered by the leavings of the Army. He believed it was the custom to send round people to the young gentlemen at their military examinations to tell them they could join the Royal Marines if they failed to pass. Such a practice as that was quite enough to undermine the reputation the Corps at present enjoyed, and to lower it in the estimation of the public, although it ought to be regarded as one of the crack Corps in the service of the country. He did not know what course the Admiralty might think of taking; but he knew it was becoming the opinion of a great many of the most experienced officers in the Royal Marines that it would be far better, if the Admiralty would not do them justice, to become amalgamated with, and form part of, the Regular Army of the country. He knew that his hon. and gallant Friend behind him was strongly opposed to that idea; but it was one which was as strongly engrafted in the minds of officers of Marines, in consequence of the injustice done them by the Admiralty. They thought that if they were made part of the Army destined for service, in case of need, on board ship, they would get the benefits of the Service; their pensions being regulated on the Army scale and having an addition to their emoluments when they were ordered on service at sea. He offered this to the Committee as the idea which was working its way among the officers of Marines, to show the necessity of making the rewards of this Corps commensurate with the work they had to do and the praises they received.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, that he would go a step further than the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst), and say that the Admiralty should make themselves certain of this—that the widest and deepest feeling of dissatisfaction existed in the Marine Corps as to the way in which they had been treated. He thought that, seeing they were praised by the Admiralty and by every newspaper correspondent for their gallant deeds, some more substantial recognition than had been afforded to them, up to the present time, should be given of their position in the Service. He would not trouble the Committee at any length on this subject, but would simply impress upon the Civil Lord, and upon the Secretary to the Admiralty, that, until there was some more direct means of communication with the Board of Admiralty than now existed, the dissatisfaction in the Marine Force would increase, and end in destroying, as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham had said, the very existence of the Force, whose praises they had heard so loudly sounded.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the Committee would remember that in the early part of the Session they had had a considerable discussion on this matter, upon the Motion brought forward by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), and on that occasion he had done his best to explain what it was that had been done for the Royal Marines, and what the Admiralty were prepared to do for them in the future. Some of the points which were most complained of had been, he believed, fully met. In the first place, they had given that amount of brevet-promotion among the officers which was called for, in order to put them on an equality with their brethren, in the scientific corps in the Army. In the second place, as to the point of discipline of which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham complained — namely, that the officer in charge of a detachment of the Force could not administer discipline without the assistance of superior naval officers coming to supersede him, and placing him thereby in an invidious position in the eyes of his comrades of the Line, that was effectively met in the Naval Discipline Bill which the Government had been reluctantly compelled to withdraw, owing to the opposition of the right hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir John Hay). The fault, therefore, did not lie with the Admiralty. He would mention this fact also — that a Committee had been sitting for some time at the War Office, of which Sir Francis Festing was a Member, who would be regarded by all as a competent representative of the Force, for the purpose of considering such arrangements as should seem proper for a larger employment of Marine officers on the Staff of the Army, and in connection with the Auxiliary Forces. Now, he thought there was enough in these two facts to prove that the Admiralty were not slow to remedy any grievance complained of, and that they were anxious to do justice to a distinguished Corps, in whose praises he need hardly say he entirely concurred. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had alluded to the manner in which officers were admitted to commissions and were entered for the Royal Marines. Of course, there would be a great deal to be said in favour of a change in this respect, if it were proved in any sense that the young officers whom they obtained were, as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had said — of course, without meaning offence—the leavings of the Army. But he had in his hand a few facts with regard to the recent appointments of officers to the Marines. He found that in 1881, at the July examination, when only three commissions were given, they were taken up by candidates who had been successful for Sandhurst—Nos. 48, 89, and 94, out of 105 Army appointments, so that they stood well with reference to the Army in this matter. In July, 1882, there were 73 appointments to Sandhurst, and 12 commissions in the Marines; three of which were taken by Nos. 1, 9, and 73 of the successful candidates for Sandhurst, and the other nine were given to unsuccessful candidates for Sandhurst, the gentleman who stood lowest being No. 94; there were 530 competitors. In December, 1882, there were 75 appointments to Sandhurst, and Nos. 6, 8, and 53 of the successful candidates applied for commissions in the Royal Marines. He thought these facts would show that the Admiralty did not obtain for Marine commissions the refuse of Sandhurst as had been suggested. As to the Vote more immediately before them, his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had asked him a question as to one or two items. The reason of the increase in Sub-head I., for seamen's clothing, soap, and tobacco, was that no surplus stock was available, and provision had also to be made for boys' clothing and the cost of making it up, which was formerly charged direct against the boys' pay. A corresponding increase was made in the credit sub-head. With regard to the clothing of the Royal Marines, in which item there was an increase of £7,473, that was due to the introduction of the new Army valise equipment for the Corps, and to the large number of blue helmets required. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had asked why the credit sub-head had considerably increased? This item was, of course, very much a matter of estimate, depending upon the experience of the past year. Under Sub-head A there was less required for provisions, mainly on the ground that the extra stocks purchased for the Egyptian Expedition were not all consumed; and there was an anticipated increase in the charges against the wages of seamen. Now, with regard to the very important question of the irregularities or frauds, as they deserved to be named, on board the *Cambridge*, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had brought that matter before the Committee; but he altogether took exception to some of the phrases which the hon. Member used, and he wished at once to set himself and the Committee right on the subject. He had declined to lay a certain document on the Table of the House, because it was confidential, whereupon the hon. Member for Burnley said he was hoodwinking the House; and his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith), if he did not actually charge him, in so many words, had at least intimated, in a significant way, that he was attempting to hush up the matter. No doubt, that was not the right hon. Member's intention; but his words implied that there was a disposition on the part of the Admiralty to smuggle away from the cognizance of Parliament transactions of this kind. Now, the Paper which the hon. Member for Burnley asked him to lay on the Table of the House was a Report made by an officer of the Admiralty, and a gentleman who acted in a legal capacity, under the authority of the Admiralty, who were asked to inquire into the matter after the trial had taken place. The first thing which happened was the publication of the trial, and there was no concealment of the facts, because full reports appeared in the public newspapers. At the trial which took place, the steward was sentenced to a certain term of imprisonment, the assistant steward being acquitted on the ground of his being under the instructions of his superior, while the paymaster was severely reprimanded and dismissed his ship, because he had not taken proper pains to discover the irregularities that were being committed. The two gentlemen he had referred to furnished their Report; and that Report, he regretted to say, had appeared to its full extent in a newspaper. How that newspaper obtained possession of a document of a confidential character he could not say, and of this he would leave others to judge. The only objection the Admiralty had to producing a document of that sort was, in the first place, that the gentlemen who drew it might have been much more reticent had they known that their Report was to be made public; and, in the second place, it was very undesirable that it should have been made public until the Admiralty had come to a conclusion upon it.

Mr. RYLANDS said, his hon. Friend had attributed to him a charge which he had no intention of making. He had said that the fact of the non-production of the Report would be to hoodwink the House of Commons.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he was quite sure his hon. Friend did not mean to be personally offensive; but he must not suppose there was any desire to keep the Report from the House for any longer period than was necessary for the Admiralty to take action upon it. Having received a Report of the complicated circumstances of the case, the first thing the Admiralty had done was to request the Accountant General of the Navy to go down to the several ports, and inform them of what changes of system, either as to audit or book-keeping, he would recommend. The Report of the Accountant General had only been received within the last three days; it was of a voluminous and important character, and was now under consideration. But he was quite agreed that the present state of things was one which called for some effectual measures to prevent the recurrence of the irregularities that were possible under the existing system. He thought that a stricter and better check should be kept on men coming into, and leaving the ships, in order that it might be known at once who were on leave, and who were not. His hon. Friend was not quite right in saying that men were paid for provisions when they were absent; the men, in the strict sense of the term, were not paid, because the saving went to the mess to which they belonged, and not to them personally, until the accounts of the mess were settled, as they were periodically, when there might be something over for them. In the next place, there was no alteration in the number of rations issued, on account of the men who were not absent for more than 48 hours—that was to say, if a man went away on Saturday, and returned on Monday, his absence was not supposed to make such a material difference in the arrangements of the mess as to justify the stoppage of rations on his account. He wished, in justice to the Department, to state that in this particular case the officers employed at the Admiralty in auditing the accounts were not remiss, inasmuch as the accounts of the *Cambridge* did not come under audit at the Office before the inquiry was made, and the facts of the case had come out. He agreed that there should be a system of inspection established, and that this would probably be the most efficient check upon these irregularities. He believed that Banking Companies which had branches throughout the country managed their affairs by sending down inspectors who dropped in at irregular times at the branches, and examined the accounts, and that this system was found to be efficient in preventing the occurrence of malpractices. He had said enough to show hon. Members that this matter was not escaping the careful attention of Her Majesty's Government; and he need hardly say that they were fully aware of its importance. He now came to the question raised by the right hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir John Hay), and partly touched on by other Members of the Committee, as to the state of crime and punishment in the Navy. He was glad to hear the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) say that the Navy was a contented Service, as well as an efficient one; and he thought there were many facts from which they might conclude that the class of men who were now being brought into the Navy was, at all events, not inferior to those who preceded them. He was very much struck the other day by a page or two of the Report on the Education of the Navy. Now, any improvement in the education of the Navy might be due to the general advance of education throughout the country, and it was none the less satisfactory on that account; but he believed it showed that they were really getting a better class of men. Of petty officers, in 1866, 75·6 per cent could read well, and 4·3 per cent not at all; in 1880, 87 per cent could read well, and 0·9 not at all. In 1866, 62·5 per cent could write well, and 6·1 per cent not at all; in 1880, 78·8 per cent could write well, and only 0·5 per cent not at all. Of seamen in 1866, 61·8 per cent could read well; in 1880, 74·1 per cent; in 1866, 9·2 could not write at all; and in 1880, only 2·9 per cent. In 1866, 50 per cent could write well; in 1830, 65·5; in 1866, 11·5 per cent could not write at all; and in 1880, only 3·4 per cent. In reference to the boys also, there had been great improvements in the same direction. In 1866, 72·5 could read well, and 61·8 could write well, as against 76·2 per cent, and 75·1 per cent in 1880. He thought that was enough to show that there was a great improvement in the education of the men, a fact which was, after all, one of the greatest tests of the improvement of the condition of the Navy. But allusion had been made to the Return regarding crime and punishment in the Navy; and the first observation he had to make as to that was that, although they had every reason to believe that unfortunately there was an increase in the offence of striking a superior officer, and other offences against discipline, yet the Return did not give an accurate test of the increase of that offence, because it was a Return only of the offences tried by courts martial. The courts martial had apparently increased, and the summary punishments had diminished, and they did not know what the offences were which were treated by summary punishment. It would be a very large and intricate matter to get that out; but, until they knew the result both of courts martial and summary punishments, he could not give an absolutely certain opinion on the subject; but, undoubtedly, it was the case that, so far as the courts martial were concerned, these offences had increased, especially within the last two years. The right hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Sir John Hay) said the increase was entirely due to the cessation of corporal punishment; but he (Mr. Campbell - Bannerman) was not quite sure that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had made out a complete case. Corporal punishment for these offences might be said to have been last administered in any number of cases in 1878, when there were seven cases.

SIR JOHN HAY: There was a fear of it—there was a threat as to the power of its application.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman seemed to think that, though the cases were not numerous, there was a fear of the punishment which had its effect upon the men. Well, under the influence of that fear, what was the course taken? He would state the number of cases which had occurred between 1870 and 1880, when the last case of corporal punishment occurred. The numbers between those years, while seamen were still under the influence of that fear which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman referred to, were 28, 31, 37, 40, 33, 51, 43, 57, 75, 55, and 66; so that the number of cases had increased from 28 to 66 under the operation of that corporal punishment and the fear of it, which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite believed to be a cure.

CAPTAIN PRICE: The practice was dying out, consequently the fear became much less.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that not only, then, would hon. and gallant Gentlemen like to have the power of flogging, but they would like to see much more flogging than there used to be. He simply quoted these figures to show how difficult it was to say that it was in consequence of the abolition of corporal punishment that this crime had increased. In 1880 the number was 66, in 1881 96, and in 1882 83. It was true that these were very large figures; but it had shown a tendency to increase, and had reached a formidable level, under the state of things to which hon. and gallant Gentlemen would have the Government to revert to. But upon this question of corporal punishment he did not think there was much to be said to any good purpose. It could not be seriously contended that they should go back to it. He spoke pretty freely on this matter, as he had supported it so long as he found that the Government, who were responsible for the discipline of the Army and Navy, said it was absolutely necessary; and it was only when it was given up in the Army, in regard to those offences for which it was most suited, that he came to the conclusion that it was undesirable to continue the obvious discredit and stigma on the Navy—as it would have been if it were retained in this Service after being abolished in the Army. There was no doubt whatever of the deterrent influence of this punishment; but, at the same time, he would ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) whether, after it had been abolished in the Army, and did not exist in any foreign Service, it was right that the discredit and stigma of its continuance should be put upon the British Navy? No; and he, therefore, hardly thought this was a serious discussion. He could quite understand the feelings of naval officers who had seen, as they imagined, the good effect of this punishment; and, no doubt, in the sense of its being a deterrent of crime, its immediate good effect in the maintenance of discipline. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman had devoted a considerable part of his speech to a description of the enormities of the Bill which had been brought into the House, but which had since been withdrawn. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman described that measure, which was a measure to amend the Naval Discipline Act, as one of singular stringency; in fact, he had called it "a hanging Bill." Since the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had introduced the subject, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would tell him something about it. As a matter of fact, there was only one clause which contained the powers to which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman took exception. That clause conferred upon the officers of the Navy the same power of maintaining discipline in this Service which, two years ago, the House of Commons conferred upon the officers of the Army, with this difference—that it was considerably modified on the side of leniency. In the Army the summary court could be called together, and had the power of death under similar conditions to those proposed for the Navy, only the court did not require to be unanimous; but in regard to the Navy it was required that the court should be unanimous. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman spoke of having a court martial brought together, consisting of 13 officers from various ships. What would they do in the case of a small vessel hundreds of miles away from any other ship? Where were they to get their 13 officers to form a court martial, if there were some serious attempt at mutiny, some serious outbreak and breach of discipline—what would they do if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman's suggestion were adopted? It was clear they should have some sort of substitute for the power of flogging, and the substitute which was considered preferable was that which had been adopted in the case of the Army. It was only right and proper that the system adopted in the Army should be extended to the Navy. What he wanted specially to point out was that, unfortunately, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman having taken such a strong view as to that one clause, the Government were effectually stopped from proceeding with the Bill, which contained, altogether, 22 clauses, many of which went altogether in another direction, and mitigated instead of strengthening the provisions of the existing law. For instance, it conferred the benefit he had already alluded to upon the Marines; it enabled courts martial in many instances to give an intermediate sentence instead of inflicting the extreme sentence; and it largely extended the power of officers to try offences summarily, in order to save courts martial. But the measure containing all these things had been sent to the limbo of dropped Bills, because the right hon. and gallant Gentleman and his Friends objected to one clause.

SIR JOHN HAY: It was the principal clause in the Bill.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he doubted if it was the principal clause in the Bill. The subject of that clause was a fit matter for discussion in Committee; but, at any rate, there was no use in discussing it now, as the Bill had gone for this year. As to the case of the man Price, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) altogether disputed the idea of the House of Commons being the proper place for going into the particulars of individual courts martial. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman very properly said that he did not wish to go into the question of the wisdom or propriety of the court martial in this case. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was bound to say that the offence was a grave one, the culprit being by no means what they would call a boy—being, in fact, 18 years of age. The young fellow was asked to fall in for drill, and he deliberately laid down his rifle on the deck and knocked down his superior officer, and when his superior officer tried to rise he attempted to knock him down again. The offence was a heinous one; therefore, it was necessary to inflict upon the offender a heavy penalty, possibly not so much by way of punishment—Heaven forbid that should be their object in giving severe sentences—as with the object of deterring others from doing anything of the same kind. The fact of the offender being under the influence of liquor was not brought out at the trial; there was no evidence of anything of the kind. He sympathized with what was said by the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) on the point, and he wished the hon. Member was present at this moment in order that he might tell him that the Admiralty had issued a Circular of the kind which the hon. Member said they had proposed to issue—a Circular to the effect that after the date of that document, which was November, 1881, no one was to receive a ration of rum until he was 20 years of age; but that would only apply to boys who joined after the issue of the Circular. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman seemed to think that the gunner's mate should have knocked Price down.

SIR JOHN HAY said, that probably the hon. Member would allow him to disabuse his mind on that point. What he had said was, that the officer was debarred by his position from acting upon a natural impulse of retaliation.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he had understood the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to say that officers in these cases should have some power of retaliation in order to prevent these outbursts against discipline. But to come to the different classes of men whose case had been brought before the Committee. First of all, they had the engineers and the engine-room artificers. As to the engineers, he was not able to give a promise that any change would be made in their condition. The rule as to engineers was that their full junior time was not to be counted until they had served a certain number of years in the higher ranks, and that worked hardly on those who had obtained their promotion at a later period. It was introduced with the view of promotion being given much earlier, and that remark applied to the other classes of officers who came under the same rule. The system was one he was not much enamoured of as it stood; but he was told it was a very desirable thing that there should be some scale of the kind, and he could only promise to keep his attention fixed on the matter, and if it was found to cause any serious injury to the men affected, he would be ready to see what could be done, but he was not prepared to make any proposition on the subject at present. As to the engine-room artificers, it was quite true that the Department had not received all the answers they had expected to the Circular they had issued. They had received a great many replies; and, undoubtedly, the vast majority declined to accept the new terms. There, again, he thought they must wait to see if the state of things complained of continued. They ought not to be asked hastily to alter what had been adopted after long deliberation. In matters of this kind, when pressure was put upon them to make changes, they were always met by the awkward fact that they could really get as many men as they required, and men as good as those now in the Service. It was natural, therefore, that there should be reluctance on the part of the Admiralty and the Treasury to grant any fresh boons to a class of whom that might be said. He made these remarks, not with the view of speaking hardly against these classes, but simply for the purpose of expressing his belief that there was no great prospect of any change being made in this matter for the present, at any rate. He was quite aware that a Committee had sat some time ago, and had made wide recommendations. The hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) thought that the whole matter should be referred to a Committee—the hon. and gallant Member had said that he would hand over, not only these classes, but the whole question of the men of the Dockyards, to the consideration of a Committee. Well, what did that mean? According to his (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's) view, it simply meant that the Admiralty should hand over its own proper functions and responsibility to a Committee. A Committee was not directly responsible to the country, to the taxpayers, and to this House, as was the Board of Admiralty; and then it was very easy for a Committee to recommend a very generous extension of pay and pensions, because a Committee would not afterwards have to face the difficulty of obtaining the money with which to carry out such alterations. With regard to what had been said by the Dockyard Members, he did not wish to question their motives —in fact, it would not be proper for him to do so. The Dockyard Members called attention to the grievances of their constituents, as they had a perfect right to do, and he had no doubt they were perfectly satisfied that there was ample foundation for the claims they made. What, however, might be said was that these hon. Gentlemen would be less likely to take into account the general question of the public interest than the individual merits of the cases brought forward; but the Admiralty were bound to look at the matter from both points of view. An hon. Member had asked when the Committee on the Constructors' Department would publish their Report. Well, that Committee, which had been presided over by his hon. Friend near him, had made a very long inquiry, and had come to a conclusion, and had presented a most interesting and valuable Report. It had only just, within the last two or three days, come back from the Treasury, and it would be laid shortly on the Table of the House, so that hon. Members would have an opportunity of seeing what it contained. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) thought he had now dealt with all the points that had been raised which required an answer. Many things had been said which he had not answered; but those he would look into. The general question as to petty officers and warrant officers was being inquired into by the Admiralty at this moment, and if they found that the points which had been made in their favour were good, and could be maintained, of course they should be ready to meet them. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Captain Price) had made a statement, on a former occasion, which he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) found afterwards was inconsistent with the experience of the Admiralty. He had said that there was a difficulty in getting men to take the position of chief petty officers in the Navy. [Captain PRICE: No, no.] Well, he understood from the hon. and gallant Gentleman that was not so; at any rate, it was not the fact that there was any difficulty in getting chief petty officers to accept that position.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, with regard to corporal punishment, he must say he did not think what had fallen from the Secretary to the Admiralty could be considered very satisfactory. It had been pointed out by his right hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir John Hay) that it became the duty of the Admiralty to establish some alternative punishment when corporal punishment was abolished. He (Mr. A. F. Egerton) ventured to say, without the least committing himself to the idea that it was possible to go back to corporal punishment, that the result of its abolition had been very far from satisfactory. Why, the Returns from which the hon. Member (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) quoted showed at once that the particular crime that was most dangerous to the discipline of the Service—namely, that of striking superior officers, had been materially on the increase since the deterrent punishment had been abolished. When he (Mr. A. F. Egerton) held the Office now held by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), he had been obliged to defend corporal punishment to the best of his ability for several reasons, and a very unpleasant duty he had found it. The ground upon which they had gone at that time was simply that it was almost impossible to devise a punishment that could take the place of flogging. They had never been able to devise an alternative punishment; and the present Admiralty had had to try its hand, and, he was sorry to say, without much success. However, it was quite plain that they could not return to the punishment which had been abolished by the House of Commons. They must make the best of the existing state of things, and he certainly hoped the Admiralty would endeavour to do so. There was one question on which the hon. Gentleman opposite had said nothing, and it was one which it appeared to him (Mr. A. F. Egerton) had caused a very considerable amount of dissatisfaction in the Service—he meant the question of the admission of officers of the Royal Marine Artillery. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman or his Colleagues wished to make any change in the condition of the officers of the Royal Marine Artillery; but, perhaps, he would give the Committee a little information on that point. As to what the hon. Gentleman had told them—and very interesting information it was—with regard to the numbers in which officers had been recently appointed to the Royal Marine Light Infantry, and the numbers who had passed out of their examinations, he thought the state of things was, to a certain extent, satisfactory; but still, though some of the gentlemen who had passed out with high honours had selected the Marines, it was the fact that there was this year some 12 or 13 rejected at Sandhurst, who had, since their rejection, been appointed to the Marines. So long as such a practice as that existed, it could not be considered to be satisfactory; and it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) was quite right in drawing the attention of the Committee to the manner in which these officers were at present admitted. There was one other point to which he should like to refer before sitting down. He should like to ask whether, at this moment, the recruiting for the Navy was well kept up? Did the numbers recruited tally with the numbers voted? By the last Returns, which were now upwards of three months old, the condition of things appeared satisfactory enough; and if the Admiralty could give any newer Return as to the mode in which the Navy and Marines were being maintained, it would be of advantage.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN was understood to say that, at the present moment, the number of men in the Navy was 410 under the number voted, and the Marines 200 under the Establishment. The Engine-Room staff was five over the Establishment; and, speaking generally, he thought he might say there was no great falling away. With regard to the Marine Artillery officers, he had no figures in his hands to begin with; but he would look into this matter, and also other matters the hon. and gallant Member had referred to.

MR. GOURLEY said, he was very glad to hear that there was no fear of a recurrence to corporal punishment in the Navy. To his mind, nothing more degrading than flogging could be applied to the class of men the Navy was now becoming composed of. In the old days he had witnessed flogging himself, and he had no hesitation in saying that there was nothing more objectionable, and nothing more detrimental to the character of the man who was punished and his fellows, or anything more detrimental to his conduct and to the maintenance of discipline on board a ship. With the increased amount of education with which the men were now furnished, any return to flogging would be the means of introducing a far lower kind of discipline than that which had been mentioned by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite. His opinion was that a great deal of the insubordination and bad discipline which they saw in the Navy arose from the over-severity of many Commanders, The time had come when Commanders in the Navy should give more personal attention to the wants of the men on board their ships. He had not the slightest doubt that those officers who exercised the highest discipline were sure to have the most insubordination; but, on the other hand, if the officers would pay more attention to the susceptibilities of the men, and give more consideration to their personal wants and the comfort of their lives on board ship, and their recreation, he was sure that everything in the shape of insubordination would very soon disappear from the Service. He would make a suggestion to the Admiralty with regard to their treatment of the men on shore. They found, as a rule, that the seamen when paid off had placed before them as their only recreation the lowest class of public-houses. He was quite sure that hon. Gentlemen, who had been to Portsmouth and to Devonport, would bear him out when he said that the quays of the Dockyards were literally crammed with public-houses of the worst description; and he was satisfied that the first thing they ought to do, if they thought drinking habits were a cause of insubordination, should be to root out a great number of these drinking shops, and, in the place of them, provide some buildings for rational recreation — there was no reason in the world why that should not be done. Why could not the Admiralty set up reading rooms in these places? There were places where accommodation could be made for providing recreation for 300, 400, or 500 men. Let the Admiralty provide these places; let them supply the men with all the daily papers and with some light literature. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members seemed to despise that suggestion; but they forgot that they had just heard that the men were now better educated than they used to be. The more they developed the intelligence of the men in the Navy the better it would be, and the way to do that was for the Admiralty to provide them with good reading matter and the means of rational education. Let the Admiralty provide them, not only with literature, but with music and the means of physical recreation. They found themselves one of the best means of recreation was lawn tennis—why not let their sailors have that amusement? It was exceedingly inexpensive, and it would be the means of preventing the sailors from frequenting the public-houses, which was a great cause of mischief. He would not detain the Committee; but he wished to say one word as to the Naval Discipline Bill. He was exceedingly glad that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) had succeeded in preventing the Secretary to the Admiralty proceeding with that Bill. Of all the measures ever introduced into this House as a substitute for flogging, he had never heard of one so severe in its form and character as that of the Secretary to the Admiralty. It simply amounted to this, that the lives of the seamen on board our ships in the Navy would have been placed in the hands of young men — young, inexperienced officers of only 20 or 25 years of age—and he felt convinced of this, that, if it had passed, it would have been attended with the most serious evils; but he did not believe that it ever would have passed the House of Commons. If the Bill had been brought before the House, the objectionable clause to which attention had been called would never have passed. He believed that it would be much better even to revert to flogging once more than to pass such a clause as that.

Captain PRICE said, he had already addressed the Committee once; but he hoped he should be allowed indulgence to make a few observations, as a naval officer, upon something that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He hoped the hon. Member did not mean what he had said with regard to the increase of crime in the Navy; but what he did say was, that all this increase was due to the fact that the officers in command of Her Majesty's ships did not pay any attention to the requirements of the men under their charge—that they were not in the habit of showing a conciliatory spirit, and that a great deal of the crime in the Navy was due to that fact.

Mr. GOURLEY said, he had been anxious to convey this, that the men in the Navy, in consequence of improved education, required to be treated in a more conciliatory spirit, and that it had become necessary for Commanders to pay more attention to their personal wants. He had maintained that by doing that they would secure better discipline. He had not for a moment intended to say that the officers on board Her Majesty's ships exceeded in anyway their duty in administering punishment; he must not be taken as having accused the officers of undue severity.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he was glad the hon. Gentleman had modified his statement; but he had certainly understood him to say that the increase of crime in the Navy was due to the severity of the commanders. He (Captain Price) was sure there were no men in the country more humane than the officers on board Her Majesty's ships. They were in the habit of doing all they could for the comfort of their men; they encouraged every kind of amusement, and were constantly anxious for the well-being of the men under their charge. He was sure it was not at all due to any want of attention to the requirements of the men that this particular class of crime was increasing. He should like to ask the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Gourley) upon what ships he had obtained his experience?

MR. GOURLEY said, he had not had the honour to serve upon one of Her Majesty's ships; but the statements he had made had been the result of reading and of observation.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £182,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that before the Committee passed this Vote he felt it his duty to move a reduction of the salary of the First Lord. He would propose that the salary of the First Lord should be reduced by £1,000. He took it to be the duty of the First Lord of the Admiralty, in conjunction with Her Majesty's Ministers, to see that efficient arrangements were made for the protection of British interests in various quarters of the globe—especially to afford protection to the shipping of this country. Questions had lately been addressed to the Representatives of the Admiralty in this and the other House, with a view of ascertaining what further steps had been taken for the protection of the British interests on the Coast of Madagascar. There could be no doubt that British interests were seriously threatened at the time when these Questions were asked, and that our Naval Force on that station was altogether inadequate to the demands of the Public Service. He was speaking to the Question in considering whether the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Government had discharged their duty on this particular matter—and he did not intend to go into details on the questions connected with Madagascar which were now agitating the public mind. It would be necessary to wait for fuller information than they had at present; but he wished to bring before the Committee and the Admiralty the importance of strengthening, and materially strengthening, our Naval Force on that particular station. The Naval Force at present on the Coast of Madagascar—that was to say, at Tamatave—consisted only of two ships; indeed, it was doubtful whether there were two. Probably there was only one small vessel there, one having been sent to Zanzibar with despatches. At the outside, these two ships were the *Dryad* steamship of nine guns, and the *Dragon*, a composite ship of six guns only. These were the only men-of-war in that part of the world to defend the interests of British commerce and to defend British subjects. On the other hand, we knew that France had a large and important Squadron, numbering seven or eight vessels, some of them very powerful. What was done when we were involved in a difficulty with what might be called a semi-civilized nation—when we were in dispute, for instance, with Egypt or Turkey, or Powers of that kind? Why, the Navy was immediately strengthened with overwhelming force directly the interests of England were threatened, as had been done at Alexandria.

MR. D. JENKINS wished to know whether the hon. Gentleman was in Order in going into these matters on the Vote before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: I must say I hardly think the state of the French Fleet at the Island of Madagascar has anything to do with the Vote for the Admiralty.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that before he had taken this course he had consulted Members of experience, and had been told that he would be perfectly in Order, on the Vote including the sum for the First Lord's salary, to raise the question of Naval Policy ; and he would ask the Chairman whether he was not in Order, in supporting a Motion for the reduction of this Vote, by demonstrating that the First Lord had not performed his duty, but had neglected to despatch a sufficiently powerful Squadron to Madagascar?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would remind the hon. Member that we have already devoted three or four nights to the discussion of the Naval Policy of the Government. It was only by means of an understanding arrived at in the Committee—to my mind a very irregular understanding—that the same privileges should be granted upon this Vote as were allowed upon Vote I. We have had a full discussion upon the Naval Policy of the Government; and now the hon. Member, on Vote II., for the Admiralty Office, proposes to raise another discussion upon it—upon the policy of the First Lord of the Admiralty in not having sent a larger Force to the Island of Madagascar. It seems to me that to go into that subject would be to exceed the limits allowed on the Vote. Of course, I must judge as to whether or not the hon. Gentleman is in Order according to the observations he makes.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he had not made these observations on Vote I., because it had seemed to him it would be more convenient that he should make them upon the present occasion. He would remind the Chairman that the question he was discussing did not arise whilst the Votes the right hon. Gentleman had referred to had been under discussion. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would now confine himself, however, to merely moving that reduction on the grounds he had stated—namely, that the existing Force at the Island of Madagascar, consisting of two small ships only, was altogether inadequate to defend the honour of the British Flag, which had been grievously affronted, and to defend British commerce against the injury which had been inflicted upon it.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £181,300, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Admiralty Office, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he was prevented from making any reply, as this subject was obviously out of place on the present Vote. The question of the particular strength of a Squadron was settled by the Government, and not by the First Lord of the Admiralty himself—it was rather a question of Foreign Policy than of Naval Policy. As he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) apprehended, what the hon. Gentleman said was not this or that, but that he had not received sufficient information. Her Majesty's Government were perfectly alive to the necessities of the case, and knew the means which should be taken to meet them much better than the hon. Gentleman.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped that the Committee would not be put to the trouble of a Division on this question. The grave occurrences to which the hon. Member had called attention were of such import, that the House was hardly in a position to discuss them on the present occasion. He, for one, would not like to take the responsibility of doing so, and therefore he would appeal to the hon. Gentleman to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that, of course, he should not think of dividing the Committee in the face of an expression of opinion from such a quarter; but he must protest against the idea that he desired to go into any political question which might be at issue between themselves and the French Government. He had merely wished to discuss the question of our Naval Force at Madagascar, and, before attempting to do so, he had taken the best advice he could get on the subject. [*Laughter.*] He saw the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Osborne Morgan) laughing, and he was at a loss to know why the right hon. and learned Gentleman should receive his remarks in that fashion ; he certainly had not sought the advice of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, but he had taken that of other and higher authorities.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £195,800, Coast Guard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he wished to ask a question upon this Vote. Under

Sub-head 3, he saw the Reserve of Seamen and Marines was increasing, and doing fairly well; and provision was now made for 1,750 for this year. Had the Admiralty considered the matter, to which he had alluded on one or two previous occasions, as to the means of inducing men to join the Pensioners' Reserve? One means of inducement, which he disapproved of entirely, was by paying pensions at the age of 50, instead of 55, out of the Greenwich Hospital Fund. He was not quite sure whether the question ought to be discussed on this Vote or on the Greenwich Hospital Vote; but, as the item occurred in Vote III., he thought it would not be out of Order to put the question.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the question which the hon. Member put was, whether they had considered the point of there being a sum to induce the men to join the Reserve, which should be charged upon the Navy Estimates rather than upon the Greenwich Hospital Fund? He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had looked into the matter very carefully, and, besides that, it had been fully considered some years ago, when the late Government were in Office. There had been a large amount of correspondence upon it, and the final decision arrived at was that the charges should be left as they were, there not seeming to be any sufficient reason for making an alteration. That was how the present Government found it, and he did not know that they were disposed to alter the position of the matter.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, that, in accordance with a Notice he had put upon the Paper of the House, he wished to call attention to the present condition of the training of the Royal Naval Reserves; and it must be understood that in whatever he said he was not in any way actuated by a desire to be unduly critical. He had no remark to make against anyone in regard to the Force under discussion; but he thought that when they had a Service which cost so much money it was necessary for them to consider whether its means of utility might not be greatly increased in the event of its becoming necessary in time of war. They all knew, or most of them knew, that the First Class Naval Reserve was established in 1858, and that the Commission which led to its establishment distinctly pointed out that the men who composed the Force should be those who did not live a long way from the port from which they hailed. He had no doubt that his hon. Friend the Lord of the Admiralty who had sat opposite to him (Sir Thomas Brassey) would entirely agree with him when he said that instead of being taken from the class who were coming away from the port from which they hailed, they were virtually selected from those men who were scattered all around. If he had had any doubt upon that point—which he had not—that doubt would have been removed by the very able Report which had been made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, on the close of his command of the Reserve Squadron. At the close of his Report, His Royal Highness said he thought it was a question whether the practice of rating seamen from ships of the Mercantile Marine on the outbreak of war might not prove disastrous to the trade of the country, and it might be a matter to which consideration should be given, in that distinct connection, whether it would not be well to reduce and restrict the enrolment of the First Class to a select number of good seamen. In that he (Lord Henry Lennox) entirely agreed with His Royal Highness. First of all, let them consider what was the expense of this Force. They got an annual retainer of £6, and the cost of their uniform, and so on, amounted to £10 4*s*. The men of the First Class Reserve had to go through 26 days' drill, and, therefore, the country paid 8*s*. 2*d*. per day for that drill—and a very large amount he considered it to be for any defensive Force whatever. As he had already stated, the great object of this Force was to provide the means of defence in the event of sudden war; but it was entirely drawn from the Merchant Service, and was, therefore, at all times scattered all over the world. In the case of a sudden emergency, it was a matter of extreme doubt as to how many of the men they could collect together. His Royal Highness, in his Report, made it appear that the number would be infinitesimally small. The next point he (Lord Henry Lennox) had to refer to was that the men in the First Classs numbered 11,100, whilst the Second Class was only to be 5,500; so that they were keeping up a large Force which would, on an emergency, be away from the country, and, at the same time, keeping up the Force which would be always at home at a very much smaller figure. He ought to remind the Committee that the Commission which sat in 1858-9 declared that there were some 100,000 merchant seamen from whom Her Majesty's Government could select 30,000 men. But experience showed that, instead of having 100,000 men to choose from, they had not more than 30,000, and that instead of getting 30,000 men they could not get more than 12,000 out of the 30,000, and that out of that 12,000 they could not count on more than 5,000 being available in case of sudden war. The Lord of the Admiralty opposite (Sir Thomas Brassey) entirely agreed with him in his opinion that it would be entirely upon the Second Class Reserve that they would mainly have to depend, and that that Class should, therefore, be largely increased in number. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, referring to this Class, had declared it to be the finest body of men he had ever seen. He had stated that they were brought up to hab its of sea-fishing and sailing, and to the management of sea-going boats, and he said that if these men were properly trained and disciplined they would counteract any feelings of anxiety with regard to the defences of the country. How was it that they were not more efficient than they might be if they were properly disciplined? The Duke of Edinburgh's Report was well worthy of attention on this matter. It was said that the reason of the great disorganization was that there was not some place to which the men could be attached. His Royal Highness considered it very important that large bodies of men should be drilled together in one place, and contended that such training was better and far less expensive than the training of small detachments; and he was further of opinion that in this way the men would be more easily got ready and would be found to be more useful when their services were required on an emergency. He would suggest to the Government whether they could not establish in connection with these Reserves some large depôt where large bodies could be drilled together; and he would also suggest that a better opportunity should be given to the officers for rendering the men efficient. Lastly, he would press upon his hon. Friend opposite (Sir Thomas Brassey) whether he did not think that the time had come when some definite scheme should be prepared to show how these men were to be made use of in the event of a sudden war, particularly of a great war. At present, there was no scheme whatever. The men were going about here and there, and there was no plan by which they could be utilized in the event of danger to the country. There was another remark he desired to make, and that was with regard to the Flying Squadron. Was it well that young seamen should be sent off in the slow ships which composed the Flying Squadron, and should be flying about the ocean for three years? He maintained that they ought not to be away so long, and that we ought to have small squadrons of fast ships. If the Committee could only persuade the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to bring forward for Commission the *Shah* and the *Inconstant*, and other really fast frigates, and send them out as a Flying Squadron for three months, a great deal would be done to improve the efficiency of our Second Class Naval Reserve; and he was sure we should have a much more valuable system for our money than we got at the present time. He felt that this matter was quite safe in the hands of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), for he was quite aware of the interest the hon. Gentleman took in the subject, having had the privilege of a private conversation with him appertaining to it. He knew how much the hon. Gentleman had at heart the rendering of this Service efficient. He (Lord Henry Lennox) did not wish to do any more on this occasion than to draw the attention of his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to this matter, and to ask him whether he would kindly give the Committee and the country some assurance that he was taking this matter in hand, and that in the course of the next year we should have this Force more eligible for the service of the country?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox) was fully justified in the confidence which he expressed in the First Lord of the Admiralty and his Colleagues. He could assure the noble Lord that nothing on their part would be wanting to increase the efficiency of the Force. The noble Lord expressed some doubt as to the numbers of the Naval Reserve which would be available for service if they were required. He (Sir Thomas Brassey) was sorry he had not in his possession the exact figures which would be necessary to supply the Committee with the information which was asked for by the noble Lord; but he had had a very recent opportunity of going over the Returns, which were in the possession of Sir Anthony Hoskins, who was now absent with the First Reserve Fleet; and he (Sir Thomas Brassey) was able to state that a very large proportion of seamen in the First Class Reserve were engaged in the home trade, in the trade with the Baltic, in the Mediterranean, and in the great Steam Service in the North Atlantic. In point of fact, the introduction of steam, while it had, to a certain extent, diminished the opportunity of training large bodies of men in the art of seamenship, had given some compensation in the facility which we now possessed of bringing the Naval Reserve together if their services were required. With regard to the immediate wants of the Navy for the equipment even of a large Fleet in operations of war, there were ample numbers in the Regular Service of the Navy; and the conviction of those who were directly responsible for the efficiency of the Navy was that men would undoubtedly come in from the Naval Reserve as fast as ships could be prepared in which they could be embarked for service. Although the noble Lord expressed some doubt as to how far we should be able to lay our hands on the men of the First Class Naval Reserve when we wanted them, he did not go so far as to say we could afford to dispense with the First Class Naval Reserve; and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, in his Report, while pointing to the difficulty which might be experienced in bringing the First Class Reserve men together in large numbers at the moment they were wanted, did not propose to dispense with the First Class Reserve. What he (Lord Henry Lennox) did recommend was an increase in the Second Class Reserve. That was, in point of fact, the main suggestion in the very valuable Report prepared by His Royal Highness on resigning his command as Admiral Superintendent of the Reserve; and he (Sir Thomas Brassey) had, in a previous statement in the House, informed hon. Members that the Admiralty had sanctioned an increase in the Second Class Reserve, as proposed by His Royal Highness, and that they intended to raise the strength of that Reserve to 10,000 men. They were confident that this number could readily be raised, and they were certain that such a Reserve would prove most valuable. The noble Lord pointed out the great advantage of drilling the Naval Reserve men in large bodies. Wherever the Admiralty had an opportunity of doing so, they were anxious to carry out the instruction in the manner recommended by the Duke of Edinburgh; and he believed that, in those parts where the largest number of the Second Class Naval Reserve were enrolled, they would be able, especially in the winter months, to secure the attendance of a large number of men for drill. At Stornaway, at Kirkwall, and at Lerwick it would be found by the noble Lord that the training of the Naval Reserve, especially in the winter months, would be highly satisfactory. The noble Lord stated that no scheme had ever been matured for availing ourselves of the services of the Naval Reserve. He (Sir Thomas Brassey) was not called upon to enter into details; but he believed that a scheme was prepared by his Predecessor in Office for embarking the Naval Reserve, in case the relations of this country with Foreign Powers, during the anxieties of the Eastern Question, had rendered it necessary to equip a large War Fleet. With regard to numbers, when the Admiralty had completed the Second Class Reserve, the total strength of the Reserve would not be less than 20,000 men. That represented an increase of 3,000 men over the maximum strength which had hitherto been enrolled; but, as it fell short of the numbers which were considered necessary by the last Royal Commission, to whom the question of the manning of the Navy was referred, it might be a question how far the Force, as now proposed, would really be sufficient to meet the requirements of the Navy. The subject was at this moment receiving the most attentive consideration of a Departmental Committee, under the guidance of Captain Tryon. The labours of that Committee were still incomplete; but he was able to put the Committee in possession of the general results. For the ships now in commission we required a Force of 27,000 men and 4,800 Marines; for the ships which could be commissioned in three months we should require an additional Force of 16,000 seamen and 2,600 Marines; for the ships which could be commissioned in 12 months an additional Force of 10,000 seamen and 1,500 Marines would be required; and these figures provided for an ample Supplementary Force for gunboats, torpedo boats, and a considerable number of Mercantile Auxiliaries. The total requirements, therefore, for an immediate emergency would be, as he had stated, some 53,000 men. To meet these requirements we had now serving in the Fleet of the seamen class, 31,000; Coastguard, 4,000; in the Naval Reserve, 17,000, to be increased, as he had said, to 20,000; Seamen Pensioners' Reserve, 17,000; Naval Volunteers, who would be valuable for harbour service, 1,400; and Marines, 12,000. In addition, we had in the Pensioners' Reserve, under 50 years' of age, a force of 4,000. These figures showed a total force of 72,000 men, or 10,000 in excess of the extreme requirements on the outbreak of war. In regard to ships, a considerable number now in commission could scarcely be regarded as fighting ships; and, for the Mercantile Auxiliaries, it would not be necessary that the crew should have received the high training which was given to men on a man-of-war. For ships of this class we might with confidence look to the Mercantile Marine to supply both the officers and the crews which were required. The noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) referred to the training of our seamen. He could assure hon. Gentlemen that the question received the most anxious attention of the Board of Admiralty. It was admitted that there was a certain lapse of time between the completion of the training and the appointment of young seamen to a sea-going vessel. He did not hesitate to say that such a Flying Squadron as the noble Lord recommended would be an admirable school of seamanship, and that it would be of the greatest service to the Navy if the voyages were less extended, and if the squadrons returned at more frequent intervals. He hoped the information he had given would be satisfactory to the Committee.

Sir JOHN HAY said, at the bottom of page 26 he found the following note:—

> "20,000 has been for some years the recognized number of men to be raised to the Royal Naval Reserve; the number now enrolled is 17,183, and it is probable that the total number borne during the year will not exceed 18,000."

If he turned to page 5 of the Duke of Edinburgh's Report on the Royal Naval Reserve, he understood it was intended to increase the Second Class Naval Reserve to 10,000 men. It would be seen, however, that the First Class Reserve was not to be increased this year so largely as was recommended, namely—up to 20,000. As he understood, the reason why the whole number of men were not to be enrolled was the necessity for further preparations in the Isle of Man and the Orkneys. He desired to say that from personal knowledge of the matter, and from inquiries he had made, he was aware there was no difficulty whatever in enrolling men in the Isle of Man. He did not know what the result of the inquiries was as to the Orkneys. He would, however, like to be informed whether the preparations necessary had been made; whether arrangements were being made for drill sheds at Kirkwall; and whether, when the sheds were completed, the additional enrolments in the Second Class Reserve would take place immediately? He would, also, like to know whether next year the Committee could calculate on the First Class Naval Reserve being raised to 20,000 men, at which number it was recommended the Force should be maintained in future?

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, there was no more valuable station for the Naval Reserve than Stornoway. He understood from the remarks of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) that a battery was being made there. He (Mr. A. F. Egerton) would like to know how soon the battery would be completed, so that the actual organization of the Reserve might be completed also?

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER said, that various applications had been made for enrolment in the Naval Artillery Volunteer Force, and, hitherto, those applications had met with a direct negative from the Admiralty. He was anxious to know in what position the Naval Artillery Volunteers stood; and whether the Admiralty were now prepared to receive applications for enrolment?

SIR JOHN J. JENKINS said, that the matter raised by his hon. Friend (Mr. Macliver) demanded serious attention. There was no doubt that the Naval Artillery Volunteers had distinguished themselves in the short time they had been in training; and if the Government would give them the same encouragement as was given to other Volunteers, he had no doubt that the Naval Artillery Volunteers would become a most valuable Corps for the protection of harbours and coast defences in the Kingdom.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, he was glad to be able to inform his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay) and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wigan (Mr. A. F. Egerton) that the batteries to which they referred were in progress, and that everything would be prepared for the drills of the Reserve next year. As soon as the preparations were completed the numbers which were proposed would be enrolled. That statement extended to the Isle of Man. The Naval Artillery Volunteers was a Force in which he had taken a lively interest, and he regretted that some disappointment should be felt at the refusal of the Board of Admiralty to make the capitation grant. Before any change could be made in the constitution of an extremely patriotic, and, he hoped, a useful Force, it was necessary to receive the final decision of the Committee, who had long been engaged in considering the whole question of the defences of the commercial harbours. He hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver) and his hon. Friend the Member for Carmarthen (Sir John Jenkins) would not be disappointed when he said that the Admiralty could not entertain the idea of a capitation grant, which on the first constitution of the Force was distinctly refused by the Volunteers, unless the necessity of making a grant was confirmed by the opinion of those high authorities to whom the question of the defences of the commercial harbours of the country had been referred. He should like to say that one concession had been made to the Naval Volunteers this year, which, he was sure, was very highly appreciated by the members of the Force. His hon. Friends would be aware that last year, and the year before, the Admiralty were not able to place at the disposal of the Naval Volunteers the gun-boats which they had previously provided during the summer months. They had, however, been able to make that provision this year; and he believed it was appreciated by the great majority of the Naval Volunteers to a far greater extent than the capitation grant would be.

MR. D. JENKINS said, he hoped it was not the intention of the Admiralty to reduce the First Class Reserve. For the Reserve, they ought to secure the best men who could be got out of the Merchant Navy; and, from an economical point of view, he questioned the advisability of increasing the number of the Second Class Naval Reserve.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £113,100, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the several Scientific Departments of the Navy, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

SIR JOHN HAY said, he was sorry to see that the cost of the Coast Survey had this year been reduced by £391. In his opinion, the expenditure on the Coast Survey was the most legitimate expenditure of public money that could be authorized by the Committee. At present, the Crofters' Commission were investigating certain subjects in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and in the Shetland Islands alone there were 14 dangerous rocks, none of which had been buoyed, marked, or duly guarded. We had lost one ship already on that coast; and, under all the circumstances of the case, he could not consider that the saving of £391 for Coast Survey was an economical arrangement. Perhaps his hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would say something as to the reason of the saving?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he understood that the officers employed in the survey of the Coast had recently been changed, and he imagined that the reduction of £391 was merely accidental, and did not in any way affect the efficiency or completeness or extent of the Survey.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he meant to cast no reflection upon anyone, and no one deserved more respect than the Hydrographer; but he regretted to see economy in a direction in which he thought some increased expenditure would have been wise.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he should greatly regret any diminution in this item, for we could not too carefully attend to our coasts, and to the bed of the ocean. But this year the sum of £18,000 was deducted on account of appropriations in aid; and, unless this was watched, great confusion would arise through there being an apparent reduction, whereas there had simply been a sale of stores in aid of expenditure. And if this sale-money failed to be realized, then the balance available would not be spent on the Surveys. He would take the opportunity of saying that a promise had been given that Members should have a statistical book connected with the Navy similar to that in the Army, and he thought that was very necessary, as without it Members could not speak on the subjects which were brought forward with that minute accuracy so necessary for efficient control. He hoped that book would be produced this year; and, seeing the great importance of the financial part of the question, he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty would also supply financial information, so that every Member might have the details of past years' transactions at his command.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON wished to ask a question with respect to the Australian service. In 1878 or 1879 there was some dispute between the Colony of Queensland and the Admiralty as to the expenses to be shared with respect to the Surveys of the Torres Straits, and the coral reefs on the coast of New Guinea. He wished to know whether those Surveys were in progress, and whether the matter had been settled?

Mr. GOURLEY said, he objected to the system of training engineer students, and he believed that quite as good engineers could be obtained at less expense.

Sir JOHN HAY asked for information as to Lighthouses, and as to the Surveys in the Red Sea, which the Secretary to the Admiralty had had under consideration?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he should be very glad to co-operate with his hon. and gallant Friend (General Sir George Balfour), for he knew the value of the Statistical Abstract issued with regard to the Army, giving at the beginning of every Session the latest information as far as possible. He had made an attempt to ascertain how much of this information could be got together with reference to the Navy, and he had made some way in the matter. He was not without hope of being able to go a little further another year; but he did not wish to make any definite promise, because the hon. and gallant Member was so strict in holding him to promises. He understood that the Australian Surveys were proceeding, and that the arrangement was that the Colony should pay half the cost. With regard to engineering students, the whole system was no doubt very elaborate, and in some sense expensive, but as far as the Admiralty could judge it was very successful. They were anxious to get the best scientific engineers into the Service, and for the last examination there were 218 candidates for 25 vacancies. That showed that the position was a good deal sought after, and the class of candidates was considered quite satisfactory by professional officers. As to the Lighthouses, he could give no information, as they were not under the Admiralty. [Sir John Hay: They apply to the safety of Her Majesty's ships.] The Admiralty were not responsible for them; and with respect to the Red Sea, all he could say was that a ship was being expressly fitted out for the Surveys in the Red Sea.

Mr. GOURLEY asked what was the cost per head of the engineer students?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN replied, that he could not at the moment state the exact cost.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he was as far off as ever. He wished to know how it was that in 1881-2 there were no appropriations in aid, and now there was this large sum of £18,000 taken?

Mr. D. JENKINS said, he thought the item for engineer students was very large. He could not see why the country should be put to such expense.

Mr. JAMES STEWART asked what arrangements were made for the distribution of marine charts to the public?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the agent who had been employed for many years (Mr. Potter) to manage that work had recently died. The question of what was the best way of supplying charts to the public was the subject of a correspondence going on now between the Board of Trade and the Admiralty, and he had no doubt some conclusion would shortly be arrived at. Mr. Potter's son was continued in the post provisionally.

MR. GORST said, he should move the reduction of this Vote by the item for the maintenance of the *Britannia*, as that was the only way by which he could call attention to the unsatisfactory condition of that school for boys, which the Admiralty persisted in maintaining at such great cost to the country. This was the most expensive school in the country. The net cost was £280 for each boy, and that was far in excess of the most expensive public school, and of the £280 only £70 were paid by the parents; so that the country had to pay £210 for every little boy before he was of any practical value. Not only was this a very expensive school, but there was good reason to believe that it was an exceedingly bad school in regard to education. No doubt the old-fashioned usher, who used to grind a great deal of knowledge into boys, was a thing of the past; and the modern assistant-master was a very different person, his chief object being to teach boys to instruct themselves, and to save himself as much trouble as possible. He had no hesitation in saying that if any boy picked from any English public or private school was compared with a boy from a German gymnasium he would be found extremely deficient in education. He did not suppose that one out of 20 English boys was educated according to the examination which every German boy was required to pass before he could become a member of any intellectual profession. But, bad as our schools were, the *Britannia* was worse than any of them. The last official information available on this school was contained in a Report made by an Examiner five or six years ago, in which he said the boys could not construe French or Latin, and could not use their dictionaries. In 1880, the first year of the present Government, Lord Dalhousie, then a Member of this House (as Lord Ramsay), having been Commander of the *Britannia*, told the Committee of Supply of that Session that the whole education and management of that ship was exceedingly bad. He said our officers were worse educated and trained than the officers of any other nation; and he generally gave such an account of this ship that it attracted the attention of the Admiralty and of the House. The reason why he now persisted, as some Members might say, in referring to this question, was that it was an example of the contempt with which the Admiralty regarded the House of Commons. It showed how completely helpless the Committee of Supply was; what very little effect they could produce on the Admiralty, and how they regarded the Committee with the most consummate contempt, and would not permit their designs and plans to be in any way influenced by the judgment of the House. In 1880 there was a discussion on the subject, as he had said, in which this remarkable speech was made by Lord Ramsay; and the First Commissioner of Works, who was then Secretary to the Admiralty, promised an inquiry, with a view to a reform, and stated that the training of naval cadets was a matter to which the Admiralty were most keenly alive. In 1881 nothing had been done, and the then Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Trevelyan), who was himself distinguished for his knowledge of, and interest in, educational matters, really took the matter so much to heart that some Members were, at the time, deceived, and thought some steps would be taken. Among other matters then discussed was the question of examinations. The very unsatisfactory nature of the examinations which had been passed by boys on the *Britannia* was pointed out, and the attention of the right hon. Gentleman was called to the fact that all the public schools submitted the boys to examination by Examiners appointed by an officer of the Cambridge Syndicate, and that a Report of the results was laid before the school authorities and the boys' parents, and that the public also had access to it. In that way what the boys were doing could be seen. In 1882 the present Secretary to the Admiralty was new in his Office, and he could not be pressed too severely on the subject. There was very little discussion last year, but strong hopes were entertained that the hon. Gentleman would signalize his advent to Office by some vigorous measure of reform. Certainly, he thought most hon. Members were willing to believe that something was likely to be done; but their hopes were greatly dashed at the beginning of this Session by an answer given by the hon. Gentleman to a Question respecting Examiners. He was asked whether examinations had taken place according to the pledge of his Predecessor, and whether the results could be laid upon the Table. His answer was that examinations had taken place, but that the Admiralty did not consider it advisable, in the interests of the Public Service, that Members of this House should have access to the results. He really thought that that was, on the part of the Admiralty, one of the coolest and most impudent attempts to hoodwink the House of Commons ever committed. He should like to know who had a right to see the state of education on the *Britannia* so much as the people who paid for it? Did the Admiralty think they were keeping up this ship with their own funds, and that it was impudence on the part of Members to ask for information? The school was kept up by the taxes of the people whom hon. Members represented. This sum of £210 per boy was taken from the earnings of working men and tradesmen; and it was the duty of Members to see that the money was properly spent, and that the school was efficient. For the Admiralty to send a message to this House saying that they had had the examinations made, but that the Report was not to be made public, was one of the coolest proceedings he had ever heard of. He had, therefore, no other course open to him but to move for the reduction of the whole amount asked for, in order to raise a question which ought to be answered, to show whether this school was more efficient than it was two years ago when Lord Ramsay made his speech. If the Admiralty would not lay the Report on the Table, as they ought to do, at all events they might tell the House whether the Report was favourable or not, and whether the boys were still unable to construe French and Latin, or to use their dictionaries. There was another matter connected with this subject. At the same time, when the condition of this school was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, a question was raised as to whether we were right in being the only nation in the world to appoint boys to be naval officers at the extremely tender age of 10 and 12 years. There was not another Naval Power in the whole world which appointed boys as officers until they had attained the age of 16 or 18 years. We never thought of appointing a boy to be a Marine officer until he was 18 years of age, or to be an Artillery or Engineer officer until he had attained the ripe age of 17 or 18 years. The question was asked whether it was possible to appoint our naval officers at an age more like that adopted by other nations, when they could go to sea and learn their profession. It was the greatest mistake to suppose that there was anything taught on the *Britannia* that could not be taught in any other school. There was some navigation taught, and the boys learned the names of a few ropes; but he had no doubt the education given in the Greenwich School was quite as nautical. No answer was given to this question, and the matter had been allowed to drop. This was no fancy of non-naval men; the matter was started by men of great weight; but it was treated by the Admiralty, like other matters, with the most sovereign contempt, and he supposed no notice had yet been taken of the subject. In order to enable the Secretary to the Admiralty to answer this question, he begged to move the reduction of this Vote by £9,181, the cost of training cadets on board the *Britannia*.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £103,919, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the several Scientific Departments of the Navy, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he hardly knew what answer to give the hon. and learned Gentleman, because whatever he might say would probably be taken as a fresh instance of the sovereign contempt with which the hon. and learned Gentleman said the Admiralty was in the habit of treating the House.

Mr. GORST: I did not say the hon. Gentleman; I said the Board of Admiralty.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had raised two points, the main point being whether the Admiralty were right in taking boys into the Service and training them at an early age. He had spoken of this as an easy question to solve, and as if it had been settled all on one side by the opinions of naval officers. But, unfortunately, as far as they could make out, the balance of opinions amongst naval officers was all the other way—that was to say, it was in favour of this early entrance of cadets in the Navy. No doubt, foreign nations followed a different system; but he was always very suspicious of contrasts with foreign nations in matters of this kind, and he did not think they should necessarily follow the example of foreign nations in this case, which had been so clearly and forcibly stated by the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman found fault with the Admiralty, because they had not submitted the cadets to the examination of the University Syndicate. If he were not afraid of being considered disrespectful to the hon. and learned Gentleman, and, at some future time, as having broken a promise, he would say that his personal feeling was in favour of that course. But he would take care that what the hon. and learned Member had put so forcibly should be brought before his Colleagues. He did not see any objection to an independent examination of the kind indicated; but, as a matter of fact, there was an independent examination conducted by gentlemen who had taken honours at the Universities. Those gentlemen were quite independent; they held their position for two years, and their papers were not subject in any way to supervision by the Admiralty Education Department. Although the present system had prevailed for a good many years, he thought, perhaps, they might go a little further, and that the School at Dartmouth should be subject to a similar examination to those of other schools in the country. Those were his personal views; but, after what the hon. and learned Gentleman had said, he thought the ground too dangerous to travel over any further on that occasion.

Captain PRICE said, this matter had been fully considered in that House only two years ago, and the opinions then expressed would doubtless be in the recollection of the Committee. He fully endorsed what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), as well as what had fallen from Lord Ramsay in that House on the subject of educating naval cadets two years ago. He had, last year, moved for a Return, showing the expense incurred in the education of naval cadets on board the *Britannia*, and that Return showed that the total cost for each cadet was £245, irrespective of the amount paid by the parents of the youths. He thought that this great cost to the country ought to be entirely saved by the boys who entered the Service as cadets being educated at the cost of their parents, instead of at the cost of the State. He thought the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty was hardly correct in saying that the balance of opinion was in favour of boys entering at an early age. If the hon. Gentleman would look at the report of an interesting lecture given at the United Service Institute a few years ago, he believed he would find that the balance of opinion amongst naval officers was rather in the opposite direction. He remembered that Admirals Ryder and Goodenough, two officers who had made this question their study, gave opinions that were opposed to the entering of naval cadets at the early age sanctioned by the present system, and recommended that they should commence their education in a public school, and enter the Navy at a much later date. He had himself entered at the age of 13; and although he did not want to present himself as a specimen of inefficiency, he was bound to say that for the first two or three years he learnt nothing, while he had unlearnt a good deal that he had learnt at school. He had always been sorry that he had not remained at a public school until the age of 17, and he was frequently informed of officers in the Service who also regretted that they did not remain at a public school for a longer period. He thought it would be well that the cadets should be kept at school until they were 16 years of age, and then sent to sea, mostly in small ships, so as to get a thorough grounding in seamanship, after which they might be sent at 19 years of age to a Naval College, where they would receive that amount of scientific instruction necessary to fit them for the Service.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he could not conceive why the Government did not lay the Report upon the Table of the House unless it was that they were ashamed to do so. The Committee wanted to know how far the expenditure bestowed upon the *Britannia* was justified or not by its results, and to ascertain how far the system was suitable for the Public Service. He thought the Admiralty should have no hesitation in producing the Education Reports, because if they were bad, the House of Commons would endeavour to introduce a system which would produce better results. The House of Commons, which voted a large sum of money every year for the education of cadets, ought to know how far that money was beneficially bestowed.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, if the system on board the *Britannia* was so bad, he was at a loss to understand why the Mercantile Marine should have imitated it. They had instituted as training schools the ships *Conway* and *Worcester*, on board which, however, the age of entry was 14 years, as against the earlier age in the case of the *Britannia*. So far from the results being unsatisfactory with respect to these ships, he understood that the Liverpool shipmasters were delighted if they could get the boys who had served on board them into their ships. He thought that if the Merchant Service found it advisable to enter boys for the *Conway* and *Worcester* at the age of 14, it was one reason why the Admiralty should do the same. For his own part, he was not in favour of entering boys for the Navy at too early an age. He thought the age should be 14, instead of 12 or 13, because he believed that the boys suffered very materially in health from the cramming they had to undergo in the preliminary schools. He thought that a system which was found good enough for the Merchant Service, would be equally good for the Royal Navy.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, the Board of Admiralty worked in the dark in matters of this kind; but hon. Members had fortunately been enlightened by the discussions which had taken place in that House. With regard to the differences of opinion alleged to exist amongst naval officers on this subject, he pointed out that it would be for the Committee to throw its weight either into one scale or the other. He did not see the desirability of paying £250 a-year for the education of a naval cadet, because he believed that the extravagance of the proceeding rather unfitted the boys for the discharge of their duties afterwards. The more economical and the more severe their education, the better officers they would eventually make, and, therefore, he said that nothing was more desirable than the abolition of the present system of extravagance. He concurred in the opinion expressed by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), that the Report was one which the Admiralty were not pleased with, otherwise they would have laid it on the Table of the House. He hoped the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) would go to a Division, to show that the House of Commons were, above all other Bodies in the State, entitled to know the actual facts.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he thought he had gone as far as he could in saying that the suggestion of an independent examination was a good one, and that he would see whether it could be brought about. With regard to the presentation of the Reports he did not suppose there would be any objection to their being laid on the Table of the House, except that those who prepared them did not expect that they would be so dealt with. If he were to say, on the part of the Admiralty, that they would take into consideration formally the sense of what had been urged upon him that evening, and that they would see that there was an independent and extraneous examination of cadets, he hoped that would satisfy the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. With regard to what had been said about the cramming of the cadets and the evil effects of it upon their health, whatever might be the case with regard to the age of the boys, all the evidence which he possessed was against their being injured by their studies. The Report which he held in his hand stated that since the establishment of the *Britannia* the health of the boys had been most satisfactory. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite had referred to the general cost of the *Britannia*; but he pointed out that part of this was attributable to the wages of persons necessarily employed on board ship, which would form a charge upon the public whether she was used for school purposes or not.

MR. GORST said, he hoped he should not be unreasonable in not accepting the offer of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty, because it left those who desired reform in this matter in precisely the same position as they were two years ago; indeed, the reply of the hon. Gentleman was almost in the same terms as the answer on this subject, which he then received from the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. If the hon. Gentleman would pledge himself to the independent examination of the cadets and the production of the Report, he should not have to trouble the Committee to divide; but in the absence of that pledge he should be compelled to take a Division as a protest against the non-production of the Report. He would venture to say two things with reference to the *Conway* and the *Worcester;* first, the expense of educating a boy on board those ships was nothing like £280 a-year; and, in the next place, the reports of the examinations were open to the parents, who paid the cost of the education, and to the public.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he thought the Committee ought to remember that when the *Britannia* was established in place of the Naval College at Portsmouth, it was understood to be a temporary arrangement. There had been hardly a year elapse since then in which the extravagant expenditure in connection with the ship had not been raised. He would not go into the question as to whether the original arrangement was a good one; but the *Britannia* was eventually established, because it was imagined that by sending the youths on board a hulk they would learn their duty at sea. But now that everything was done by steam in the Navy there was absolutely nothing which a lad could learn on board a hulk, that he could not learn better at a Naval College on shore. He had had the honour of being consulted by the Admiralty on this subject, and had made a Minute which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty would, no doubt, find in the Office. In that Minute he had ventured to point out, even at the time he referred to, how great would be the advantage if a more general education were given to the lads before they went to sea, and if they were sent in sailing vessels to learn seamanship after being on shore a certain time. The best naval officer he had ever had the honour of knowing—Lord Dundonald—did not go to sea until he was 18 years of age. He repeated that there was now no training to be given at sea to boys of 13 or 14 which they could not get ashore; and there was this objection, among others, to the present system, that on board ship the studies of the boys were constantly interrupted; they were taken away from the schoolmaster and put on other work at the very moment, perhaps, when they were getting interested in his instruction, and *vice versâ*. Therefore, he said, it was better that the youth of the country should receive a thorough education before they went into the Navy. He did not think the argument held good that boys were not so likely to get disgusted with the Service if they were caught early, because his experience was that if they liked the sea they would take to it just as well at 18 as at 14 years of age. Under the system he suggested, the youths would get valuable information and knowledge where it could be most properly obtained, and which would make them better men for the Service they had chosen. He entirely agreed with what had fallen from his hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Price), and he was not by any means sure that he was not then advocating the wishes of many officers in the Navy, who were competent to express an opinion on the subject. Those two officers, Admirals Ryder and Goodenough, were distinctly in favour of this view, and the Committee would know that there were no higher authorities on questions such as this. He regretted very much that during the last 18 or 20 years nothing had been done to establish a College suitable for the education of these young men. In conclusion, he would recommend that a later age should be insisted on for going to sea, and that a College should be established on a proper foundation on shore where the education of cadets would be carried out at their own expense.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, whenever he came down to consider these Estimates, he asked himself why on earth Gentlemen on those Benches had turned out the last Government and put the present Government in Office? It seemed to him that there was exceedingly little difference between the two Governments. They had Gentlemen from the Admiralty coming down and asking them to give £280 for each boy on board the *Britannia,* when everyone knew that the education in schools of this kind could be done for £70 or £80 per head. Notwithstanding this, the education given on board the ship was so bad that the Admiralty were ashamed to present the Reports of their own Commissioners concerning it. He said they ought not to give one shilling for the *Britannia* until they had the Reports, and until they were assured that the cost of the education in future would not be more than one-third what it was at present.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he would venture to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty to undertake, on behalf of the Department, to give the Reports asked for. He believed the noble Lord would readily concur in their being laid on the Table of the House. He thought the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman were such as to render it absolutely necessary that the House should be satisfied as to the character of the education given to the naval cadets.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty if he would inform the Committee how the nominations for admission to the school were made?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the nominations were given by the First Lord of the Admiralty on each occasion. He usually nominated three candidates for each vacancy, and the principal object of that was to limit the number of candidates, so that the strain upon them might be diminished. Another object was that nominations might be given to sons of deceased officers, and persons who had claims on the Service. The present system of competitive examination was introduced when the obsolete system of pure nomination was put an end to. With regard to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he could not go so far in the direction of giving a distinct pledge as the right hon. Gentleman indicated. He could only repeat that he would have an inquiry into the school, and lay the Report on the Table.

Mr. GORST said, that, on the distinct pledge given in the presence of the Prime Minister that the Reports on the education of the cadets should in future be laid on the Table, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,556,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

Captain PRICE said, that, although this Vote usually occupied a good deal of time and discussion, the Committee might congratulate itself to-night on the probability that the usual crop of Dockyard grievances would be very little touched upon, that being due to an act of policy on the part of the Admiralty last year. After the visit of the Lords of the Admiralty to the various Dockyards last year, the Secretary to the Admiralty went round to the Dockyards and received deputations of all the different classes of men in the Yards, and heard everything they had to say. Whether that act of policy was due to what had been considered the rash pledge given by the present Chief Commissioner of Works a few years ago, or whether it was really a new policy on the part of the Admiralty, he was unable to say; but the action of the Secretary to the Admiralty had given great satisfaction in the Dockyards, not only through the courteous way in which the hon. Gentleman heard all that the men had to say, but because he heard everything most thoroughly and exhaustively, and showed that he quite understood the various matters laid before him. He said this much, because it encouraged him, and he thought, also, other Dockyard Members, to hope that this policy would be continued. How far it was to be continued he hoped the Committee would learn to-night. The Chief Commissioner of Works, when he was Secretary to the Admiralty, deprecated the discussion of Dockyard grievances in that House, because, he said, it was the invariable custom of the Lords of the Admiralty to themselves go round and hear from the men what they had to say upon the various matters. He believed that at the Admiralty it was considered somewhat rash of the right hon. Gentleman to make that speech; but they determined, at all events, to look upon it as to some extent a pledge, and last year they fulfilled that pledge. That was a policy which ought to be carried out in the future. He did not say that every man in a Dockyard, or every man representing a class, should be allowed to come before the Lords of the Admiralty and make a long statement of grievances; but he did think that on special occasions such as last year, when some of the most important classes of men in the Dockyards had not been able to state their grievances in any way for many years, subject to certain restrictions, and to the advice of the Admiralty Superintendents in the Yards, they should at certain times be allowed to do what they did last year. Another consideration was, that that course had disposed of a great deal of discussion in the House, which was, perhaps, a very good thing; and so it happened to-night that instead of the Committee having at great length to discuss these various grievances, they were hoping to hear from the Secretary to the Admiralty what was the result of his labours of last year. With regard to one particular question—that of the Constructive Departments—they were told that a Committee had been sitting, and that their Report was about to be issued. He should like to know whether that Report was to be considered of a confidential nature or not? [Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It will be laid on the Table.] It would be laid on the Table at a time when it could not be discussed; but he did not wish to discuss it this Session. What he wanted to know was, what would be the result of these Reports, because very often Reports which were presented were followed by no results. There were many other matters outside the Reports, and what they particularly wanted to know was, what the hon. Gentleman had to say upon them. For instance, the case of the shipwrights, a most important class in the Dockyard, he supposed, would be dealt with by the Reports. The hired men and the factory men were on a different scale altogether from that of the Establishment labourers, and they had considerable grievances, as they were obliged to retire at the age of 60 years with no pension and only a small gratuity. These questions were thoroughly gone into by the Secretary to the Admiralty, and the Committee were hoping to hear what he had to say on the matter. The grievances having been all discussed at the Admiralty, he thought this was a good opportunity for the Secretary to the Admiralty to give some idea of the conclusions arrived at.

MR. BROADHURST wished to call attention to the unsatisfactory outcome of the Motion he made 18 months ago in reference to the employment of shipwrights in fitting engines into war vessels. On that occasion the Secretary to the Admiralty held out some hope that some better conditions would be arranged with regard to these men; and one of the promises then made was that an eminent engineer was to be engaged and made a member of the Board of Admiralty in London, in order, as he understood, that the engineering interest should have more representation at the Board than hitherto. It was true that a gentleman had been added to the Board of Admiralty of great engineering eminence; but he very much feared that, as usual, the Admiralty had absorbed that engineer, and he had done nothing in the way of reform. The remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), as to the power of the Admiralty over the House of Commons with reference to the training ship *Britannia*, were perfectly true, as far as he could gather, in regard to every other matter under the Admiralty. The Admiralty governed the House of Commons, as well as the whole Admiralty administrative system, and the House ceased to have its due weight in the Admiralty policy. On the occasion to which he was referring, he thought he had satisfactorily proved that it was next to impossible for shipwrights or workers in wood to engage in the fitting of delicate and complicated machinery; but the Admiralty had answered his Motion by increasing the number of shipwrights engaged in the various Dockyards; and, in order to justify the assertions made on their behalf in the House of Commons, there had recently been issued from the Admiralty an Order that shipwrights and apprentices should, in future, devote part of their time to the work of engine fittings and the fixing of machinery. This Order was issued early in the year, and had become part of the Dockyard system. A more extraordinary proposal than this had seldom been made; and what he wanted to know was, whether the Government could conceive anything more inconsistent than that a skilled workman, who had devoted four years to shipwright work, should be suddenly required to become also a proficient fitter of machinery and an engineer? The thing was so utterly absurd, that it would not be listened to for a moment in any private shipbuilding yard. He feared there might be some slight suspicion in some quarters that in drawing attention to this subject he was taking an interest in some branch or other of Trades' Unionism. That was not exactly the fact, and, even if it were the fact, it was, notwithstanding that, quite impossible to have men jacks-of-all-trades in the highly skilled profession which was now required in the construction of our wonderful pieces of mechanism called men-of-war. The fact was that the Admiralty were so possessed of the idea that ships must be constructed and finished by shipwrights, that no amount of modern facts—such as the fact that our ships were no longer of wood, but were floating palaces of machinery—could drive it out of their heads. If all the statements that reached him from time to time as to the waste of time and money in the Dockyards were true, this Vote of £1,500,000 ought certainly to be reduced by more than one-half; and then, under proper management, we could obtain greater results than we now did with this enormous expenditure. Early in the year he sent a copy of a Memorial to the Secretary to the Admiralty, which had reference to pattern making in Chatham Dockyard. In that Dockyard there was a large pattern-making shop, which was mainly carried on by properly-trained pattern makers. Although they had their own staff of men, who had devoted their lives to pattern making, quite recently they had set up another pattern-making shop, with all its costly machinery, not to supply any additional demand for patterns, but in order to have a shop in which they could teach the shipwrights—grown men as well as boys—the art of pattern making, if that was possible. What he wanted to ask the Committee was, whether they, as custodians of the public money, should wilfully, and with their eyes open, vote away money year after year in order to minister to the "fads" and fancies of the Admiralty, over whom they had absolutely no control whatever? The Admiralty was one of the last strongholds of the worst form of old Toryism which modern ideas had been unable to storm; and there would never be a satisfactory administration of that Department of the State until the whole system had been overhauled, not by a Committee of that House, but by a Royal Commission, composed of the most capable men in the country, whether Members of that House or not, who should have full and complete power to examine the whole of the arrangements, and report upon them to the House. He was certain that such an examination would disclose a state of things which the country would not permit to continue in existence one year longer. His firm conviction was that this Vote might very well be reduced by £500,000, and that greater results would be obtained if this Department were administered as private works of the same character in this country were. He wished to ask whether, unless the present system was altered, the Admiralty could expect to produce in one person a proficient knowledge of two or three distinct trades and professions, when every other set of employers and trainers of labour had utterly failed to do anything of the kind. He hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty would give some assurance that he would insist on a more thorough inquiry, and that in future he would see that men should be appointed to their respective trades, and should not be allowed to encroach upon, and interfere with, other departments for which they had no training and no capacity, and were by no means fitted to undertake.

Mr. GORST said, he was not at all surprised at the hon. Member for Stoke being stirred by the arrangements of the Admiralty; but if the hon. Member had had as much experience as he had had of Dockyard management, he would know that it was the peculiar pleasure of the Admiralty to put men into departments to which they did not belong. It was the peculiar idiosyncracy of the Admiralty to employ every man in some capacity other than that for which he had been trained. He understood that this had been the subject of personal inquiry by the Secretary to the Admiralty and the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and that they had listened to all the representations of the different classes, and were now engaged in framing a scale of wages and regulations which might give satisfaction to the different classes of men; but what he particularly wished to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty to-night was, whether the Admiralty could make some arrangement in the Dockyards by which the pensions which the Establishment workmen earned, after long periods of service, could be given them in a shape which would be more satisfactory than the present form? The Committee must remember that what was called a pension was not, in the proper sense of the word, a pension at all. It was simply deferred pay; and it was not for the interest of the men themselves, but for the interest of the nation, that there was this deferred pay. Of course, so far as the men themselves were concerned, if they were paid the same wages in the Dockyards as they would get in private yards—the Admiralty dismissing and hiring men as they pleased—they would have nothing to complain of; but as it was the interest of the country to keep permanently a number of workmen who could not discharge themselves, and upon whom the country could depend in the event of war, or in any other sudden emergency requiring great pressure of work in the Dockyards, the Government, instead of paying the ordinary rates of wages, paid something less, and gave the men the difference in the shape of a pension after serving a certain number of years. Until recently, the Establishment class of skilled labourers in the Dockyards — the class established only about six or seven years ago—only received 19*s.* 6*d.* a-week per man; whereas the hired class of men, doing the same kind of work, but earning no pension, received an average of 24*s.* a-week; so that the Establishment skilled labourer received 4*s.* 6*d.* a-week less than the fair commercial value of his work. For that difference, after a certain length of service, he got a superannuation allowance, which was called a pension. The fault found with this system was that, in the first instance, a great number of people never got any pension at all. A man might have served up to the last year which would entitle him to superannuation; but if he died during that year not a single penny was given to his family. A man might serve many years; but if he found other and more profitable labour he would lose the money he had foregone. Again, a man might have bad health; he might have injured himself in the Service; but if he retired he could only take the superannuation allowance for his own life. Could not the whole matter be put on a footing at once more just to the public and more satisfactory to the men? Why not cease to call it pension and call it what it really was—deferred pay? They might easily keep an account against all the men employed in the Service, an account of the amount of deferred pay they had earned. Of course, if they left the Service before the end of the period for which they were engaged, they would forfeit their deferred pay; but if, instead of leaving the Service, they were obliged to be discharged on account of accident, or for some other just reason, why not give them, upon their so leaving the Service, that deferred pay which they had earned, and to which they were justly entitled. When a man had completed his service, why make him take his deferred pay in the shape of superannuation for his own life? Why not give a workman who had served his time his deferred pay in the form he liked, and in the form which would be most advantageous to his own interest. He (Mr. Gorst) believed that if the present system of pensions were entirely put an end to, and if every man serving in the Dockyard understood he was serving on deferred pay, and if a regular account of that pay were kept so that the sum could be easily ascertained; if a man was aware that in case of death or discharge from the Service that pay would be honestly paid to his family or to himself as the case might be, or that he would be able when he had served his time to take the money in the form he desired, there would be less discontent in the Dockyards than existed at the present moment. He (Mr. Gorst) hoped he had said enough to make his meaning clear to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman); and he trusted that the subject might be taken into consideration, with the view of ascertaining whether some such plan as the one he had suggested could not be matured.

MR. GOURLEY, in moving the reduction of the Vote by £20,000, said, he would state at the outset that he took this course for the purpose of raising a question of the expenditure incurred in upholding the dignity of the Royal Family. He asked Parliament to agree to the reduction of the Vote he proposed, because he held that the amount which was now being spent in the maintenance of the Royal Yachts was far beyond what was necessary, seeing that, by the Return which they had had placed before them, the Royal Yachts were very rarely used, either by Her Majesty or by any Member of the Royal Family. In addition to the enormous sums which these yachts cost the ratepayers of the country annually for their maintenance, it was now proposed to expend a very large sum in repairing the *Victoria and Albert.* Indeed, it was proposed to spend £50,000 or £60,000 upon this wooden vessel. He maintained that when the money had been expended upon her she would still be an old vessel, fitted only with machinery of a very old type. He contended that the money proposed to be spent on this vessel would be absolutely wasted. They had it on the authority of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed), who had been engaged 12 years ago in making a survey of the *Victoria and Albert*, that the vessel was totally unfit for repairs. If she was then unfit for a large expenditure, what must she be now? The experience of all practical men with regard to Estimates as regarded the repairing of old wooden vessels amounted to this — that the eventual cost always exceeded very largely the Estimates. That he believed to be the experience of all shipowners who had old ships; therefore, he maintained that the Estimates placed before Parliament with respect to the *Victoria and Albert* would be greatly exceeded before the repairs were completed. He thought it right to tell the Committee that this vessel in maintenance cost the country, in round figures, something like £28,000 a-year. Before, however, going into details with regard to the annual cost of the vessel, he would like to call the attention of the Committee to the original cost of the vessel. The original cost of the vessel, in accordance with a Return he moved for some time ago, was £136,441. Information as to the gross registered tonnage was not furnished in the Return; but there was only given what was called the builders' tonnage. By comparing, however, the builders' tonnage with the new tonnage of a similar vessel, he had arrived at the conclusion that the gross registered tonnage of the *Victoria and Albert* was something like 1,700 tons, so that the cost of the vessel to this country was something like £80 per ton. Now, £80 per ton was a much larger sum per ton than was paid by, perhaps, one of the most extravagant Monarchs of the world — namely, the late Viceroy of Egypt, upon his yachts, which were furnished with work of the most extravagant design. The Committee would be able to arrive at a correct opinion as to how the Admiralty spent its money, when he stated that the original cost of the masts, spars, and rigging of the *Victoria and Albert* was £19,530. Now, in order to ascertain what extravagant sums were paid in sparring this ship, he thought it right to call attention to what it would cost for a vessel of similar size. The masts and spars of an East Indiaman of 1,700 tons—the whole masts and spars complete, and with a set of sails—would cost something like £8,500. The best outfit which could be put on board of an East, Indiaman of 1,700 tons would not cost, at the present moment, more than £5 per ton; whereas the cost of the outfit of the *Victoria and Albert* was no less than £12 per ton. By these figures hon. Members would see how the money of the taxpayers had been thrown away by those who had had the management of the Admiralty. Having said this much with regard to the original cost of the vessel, he would now call the attention of the Committee to the details of the annual expenditure connected with the *Victoria and Albert.* He found, by the Return to which he had previously referred, that for repairs to cabins, machinery, masts, and spars, the annual cost for the past 10 years had been £7,734, pilotage £5 per year, coals £440. He desired the Committee to pay particular attention to the item of £440, because he should have to allude to it subsequently, as proving how seldom the vessel had been used by Her Majesty, or by the Royal Family. The wages of the officers and crew of the vessel amounted annually to £13,106. the victuals to £5,271, and 75 riggers £2,160. Thus it would be correct to say that the cost of the maintenance of the vessel was £28,766 per year. Hon. Members must understand that the sum of £28,766 was the direct cost; but it did not represent the real cost to the country, because the vessel every now and then was placed in a Government dry dock, and retarded other and more necessary work. Now, they found also, by a Return before them, that on one occasion the *Victoria and Albert* was docked for repairs for no less a period than six and a-half months. As a matter of fact, he knew that the Royal Yachts were very often placed in dock to have repairs done to them of the most trivial character, and that men were removed from other and more important work to do the work required on the Royal Yachts. He thought hon. Members would see that the annual sum spent on the *Victoria and Albert* was a sum altogether beyond what was necessary for the purpose of maintaining a vessel of her class. Now, he had no doubt it would be contended that the Royal Yachts were necessary for the private use of Her Majesty; but he, on the other hand, contended that four yachts, which Her Majesty now had at her disposal, were not necessary, either for her private use or for State purposes. Take, for instance, the *Victoria and Albert.* He asked, some time ago, for a Return of the number of times the *Victoria and Albert* had been used by Her Majesty during the last 10 years, and the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) told him he could not give such information. The only way in which they could arrive at an idea of the number of times the vessel had been used was, by taking into consideration the amount of fuel consumed annually. Now, the annual cost of coal for that vessel was £440. The *Victoria and Albert* was fitted with very old machinery and boilers of very large power, and the conclusion he had arrived at was this—that when under weigh, and in full speed, she would consume from 80 to 100 tons of coal per day. Thus, estimating the cost of coal at £1 per ton, it would be seen that the *Victoria and Albert* had only been used four times per year, and that for the conveyance of Her Majesty or some Member of the Royal Family on four days per year the taxpayers of this country were charged annually over £28,000. He was confident hon. Members would agree with him that this was a sum far in excess of what was necessary, and that it ought to be abolished. It was said that for State purposes Her Majesty ought to have the use of these yachts; but it so happened that for State purposes these vessels were very rarely used. Indeed, they found fixed charges in the Naval Estimates for conveying the Royal Family from time to time across the Channel. In other words, sums were constantly being paid to the London, Chatham, and Dover and other Companies to have vessels placed at the disposal of the Royal Family. Again, he found in another part of the Naval Estimates, Vote 14, page 227, Class I., Sub-head 2, Miscellaneous Expenses, that there was every year an annual charge for the expenses connected with the conveyance of Members of the Royal Household. Now, he contended that if these yachts were to be maintained at this enormous expense to the country, they ought, at least, to be engaged in some practical work. On the contrary, it was found that there was always a special expenditure connected with the movements across Channel of the Members of the Royal Family, or the Members of the Royal Household. As a matter of fact, he found that the sum this year charged for the conveyance of the Members of the Royal Household across Channel was £1,746 19*s.* 10*d.* Every year there was a similar charge, which he maintained ought no longer to be allowed. Then, again, he found in the Naval Estimates a charge for entertainments on board the *Osborne* and *Bacchante*, and other charges and allowances to the warrant officers on the different Royal Yachts. Hon. Gentlemen would see that, in addition to the direct charges returned with regard to the maintenance of the Royal Yachts, there were other charges in other parts of the Estimates which Parliament was called upon to vote every year in connection with the movements of the Royal Family. He felt assured of this—

that this enormous expenditure was an expenditure which was not made with the consent or the countenance of the Queen. On the contrary, he believed that it only remained for the Members of the Government, especially those connected with the Admiralty, to bring this enormous and unnecessary expenditure under the notice of Her Majesty, to cause Her Majesty to command that such expenditure should be at once abolished. Well, it was now proposed to spend upon the *Victoria and Albert*, as he had said previously, between £50,000 and £60,000. If it were necessary that this money should be spent—if the Queen asked for another yacht, what he would in the name of common sense ask the Admiralty to do would be, not to go tinkering and patching up this old vessel, which, when patched up, would still be an old ship fitted with obsolete machinery, but in lieu of this vessel build a new one of modern type. He contended that a new vessel could be built for the money which the Committee were now asked to vote for the repair of the *Victoria and Albert.* In his opinion, first-class builders in this country would undertake to provide the Admiralty with a steam yacht, furnished with steel boilers, and furnished with every modern improvement, and with much better ventilation than that which Her Majesty had on board the *Victoria and Albert*, for something like £25 per ton, or, in other words, a ship of 1,500 or 1,600 tons could be obtained from eminent builders for the sum now proposed to be spent in the repairing of the *Victoria and Albert.* And, moreover, a ship having all the modern appliances for the purpose of its working would, for maintenance, not cost more than £2,000 or £3,000 per year, instead of the £28,000 which the maintenance of the *Victoria and Albert* cost. Hon. Members would not fail to see that the policy, which it was now proposed by the Admiralty to adopt, with respect to the *Victoria and Albert*, was nothing more or less than suicidal. Having said so much with regard to the *Victoria and Albert*, he would like to detain the Committee a moment or two by making a few observations with regard to the *Osborne.* The *Osborne* was only eight years old; but its annual cost in repairs was £10,885, and the cost of its annual maintenance was no less than £26,955. Now, the *Osborne*, like the *Victoria and Albert*, and the other Royal Yachts, seemed, according to the Return which had been placed upon the Table, to be always in dock. Besides being in dock for a considerable time every year, she had, for 10 months, on board 36 riggers at a very great cost. What on earth 36 riggers could find to do he could not possibly tell; but, in his opinion, 36 riggers would be sufficient to send out to sea, at least, 30 or 40 ships. Therefore, the only conclusion he could arrive at with regard to these riggers was, that they were employed merely for the purpose of looking at each other, or, possibly, to play hide-and-seek on the vessel. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £20,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,536,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."—(*Mr. Gourley.*)

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he was not surprised that his hon. Friend (Mr. Gourley) had raised this question; or that, on the occasion of the *Victoria and Albert* requiring repairs, there should be the feeling expressed, which had been expressed by some of his hon. Friends, that instead of her being repaired a new yacht should be provided. No doubt there was some surprise in many quarters that advantage had not been taken of this opportunity to provide the Queen with a yacht which should be representative of the height which the shipbuilding art had reached in this country, and which should be worthy, in every respect, of the mercantile position of the country. He need hardly say that this view of the question was fully present to the mind of the Members of the Board of Admiralty when they came to the conclusion to repair the old yacht. It would have been a satisfaction to those who professionally advised the Admiralty to have had the opportunity of designing a new yacht for the Queen; but the Admiralty came to the conclusion that they ought to repair the old yacht, after the most thorough examination of the *Victoria and Albert* with her engines and boilers out, and on the deliberate advice of their professional advisers. Although she was an old ship, her defects were found to be so small, and the state of her hull was pronounced to be such, as to make it most desirable to repair her, instead of building a new yacht. It must be remembered by hon. Members of the Committee that the *Victoria and Albert* was an exceptionally fine vessel, and most suitable in every respect for the purpose to which she was devoted. Indeed, she was almost without a rival. She had a high speed and light draught; she was extremely easy at sea, and contained the spacious accommodation which was necessary for the Queen and her suite. In all these respects she was a perfectly suitable vessel for Her Majesty's Service; and it had been calculated that, after the repairs which were proposed to be made, she would be a good ship for 12 or 14 years to come. On the other hand, a new yacht of iron and steel, although more modern in its construction, might not combine all those advantages to such perfection. For one thing, the degree of sub-division which would be necessary to make a steel yacht safe would be incompatible with the large and spacious apartments which ought to be provided for Her Majesty. He was sure if the two conditions—namely, sub-division and large accommodation—were combined, the size and the cost of a new vessel would be extremely great. These were the considerations which had led the Admiralty, on the merits of the case, apart from the expense of a new yacht, to conclude it was desirable that the present yacht should be repaired. As to the question of expense, however, they were advised that a steel yacht, fulfilling the conditions necessary, would cost about £120,000 or £130,000, without the fittings and upholstery, which existed in the present yacht, and which, to a large extent, would be sacrificed, if any attempt were made to transfer them to a new ship. The repairs, which included a complete refit with new boilers, steam cylinders, and the addition of steam starting gear and general repair of engines, would cost £50,000. So much as to the cost of the repairs. They now came to the general question of the maintenance of the yacht. His hon. Friend (Mr. Gourley)—and, no doubt, other hon. Members—were of opinion that the present number of yachts, which had been maintained without any change for 20 or 30 years, was excessive—namely, two principal yachts and two tenders. As to the number, he had to say that, although the Admiralty did not share that view, it appeared to them that, when this yacht was completed, the second yacht, the *Osborne*, when not actually required by Her Majesty for her own use or that of Her Family, should be at the disposal of the Board of Admiralty. An arrangement of that kind had existed before, and he was authorized to say that Her Majesty concurred in its being now again adopted. Another matter which had been the subject of some criticism was the cost incurred annually in the maintenance of these yachts. His hon. Friend had gone over several points in connection with the *Victoria and Albert*. Undoubtedly, vessels of this kind were of a costly description, their boats and appurtenances, as well as the yachts themselves, being finished in a way which put them out of comparison with any other vessel. The hon. Gentleman had said something regarding the expenses in connection with the Royal Household; but the items to which he referred, as shown on page 236 of the Estimates, were the particulars of the expenditure incurred in 1881-2, and had nothing to do with the current year. They included some charges in connection with the entertainment of the young Princes on board the *Bacchante*, which necessitated extra expense to the officers of that ship. Then there were expenses in regard to the transit of the Royal carriages and horses to and from the Isle of Wight on their way to Scotland and back. These were not services that could be performed by these costly and elaborately-fitted yachts. Another item was that of allowances of ward-room officers of the *Osborne*. That allowance was a customary one, which was made whenever the officers were in attendance on the Queen or the Royal Family, on such occasions representative duties being cast upon them. The amount was only £1 9*s*. 7*d*. He was anxious not to detain the Committee; but with regard to this matter of the annual cost of the maintenance of these vessels, he had to say that he was sure that every Member of the Committee would wish that the yachts should be always maintained in such a condition as to be worthy of the use of Her Majesty, although it was possible that the work might be done at a less expenditure.

The existing practice had gone on for many years under successive Boards of Admiralty, and the present Board were of opinion that the charges should be reviewed, in order to ascertain whether or not they could be reduced. It was a question, for instance, whether the expenditure could not be reduced in the matter of docking the vessels. At present they were docked every year; and it was a question, while retaining the perfect seaworthiness of the vessels, whether they could not, to some extent, reduce the expense of the repairs. He was in a position to assure the Committee that the Queen was most desirous that no unnecessary expenditure should be allowed to take place in regard to these matters. That was the statement that he had to make to the Committee on this subject. He had given reasons why they preferred, on the whole, after much hesitation and deliberation, to continue the present yacht for 12 or 14 years, rather than to build a new one; and he had stated that when the *Osborne* was not absolutely required for the Royal use it would be at the disposal of the Admiralty. Further than that, he had stated they were about to institute an inquiry into the whole question of the expenditure on the yachts, in order to see if some substantial reduction was not possible. He did not know whether the statement he had made was satisfactory to his hon. Friend; but, at any rate, he could assure him that the course they had taken was the one they thought most consistent at once with the dignity of the Crown and the interests of the country.

Mr. CROPPER asked how many times the *Victoria and Albert* had been used in recent years? Was it not the fact that it had only been employed, on an average, four days a-year during the past 10 years?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that the vessel was maintained for the use of the Queen, and he did not think it would either be seemly or desirable to inquire how many times it might have been the pleasure of Her Majesty to use it. He had no information on the subject.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped, after the explanation given by the Secretary to the Admiralty, the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) would not think it necessary to divide the Committee. For his own part, he wished to express the satisfaction with which he had heard the hon. Member's statement. It appeared to him that the Admiralty had very fully considered all the bearings of the case. Speaking from his own knowledge, he could say that the question of a steel yacht had been under the consideration of the Staff of the Admiralty for years, and they did not think it an economical experiment to make to place a steel yacht at the service of Her Majesty in place of the *Victoria and Albert.* If they had taken an opposite view, a plan would have been prepared, and, no doubt, carried out. The cost would have been much greater than that which was now to be incurred by the Admiralty; and, after all, it was doubtful whether the accommodation would have been so great as that furnished by the *Victoria and Albert*, and whether the results would have been equally satisfactory. He was glad an assurance had been given that the present Board of Admiralty had determined to review the expenditure that had occurred during the last few years for the maintenance of these yachts. He was sure some substantial economy could be effected without, in the slightest degree, diminishing the accommodation which was made for Her Majesty. There had been a system of frequent docking, which was not useful or necessary, with regard to yachts maintained in the most perfect condition; and he had no doubt that a most substantial reduction could be effected. As to the *Osborne* being of public service generally whilst not in use by the Queen, the fact that the Board of Admiralty would make use of it would be of great advantage, as it would amount to this—that Her Majesty would have but one yacht, which would be maintained exclusively for her service, with the two tenders; whilst the *Osborne* would be retained for any service that the country might require.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he hoped that his hon. Friend would divide the Committee, for by so doing he would encourage the Admiralty to persevere in the good intentions which they would like so much to see carried out. He did not know that it had ever entered into their wishes that either this yacht should be preferred, or that a steel yacht should be built. He had been under the impression that Her Majesty possessed sufficient yachts without the *Victoria and Albert.* The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had said that it was unseemly and not desirable to ask how many times a yacht which was set apart for the service of the Queen had been used. Well, he (Mr. Labouchere) could not at all see that such an inquiry was unseemly. An hon. Member had asked how often the *Victoria and Albert* had been out during the past 10 years; and surely he, or any other hon. Member of the Committee, was at perfect liberty to put that question, to find out, if possible, whether the yacht had been required or not, for the only way of arriving at a settlement of the question of the utility of the vessel was to get at the number of times she had been out. Let them take a few figures from him upon this subject. During the past 10 years the *Victoria and Albert* had actually cost the country, including the £54,000 which it was now proposed to expend in repairs, £418,000, or nearly half a million of money. It had been ascertained that, during the past 10 years, the *Victoria and Albert* had been out 40 days. They knew that, practically, the *Victoria and Albert* had not been used during the whole of that time, as Her Majesty and the Government had been perfectly satisfied with the *Osborne* and its two tenders, and had not required that yacht. If he was not misinformed, the time of the officers serving on these Royal Yachts was reckoned as war service, and their scale of pay was better than that of the other officers of the Service. Well, these officers, it appeared to him, were just those who should not have that increased scale of pay. They did absolutely nothing, remaining the entire time in port. Only for four days in the year were they expected to go out —they hung about Southampton, having a good time of it; and because they had that enviable position, they were absolutely paid and promoted above the heads of the other officers of the Service. Such a thing was absolutely monstrous. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had said that if Her Majesty did not use the yacht it would be at the disposal of the Board of Admiralty. But what did the Admiralty want with another yacht? Surely they could move about on much cheaper terms than these? His hon. Friend might say it was not seemly to inquire as to how many times the Admiralty might use the yacht, or to inquire what the Admiralty might do. The Admiralty had the *Enchantress*—what were they going to do with that? Were they going to have two yachts? There had been a strong feeling displayed in the Press upon this subject. It was really felt, without any disrespect to Her Majesty, that these sums were excessive and wasteful. It was not considered at all necessary that the *Osborne*, which, by the way, had cost £344,000 during eight years, should have any other large sum spent upon her. It was felt that these enormous payments were not required for the dignity or comfort of Her Majesty. He did not believe that Her Majesty really required them; he believed they were relics of the past—relics of a bad system, and were merely maintained because there had always been this number of yachts. The Secretary to the Admiralty said the *Osborne* was one of the most perfect vessels in naval architecture, and seemingly it was to be kept up simply as a model of what yachts should be; but he could only say that gentlemen who knew a great deal about this yacht were of opinion that it was absolutely unseaworthy. Surely, hon. Members did not wish Her Majesty sent to sea in a vessel which, in a heavy sea, would stand a great chance of going down? He was sorry they were not able, on this Vote, not only to record a protest against the expenditure of this £50,000, but also to record a protest against the spending of £25,000 every year.

MR. D. JENKINS said, the First Lord of the Admiralty had experience in this matter, and he knew it was impossible to estimate the amount of these repairs. During the last Administration three times the amount of the Estimate had been spent. The hon. Member had referred to the yacht not being as risky as a steel yacht, on account of the divisions; but bulk-heads or divisions were not carried on right up to the main deck—therefore, they would not take away room from the cabins. He was of opinion that if they spent £50,000 on this yacht, even then they would not have a seaworthy vessel; and he questioned whether a ship, 25 years old, would be able to make a trip during the winter over the Bay of Biscay to the Straits of Gibraltar without going to the bottom. By all means, if they wanted a good yacht for Her Majesty let them build a new steel one, so that they would have good value for their money.

Mr. RYLANDS said he wished to call attention to a point which he thought was well worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. It was quite clear, from the Return, that the *Victoria and Albert* had hardly been used at all for Her Majesty during the last 10 years. It should be borne in mind, as an important fact, that the *Osborne* had been used on many more occasions than the *Victoria and Albert.* The *Osborne* had not been very frequently used; but it had been substantially used, evidently for the convenience of Her Majesty. The *Victoria and Albert* had practically not been used; and, that being so, why should it be repaired? They professed to have the interests of economy at heart. Why, then, should they spend £50,000 in repairing a yacht which was not used? Could there be any pretence why they should have this yacht for Her Majesty? The hon. Gentleman said that, when not in use by Her Majesty, the Admiralty would be able to avail themselves of it. But there had been no necessity shown for it so far as the Admiralty were concerned; and it seemed to him, therefore, that the case of the hon. Gentleman had entirely broken down. The *Osborne*, which was apparently now in good condition, was maintained for Her Majesty's use, and was being used by Her Majesty whenever she had occasion for its use, and, no doubt, would continue to be used. But the *Victoria and Albert*, during the last 10 years, had only been used, on an average, four days a-year. That being the case, why should they spend upon it such a large sum as was now proposed? If a Division were taken on this point he should certainly vote for the reduction of £20,000, as a protest against the country being called on, in a year when the expenditure was exceptionally high, to spend so much upon a vessel which was useless. It was not necessary to spend this money, and they ought not to be asked to charge the taxpayers so much for that which really had no practical value.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he hoped the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) would go to a Division upon this question. He had no doubt that the Secretary to the Admiralty had made as good a defence as it was possible to make out of the materials at his hand. But, to his mind, it was no defence for this wanton extravagance and waste of public money, the like of which was never heard in that House. It was perfectly amusing to Members below the Gangway on the Ministerial side to hear the ready manner in which hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench had echoed and re-echoed every excuse which had been put forth by hon. Gentlemen now sitting on the Ministerial Bench. One could quite understand that those who supported the Government in their expenditure on these yachts were mainly those who had themselves been on the Treasury Bench, and still would go. They had a lively regard for future difficulties in which they might be placed if they did not take a proper course upon this question. He had been very anxious to hear a word or two in support of the hon. Member for Sunderland's proposal from the Democratic Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), and also from the Radical Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who had been very attentive during this debate. He (Mr. Broadhurst) had been anxiously waiting for these financial reformers to give some assistance to those who opposed this Vote. He hoped a Division would be taken upon this question, and that the Motion would receive a large amount of support; so that, at any rate, if they could not stop the present waste of money in this direction, it might act as a warning in future years that this thing could not be trifled with, as it had been in the past. Before he sat down, he would remind the Secretary to the Admiralty that just before this interesting debate had commenced he had taken the liberty of saying something about fitters in the Dockyards, but had received no response.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he had thought it desirable to confine himself to the one part of the Vote on which the Motion was made. He should have another opportunity of speaking upon the subject to which the hon. Member alluded.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he thought that the offer of the Admiralty to use the Royal yacht *Osborne*, when not employed in the service of the Queen, really aggravated the matter. Surely the Committee had a right to object, if the Admiralty were going to house themselves in a floating palace. He objected to the view of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty that it was too much to ask whether this yacht had been used by Her Majesty more than, on an average, four times a-year during the past 10 years. It would have been, to his mind, much wiser and much more satisfactory if this information had been given in the Return. It would be a most extraordinary thing, if they were told there was no record of the number of days this vessel had been at sea. His hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) had made a calculation that the *Victoria and Albert* had had steam up about four times a-year; but they had no assurance, even then, that Her Majesty was on board. When it transpired that the yacht, upon which so much had been expended, and upon which they were asked to spend so much more, was only used on an average four or five days in the year, surely the House of Commons was entitled to come to the conclusion that the maintenance of this yacht was unnecessary and extravagant, and should be put a stop to. He felt confident that, by maintaining the *Osborne* in an efficient state of repair, everything that the Royal Family would require would be met. There was no justification for the maintenance of two yachts, when one would be quite sufficient for the Royal Family; and, as he had said, the statement that the yacht could be used by the Admiralty, when not required by the Queen, only aggravated the evil.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 40; Noes 113: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 204.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked for information as to the distinction made between the classes of men in the Dockyards in the matter of holidays?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that the difference in question arose from the fact that some of the men originally worked in the yards under private employers of labour, and contractors' men did not receive pay for holidays. When these men ceased to work under contractors, and were employed under the Works Department, they continued under the same conditions; and thus arose the inequality between them and the regular Dockyard workmen. He had every disposition to meet that grievance, because he thought the claim for holidays was a very fair one. The hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) had asked him for information as to the result of his visit to the Dockyards. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had gone to Devonport and Chatham, and his hon. Colleague near him (Sir Thomas Brassey) had gone to Portsmouth, where they had interviews with the men. They heard a statement of their case, and he was very much struck with the intelligence and fairness with which their case was stated. An elaborate account was taken of all that was said; and although he could not say they had been engaged in looking over it ever since, he assured the hon. and gallant Member that he had not been idle with respect to it during the seven months which had elapsed, and he hoped soon to announce the decision of the Department. With regard to the point raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), he understood and believed that the work of the shipwright, so-called, was no longer the pure carpentering work that it used to be; it was so mixed up and identified with that of the fitter that it would require a person with the skill of his hon. Friend to tell the Committee which was the shipwright and which was the fitter. At any rate, he apprehended that their work was very much alike, and that the two kinds of work greatly overlapped each other. They had arranged that the fitter apprentice should go for a period to work under a shipwright, and the shipwright apprentice under a fitter; and in that, he believed, they had pursued a judicious course. There was no privilege enjoyed by either over the other, the great desire being to put an end to a distinction which, in practice, no longer existed. He was not sure that this statement would be satisfactory to his hon. Friend; but it was the best he was able to make on this technical subject. He came now to the interesting statement of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), proposing a new scheme for the pay of Dockyard labourers. With regard to pensions being simply deferred pay, there was a fallacy in the statement of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. He himself was no great friend of the pension system; but the system existed in this country, and it must be worked. The hon. and learned Member said the pension was nothing but deferred pay, and that men were paid less wages because they had pensions to look forward to; and, therefore, he urged that what was called a pension should be given, not only to those who survived a certain number of years' service, but to everybody in proportion as he had earned it—to the man who retired before the end of his time, and to the representative of the man who died while in the Service. If that was to be given strictly as deferred pay, he should have no objection to it. This was what was called deferred pay in the Army; that if a man was paid at the rate of 20*s.* he should get only 18*s.*, and 2*s.* would be put to his credit with the Government, and the accumulation would be at his disposal. That was the Army system; but did the hon. and learned Member propose that every man should get, in the shape of deferred pay, as large an allowance as he now got in the shape of pension? That would be a proposal for a sort of tontine in which all members should get something. The principle upon which pensions were arranged was the supposition, not that every man was to reach a pensionable age, but that only a certain proportion would do so; and the hon. and learned Member's proposal would either enormously increase the charge upon this Vote for deferred pay—because everybody would share in the pensions, instead of only those who happened to survive; or if only the amount of the present Vote were divided among the men in the way he proposed, the result would be so small to each that it would not be very acceptable to them. If they were starting with a *tabula rasa* to erect a new scheme, he should be very much inclined to consider favourably some such plan as that suggested by the hon. Member; but to set it before the Committee in substitution for the pension system without any alteration either in the amount of money to be voted on the one hand, or, on the other hand, in the amount of money the individual men were to receive, impracticable both from the point of view of the House and of the workmen. Therefore, he was afraid he could not hold out any hope that the Government would adopt that system. Pension was not deferred pay; it was deferred pay treated in a certain way, and based on the chance of a man surviving. The hon. and learned Member seemed to wish that it should be a tontine, in which all the men were to get prizes; but he did not think that it would be feasible, although he agreed with the hon. and learned Member, in the main, that the present state of things was not satisfactory.

Mr. RYLANDS said, this Vote had continually increased during the last 12 years, until it was now nearly double what it was in 1870-1. In that year the Vote was £878,352; but now it was £1,556,858; and he had a very strong conviction that the country did not get anything like proportionate results for this enormously-increased expenditure. Did we get now, as the results of this expenditure, 50 or 100 per cent more than we got in 1870-1? The noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox) had recently called attention to the unsatisfactory state of the Navy; and although he did not agree with the noble Lord's conclusions, still he would quote the noble Lord to this extent—that, notwithstanding that we were spending twice as much now upon our Dockyards as we spent 10 or 12 years ago, we were not getting results in the proper proportion. But were we getting anything like proportionately-increased results, considering the increased expenditure? He challenged the Secretary to the Admiralty upon that, and believed the hon. Gentleman would have great difficulty in proving that we were. So far as the tonnage of vessels was concerned, he found, by the Returns laid before Parliament, that it was very little more than it was in 1870-1, when the expenditure was very much less. His impression was that it was in the nature of the old system of Dockyards, which were, of course, great manufacturing establishments, and were, or ought to be, carried on as private dockyards were, that there should be extravagant expenditure, and the employment of many more men than would be employed in private yards for the production of an equal amount of work. He should have been glad to support the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) if he had urged the Government not to make some change in the pension system, but to get rid of pensions altogether. For every 20*s.* paid as wages we paid 5*s.* as pension. That might be satisfactory to the men, but it was certainly not satisfactory to the taxpayers, and if he was correctly informed the Establishment men were not as good workmen as hired men were; and he did not believe we got as good work, or as much work, from the Establishment men as would satisfy a private shipbuilder. He observed that there was a comparison between the average cost per ton in the Dockyards and the average cost per ton by contract; and he found that while the cost in the former case for unarmoured vessels ran from £73 to £78, the cost for purchased vessels by contract was from £65 to £73. So that, in fact, there was a considerably lower charge per ton for vessels by contract than for vessels manufactured in our own Dockyards. It was only the old story, that Governments were the worst manufacturers in the world; they could not manufacture inexpensively. They were subject to influences to which private yards were not exposed. How would it be possible for a private manufactory to carry on business economically if exposed to constant pressure by Gentlemen in that House for the increase of wages? In every direction Governments were embarrassed by pressure put upon them from various motives to increase the expenditure in connection with their manufacturing operations. Yet there was no mystery in Dockyards. Their operations were spoken of as though they were different from the ordinary operations of shipyards; but they were not different, except that we put at the head of a Dockyard a gentleman who did not understand the business he was conducting. We kept him there three years, and just when he was becoming a little acquainted with the work we removed him. Speaking of dockyards as large manufacturing establishments, it was not necessary to have naval knowledge, and it was utterly impossible to carry on any business economically under the conditions under which our Dockyards were conducted. So it was with regard to a number of small articles of manufacture in the Dockyards. In the case of a great Vote of this kind, it would be a desirable thing if it could be referred to some body of men, either a Royal Commission or a Committee, for investigation. He believed that if means were taken to ascertain what were the facts connected with our manufacturing operations, the result would be the realization of considerable economy. At present the expenses of the Dockyards amounted to £1,500,000, and it was quite possible that there was absolutely wasted £300,000 or £400,000 a-year. His hon. Friend the Member for Stoke-on-Trent (Mr. Broadhurst) had estimated the waste at £500,000 sterling a-year. It must be borne in mind that year after year there were 1,000 or 2,000 tons of shipbuilding estimated for, but not completed; and yet we spent as much money as if they had been completed. The noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox) had alluded to the fact that during the last 10 years there had been 20,000 tons estimated for in the different annual Estimates of the Government, but not completed; and he (Mr. Rylands) saw that some absurd statements had been made in certain newspapers to the effect that the Admiralty, by some nefarious proceeding, had taken possession of the money. The truth was that the Estimates had been wrong. The Admiralty had expected that the appliances they had arranged would produce a certain amount of tonnage, whereas less tonnage had been produced. He only complained that while we produced less tonnage we did not spend less money. Now, if a great manufacturing concern produced less than it estimated, and if its expenses remained exactly the same, it was very likely indeed that bankruptcy would ensue. Although they might not at this moment be able to carry on the discussion in an exhaustive manner, he hoped the Committee and the Admiralty would take the affair into serious consideration, because when they talked about great economy in the management of the country, the greatest economy might be effected without lessening the efficiency of the defences of the country.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am sure we all desire to effect economy in the public expenditure, and I join heartily with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in a desire to effect any economy in the Dockyards that may be possible. But I am afraid that the true reason for the increase of this Vote is to be found in the enormously-increased cost of the instruments which are now admitted to be necessary for naval warfare; the ship itself, the armour, guns, fittings, and everything about a ship is very different from the ship of 12 years ago; indeed, there is very little by which we can compare one with the other. Now-a-days a ship of war is a vast piece of costly machinery, and even the form of a ship for the purposes of war is changed. Other countries and other Powers have furnished themselves with these tremendous engines; and it would be absolutely suicidal on the part of this country if we were not as well equipped, and even better equipped, than other Powers. If the House of Commons is not prepared to meet the absolute necessity of the case in providing the best material that can be provided for a ship of war, then I say the proper course to take is at once to abolish our Navy, and give out to the world that we are not prepared to hold the position of the greatest Maritime Power which we have hitherto held. That, of course, is out of the question. What we have to see is that the funds of Parliament are properly and economically applied, in order to produce the best possible results according to the light, and intelligence, skill which we possess at the present time. I regret we have come to discuss, at 10 minutes to 1 o'clock, the most important Vote which, I think, has to be submitted to Parliament during the whole course of the year. It is deplorable that no time could be found for the proper investigation of matters of this high importance, excepting in the small hours of the morning, when very few Members are present. Now, Sir, we have had already some discussion upon the policy of the Government and the policy of the Admiralty as to the amount of provision which should be made, and as to the way in which the funds are appropriated. I am, however, bound to repeat a Question which I put to my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) on a recent occasion. I wish to know what the policy of the Government is with regard to the ships which are intended to be used, and on which the country must rely in case of war, and which are awaiting repair in the Dockyards? I have insisted on more than one occasion that if a ship were not intended to be used the sooner she is struck off the list the better. We ought not to rely upon that which is a mere phantom, or, at least, a mere "paper ship;" and I say that that is a mere "paper ship" which is incapable of moving out of a Dockyard and taking her place in our line-of-battle Fleet. There are many such ships in the Dockyards at the present moment. Of the iron-clads there are the *Black Prince*, the *Iron Duke*, the *Resistance*, and the *Triumph*. Then there are other ships which, though not yet out of commission, are in a very bad state, and will require considerable repair. For instance, there is the *Warrior*, and there is a large number of unarmoured ships in the same condition. I have no doubt I shall be told by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty that if those ships were taken in and repaired it would interfere with the shipbuilding programme which the Admiralty have laid down. I maintain that it would lead to economy, and that it would be no more than the discharge of their duty on the part of the Admiralty, if they intend to repair these ships, to do so at once. No one charged with the responsibility of maintaining the Fleet, no one charged with the serious responsibility of attending to the defence of this country, ought to allow those ships to remain a single week in the Dockyards unrepaired if they have the means of taking them in hand and of causing them to be repaired. I maintain, Sir, that the responsibility of the Admiralty and the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government in maintaining a force which ought to be available in case of sudden emergency is a very grave and serious responsibility; and it must be remembered that the ships now unarmoured could not be made available for many months after they might be taken in hand. Of unarmoured ships there are many awaiting repair. We are told that they are too large to place in line-of-battle; that they are not now battle ships, but are only cruisers; that they carry a very large number of men; and that, therefore, it is not desirable to expose them to the risk which would be involved in an engagement. They are, however, exceedingly fine ships, and it is intended to repair them at some time or other. It must, however, be remembered that they are deteriorating every day because they are not repaired. I believe they could be made most serviceable as training ships, and most valuable ships would they be for a Fleet to possess in time of peace. The policy I would recommend is that ships of this kind should be used in times of peace, and that ships of the fighting class, which are exceedingly costly, should be used as little as possible, but should be held in reserve in case of war whenever it should unfortunately arise. The *Inconstant*, the *Raleigh*, and vessels of that class cannot be excelled as training and cruising ships. They offer every facility for qualifying both officers and blue-jackets for the discharge of their duties. But ships like the *Inflexible* and the *Thunderer* have cost enormous sums of money; and so long as they are kept in commission they are deteriorating every day, and when they require repair the country will be put to very great expense, and will have to submit to very great delay. I would strongly advise the Admiralty to take the best possible care they can of our powerful fighting ships, and to use in times of peace all the unarmoured ships that are available. Then there comes a question which is of still greater moment—namely, the strength really required for Her Majesty's Fleet. In "another place" the First Lord of the Admiralty expressed a view which I am sure is shared by all his Colleagues, and which Her Majesty's Government, as a Government, must maintain; and that is, that the English Fleet must be superior to any other Fleet, and be ready to discharge any duty it may be called on to discharge. I take it for granted that that is the view which the House of Commons will not only accept, but will insist upon. What are the duties which the English Fleet is called upon to discharge? The English Fleet is, I would first say, dispersed all over the world. We must have a squadron in the North American Seas, another in the Pacific, another in China, a third in the East Indies, a fourth on the East and West Coast of Africa, a fifth at the Cape of Good Hope, and a sixth in the Australian Seas. Now, Sir, in considering the strength that is required in time of war, you have first of all to consider what will be required on these stations. After that, you have to consider what strength you will require for the Fleet in the Mediterranean, the Channel Fleet, the Reserve Fleet, and to supply the casualties that war would be certain to bring about, and for coast defence, and you have to consider what strength you require in the way of cruisers for the defence of our commerce. After carefully considering these matters, desirous of leaving full responsibility upon Her Majesty's Government, and with every wish to give every support and assistance to Her Majesty's Government in the course they have felt themselves bound to adopt, I say I am obliged, looking at the progress made during the last few years by Foreign Navies, and at the strength at which they have arrived, to state that our strength at the present moment is not adequate to the duties which may be required of it. I say this with the greatest possible reluctance, and I say it with regret; but I say it because I feel I have a responsibility in this House, sharing that responsibility with right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that silence on my part would be a great neglect of public duty. It is in discharge of a public duty that I now express the belief and the strong feeling that the force which we possess is not adequate to the responsibilities which attach to this country, and not adequate to the safety of the country, having regard to the great development of the force which has occurred within the last three or four years on the Continent of Europe. I will say no more on this point. The responsibility for the course which will be taken must rest with Her Majesty's Government alone; but I do feel this—that that responsibility is a very great and a very serious one. Hon. Gentlemen opposite will, perhaps, complain that if our Naval Force is to be developed the Estimates will have to be increased, and in answer to that I would say that the Estimates certainly must increase, unless some other means can be found for providing the materials and the ships for the defence of the country and the assertion of its position and rights, and for the protection of the vast commerce of this country on the high seas. Decidedly increased Estimates will be necessary unless other means can be found to supply ships for this purpose. I do not see how it is possible to reduce the charges in regard to the Navy in order to increase this Shipbuilding Vote. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) suggested that more contract work should be undertaken, and I cordially agree with him. I think great advantage would in every respect be derived by the Public Service if a larger amount of this work were given out than has been given out during the last few years. It is not merely on the ground of economy that I recommend this; but it is because I believe that good work could be done in private yards, and because I believe we have great resources that ought to be availed of in this country. In a matter of emergency, no doubt, the experience obtained in building war ships in private yards would be of great service to the public interest. I have no doubt I shall be told that in the event of our being engaged in war we have great resources in the Merchant Navy. Well, if it were not so, our position would, indeed, be very serious. We have a very great Merchant Navy; but we cannot rely wholly upon that resource. It is one upon which I and my Colleagues in the previous Administration counted, and for which provision had been made. It would take, however, some months to equip the merchant ships that would be required for the protection of the commerce of the country, if war overtook us and should come suddenly upon us without much notice. These merchant ships would be available for the protection of the commerce as against other ships of a like character; but they would not be of the slightest value against armoured ships or protected cruisers, or against any of the war ships that might be brought against us by Foreign Powers. I, therefore, feel most strongly that further provision than that which has been made is necessary under the present circumstances of defence and the increased armaments of Europe, and I trust Her Majesty's Government will see their way to make that provision. Probably the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) will be able to answer the question that I have addressed to him with regard to the supply of armoured and unarmoured ships, and I will reserve until another opportunity any further observations that I might wish to make upon this Vote.

Mr. PULESTON said, the argument of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) practically came to this—that they should close the Dockyards altogether. The hon. Member would surely not venture to suggest that they should maintain all the property and material they had in the Dockyards, keeping them and the workmen idle whilst they got their naval work done by contract. In addition to the cause already stated to the Committee for that addition, it might be mentioned that 12 years ago there had been very little work, comparatively speaking, in the Dockyards, and that a great deal had been done in the private yards. It had since, he was glad to say, been found to be to the interest of the Public Service that the Dockyards should be employed instead of lying idle, and from that time to this they had had nearly their full complement of work. In order to explain the figures which were put down for the large increase, they must put against them the lesser amount paid to private yards, and then they would see that the Dockyard Vote, as now presented, did entail an increase on the general expenditure. Did the hon. Member for Burnley know the amount of capital and stock-in-trade they had in the Dockyards? Would he not allow that it was better that the Dockyards should be fully occupied than that they should be idle, just as it was better that the hon. Member's manufactory should be working instead of standing still?

Mr. RYLANDS said, if he could buy cheaper than he could make he should be content to keep his place standing.

Mr. PULESTON said, the Government had come to the conclusion that they could not buy cheaper than they could make. Reference had been made to the pensions which were granted to the Dockyard servants, and they were referred to as a dead weight when the Government put their naval work out to contract. He had argued that the words "dead weight" were hardly such as could be applied to pensions. His argument had been that these pensions were really not a burden, because the amount they cost was practically saved in the decrease which they brought about in wages. The Government paid so much less to the men, because they subsequently gave them pensions, than was paid to men in the private yards of private contractors. The pensions paid by the Government were not, therefore, a dead weight in the aggregate, because we paid no more than the private shipbuilders paid for having our work well done. One reason why they should give the Dockyard labourer full work was because in time of emergency we could not always depend upon private yards, and it was necessary, in order to depend upon their services, that they should be fully employed. There was one other remark of the hon. Member for Burnley he should like to refer to, and that was that the serious charge with regard to men on the Establishment should be reduced, because they did their work less efficiently than they should do. If the hon. Member would allow him to say so—and the Secretary to the Admiralty would bear him out fully—no class of men had worked more efficiently than the men on the Establishment in the Dockyard. The experience of every Lord and Secretary to the Admiralty, and every Member who had had experience of Dockyard constituencies and of shipbuilding in private yards, was that the established men of the Royal Dockyards turned out work second to none in the country. No doubt, the hon. Member would admit that he had made rather too sweeping a charge against a body of men who deserved well of their country.

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, he obtained a Return some time ago, showing the Naval Expenditure year by year for the last 20 years; and from that Return he found that less was being spent on the Effective Service of the Navy than was the case 20 years ago, notwithstanding the great and costly improvements that had taken place in the meantime. When the Secretary to the Admiralty introduced the Estimates, he told the Committee the Government were going to expend £2,750,000 on the direct Effective Force of the Navy; but he (Sir Massey Lopes) confessed that that seemed to him but a trivial sum. Though comparisons were odious, and it was not politic to be always comparing ourselves with other nations, it was unwise to live in a fool's paradise, not attempting to see our position clearly. He admitted that gun for gun our Navy was quite as strong, and perhaps stronger, than that of many other countries; but it should be borne in mind the duties and responsibilities of our Navy were vastly greater than any other Navy; and, therefore, a comparison of figures merely was no comparison at all. The Secretary to the Admiralty said he deprecated international naval rivalries, and there might be truth in that; but, bearing in mind that France had set the example, it would be most dangerous, when France or any other country was making an unusually large Naval Expenditure, if we did not do our best to bring ourselves into competition with them. The Secretary to the Admiralty, when he introduced the Estimates, told the Committee that this year would give an actual increase of £130,000, and he thought it necessary to express regret that this application had been made to Parliament; and he said it was only after careful deliberation it had been resolved upon; but such a small increase needed no such apology. The House and the country would willingly give a much larger sum if the Admiralty gave its opinion that such was absolutely necessary. The comparative strength of our Navy was not to be estimated by the number of ships, but by the duties and responsibilities those ships had to undertake. If we compared our merchant shipping with that of other countries, it would be found that Great Britain owned 22,500,000 tons of shipping; France, with a Navy equal to ours, 3,650,000 tons; Italy, 4,500,000; Germany, 3,400,000; and Russia, 2,000,000 tons. Great Britain carried more than half of the commerce of the whole world; and last year, out of 7,000,000 tons which formed the sea trade of the world — 4,000,000 tons sailed under the British flag. That showed how absolutely necessary was our naval strength for the security of our commerce; and though the cost of our Navy was considerable, we must bear in mind the vast interests we had at stake, that the amount of the premium was comparatively small, and that the increase in our Navy had not at all gone on in proportion to the increase in our wealth and population.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, right hon. Gentlemen had put forward their views with great gravity and circumstance; but he hoped they would not be guilty of the inconsistency of denouncing the Government out-of-doors for the increase of expenditure, while indoors they were engaged in forcing expenditure upon the Government.

SIR JOHN HAY said, the hon. Member must have paid but slight attention to what had been said by his right hon. Friends out-of-doors if he had not heard them for the last two years urging—cautiously, perhaps—but still urging on the Government, the necessity for increasing our Naval expenditure, more cautiously, perhaps, than he (Sir John Hay) had, as befitting their greater responsibility. But they had both urged upon the Government the necessity of watching carefully the increase in the naval strength of Foreign Powers, ever taking care that that strength did not exceed ours. At the present moment, the expenditure on the Effective Service of the Navy was lower than it had been for many years. The Return the hon. Gentleman had placed on the Table showed that the cost of the Effective Service just now was £8,549,300; in 1861, it was £10,735,000; in 1877, it was £10,433,000; in 1878, £9,000,000; in 1879, it was £8,098,000; and last year it was £8,725,000; while this year it was £8,549,000. When it was known that the expenditure in a neighbouring country, which he trusted would continue our friend, was double in shipbuilding items, according to the French Estimates, surely it was time we should awaken from our lethargy and increase the number of our ships to our requirements. Our Dockyards were sufficient, no doubt, to maintain the repair of our Fleet, but not, at the same time, to complete the building of the Fleet. The Secretary to the Admiralty would, no doubt, reply as to details which had been raised; but, before he did so, he (Sir John Hay) would like to ask whether the *Defence* was one of the ships he considered efficient for public service, and in what state were the *Bellerophon*, *Black Prince*, *Resistance*, and other ships named by the hon. Gentleman? At the time when our iron-clad Fleet was first established, it was considered by the House desirable to encourage private trade in the building of iron-clad ships, and down to 1869-70 a large proportion of the iron-clad ships of this country were built by private trade. On the Clyde, on the Mersey, the Tyne, the Thames, at Hull, at Belfast, we could build 12 iron-clads, if we desired to do so, and only one was being built by contract. It would be no such great expenditure to lay down 12, and if the contract was to build a certain number at a certain rate of progress, they would be approaching completion, and in the event of necessity they could be hurried on to completion. Until something of this kind was done, the country would be in the defenceless condition described by his right hon. Friend the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith). This country was not spending sufficient in shipbuilding; and he believed that until some arrangement was made with our Colonies—which they were themselves ready to enter into — for assisting in the construction or manning of ships under certain regulations, it would be perfectly impossible to protect our enormous trade alluded to by his hon. Friend (Sir Massey Lopes). He would not detain the Committee at such a late hour; but this was a matter of serious importance to the country. The Chairman very properly would not allow the Committee to travel into affairs in Madagascar; and he would only say that there were events occurring in various parts of the world which behoved us to keep our eyes open, and not to live in a state of false security.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, before the hon. Gentleman replied, he would like to ask what guns would be supplied to the *Benbow*?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, it had been decided to supply the *Benbow* with two 100-ton guns of the same pattern as those tried by the Elswick firm—not the identical guns, but guns of that principle and type. He was somewhat surprised at the discussion which had taken place, because there was a full discussion, or at least a very long one, on the 7th May, on the general question of the shipbuilding policy of the Government and the state of the Navy, in which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) took part, and yet he then expressed nothing of that alarm he had now expressed. He was never more surprised than to hear the right hon. Gentleman come forward as the advocate of a largely-increased Naval Expenditure. He was not there to object to encouragement to spend more money in building ships, for the Admiralty could not object to the opportunity of such expenditure. The right hon. Gentleman said, not what was said by the gallant Admiral, that we should be in a woeful plight in 1885, when the French had completed their programme. As to our position in that year, they had on a previous occasion stated their opinion, and his hon. Friend (Sir Thomas Brassey) had given facts and figures to combat the view taken. But the right hon. Gentleman now went further and said, not in reference to what it would be in 1885, but at the present moment, our Fleet was inadequate. If it was not adequate, where was the responsibility? By the vessels which the present Admiralty had laid down, they could not have added a single ship to the Navy during the time the present Government had been in Office; and if there was any deficiency in the iron-clads of to-day it was not due to any neglect of the present Government, but because the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends did not make sufficient provision five years ago. There was nothing he disliked more than recriminations between two Administrations, and he tried to avoid the profitless *tu quoque* argument; but, as a matter of fact, while they were told they were not building enough, he had showed, when he introduced the Estimates, that the Admiralty were gradually, tentatively, and prudently increasing the amount of iron-clad tonnage they proposed to construct, not suddenly increasing expenditure, but gradually and substantially adding to their strength. Last year the figures were 11,466 tons; this year the amount was 12,281 tons; in 1881 it was 9,235 tons, and, coming to the last year the right hon. Gentleman was in Office—1880—it was only 7,387 tons. He was, therefore, greatly surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should come forward, not to say, as he might have said, that 1885 would find this country in a bad plight because shipbuilding had been neglected, but that our Navy was not adequate at the present moment. He was not finding fault with what the right hon. Gentleman had done in the past; but when the statement was made that such a state of things existed, and that the present Government were responsible for it, when the right hon. Gentleman gave the weight of his authority and experience to such a statement, and his Colleague agreed with him, then he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was compelled to give some sort of statement in reply to re-assure the Committee, and to show that the country was not in such an altogether bad position. Without going into the question of classes of ships, or of the time when those in construction would be built, and without going into the merits of ships included in the Navies of other countries—all of which may be matters of controversy—he would say that we had 25 iron-clad ships in commission, and eight in the First Reserve—a total of 33; and, taking four of the Great Powers of Europe together, the total was 34, so that we were within one of the total number of iron-clad ships that could be put on the sea by the four Great Powers—France, Russia, Italy, and Germany; and this would show there was no ground for the sudden alarm exhibited by his right hon. Friend. He was especially astonished at the remarks about the strength of the French Navy. His right hon. Friend was not so much alarmed a few weeks ago, when the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) made his statement, and he seemed then to take a calmer view of the case; but something must have happened since to occasion his unusual alarmist mood. It was necessary, at all events, to point out that, if the Navy was in so inefficient a condition at the present time, it was not from any remissness of Her Majesty's present Government. The right hon. and gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay) proposed that the building of 12 iron-clads should be at once commenced by contract in as many shipbuilding yards; it was no great affair, he said, for much need not be done to them in the current year. Now, that was a plan which, when adopted by Foreign Governments, had a most imposing effect in speeches in the House; and if he wished to make a great impression in the French, Italian, or German Assembly, he should make contracts for 20 such ships, with very little progress to be made on them in each year, for they would all probably be quoted as effective ships of a most formidable kind. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman said—"Let them be laid down, but do very little to them." Now, he confessed he was a mere tyro in such matters; but he had already learned that the maxim to follow was—"When you begin, finish as fast as you can." And again and again had he been called upon to defend delay in the finishing of ships, and sometimes he found difficulty in justifying it. But why should the Admiralty, with their eyes open, rush into the very mistake which was said to be the most fatal that could be made in shipbuilding? One thing which the hon. Baronet (Sir Massey Lopes) said he wished to correct; the Return he quoted from was not the corrected Return, and was not quite accurate; the correction had been laid on the Table, but, perhaps, had not yet been distributed. The last two years were not completed years, only estimated sums, and did not include extra receipts. Of course, the whole sum, including the amount of the extra receipts, was spent on the Effective Service; so that the Return as originally presented was misleading. It had now been put right. Then his hon. Friend said last year less tonnage by 1,500 tons was built; he quoted the figures, and said the money was spent otherwise. But the reason, as had been fully explained, was that the "tons" cost a great deal more than was expected; the money was all honestly spent upon the ships; but the result was not so great as was expected. As to what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) said about repairing ships, in theory it was right enough; he quite admitted that ships ought to be repaired as soon as possible, and that in times of peace certain classes of ships should be used to save the wear and tear of expensive iron-clads; but it was not always possible to carry out the theory. With regard to the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance,* the Admiralty had not yet determined what should be done with them; if the decision had been arrived at, it would have been provided for in this year's Estimates. There was an opportunity, if it was thought worth while, of converting them into useful efficient ships at a probable expenditure of over £100,000; but there were other ships the Naval Advisers of the Admiralty put before them, and the question was for a time in abeyance. In the preparation of next year's Estimates, it would be the duty of the Admiralty to consider whether these ships should be taken in hand. The repairs to the *Iron Duke* were in hand, and would be well advanced this year. This was a case in which, contrary to the usual experience, the cost would fall below the Estimate. The *Thunderer* repairs were nearly, if not entirely, completed at Malta. The *Triumph* would be repaired at Portsmouth. The masts of the *Warrior* had proved faulty, and, for the moment, she would not be taken in hand; the *Raleigh* would be completed. With regard to the *Defence,* the scientific opinion was that her boilers could be worked at a pressure of 15 instead of 30, and the diminution in speed did not correspond to the diminution in power. The *Bacchante* would be completed this year.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, of course, when he spoke of shipbuilding, he was quite aware that it took five years to build an iron-clad, and he referred especially to progress which was being made elsewhere. He did not wish to do so in any invidious form; but it would have been a great neglect of duty on his part, if he did not seek to convey to the Government that progress in Foreign Navies was so considerable that it became the duty of the Government to take further steps in regard to the Fleet. He made no charge or complaint against the Government, so far as our Fleet was concerned. Anyone with experience knew that it took five or six years to build an effective iron-clad; and, that being so, the responsibility was the greater, and the more important was it that steps should be taken in sufficient time to meet any emergency that might arise. The Secretary to the Admiralty had referred to the tonnage under the late Administration; but had said that there would be no advantage in entering into recriminations. He might answer that by further references; but all he wished to say was that he made no complaint whatever, but simply wished to impress upon the Government, as he did in May last, the responsibility that remained with them, and to express the opinion which had been growing in his mind that it was essential for the security of the country that further additions to the Fleet should be made.

Mr. BIGGAR said, before the Vote passed, he would once more draw the attention of the Admiralty to the claims of his friend John Clare. He would not go into the merits of the case, but would merely point out this. By the decision of the Grand Committee on the question of Patents, it was provided that where a patent was used by the Crown, the Crown should investigate the claims of the patentee, and give the compensation which was thought right; and all he asked was that that principle, to which the Government assented, should be applied to the case of Mr. Clare. No doubt, the Government had had that gentleman's plans and drawings. Then let him bring forward proofs of his claim, and let the claim be investigated and decided on its merits by an impartial tribunal, not an outside tribunal. His former contention was for a Select Committee; but all he asked now was that the Government should decide upon the principle laid down by themselves for all patents generally.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he thought the case of Mr. John Clare was practically dead. He was not at all sure that the proposal of the hon. Member for Cavan would be feasible, that legislation now proposed in regard to patents should be made retrospective; and that all parties who might think that their rights had been infringed, or their patents adopted by the Crown for many years back, should be entitled to all the benefits of the Act on the opinion of an outside tribunal.

MR. BIGGAR said, no; not an outside tribunal; he only asked that the Admiralty should investigate the claim.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the case had been so often investigated by successive Boards of Admiralty, and so often the subject of discussion in the House, that further investigation would add nothing to it. A Judge in a Court of Law, too, had made some strong observations upon the subject—in words which he could not at the moment quote—and he was in hopes, as he said last year, that Mr. Clare was satisfied, because that gentleman had sent no more letters. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) said then that, if that was his way of thinking, probably more letters would be sent; but he had been spared that hitherto, and as Mr. Clare had allowed the matter to sleep so long, he really thought he might be excused for declining to re-open it.

MR. BIGGAR said, he had saved the hon. Gentleman from any more of Mr. Clare's letters. He had brought the case before the House so repeatedly in former times that he would not trouble the Committee with details. But he had never heard the Representative of the Admiralty declare that he personally had investigated the merits of the case; it was always said someone else, on a former occasion, had done so, and that he believed Mr. John Clare had no case. All he asked now was, that the hon. Gentleman should himself investigate the case. Mr. Clare would probably be satisfied with that, and investigation on the merits of the case, not by an outside tribunal, but by officials of the Admiralty.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he did not think he went through the whole of the case himself, and, therefore, would express no opinion; but throughout the voluminous Papers he had seen pencil annotations in the handwriting of his Predecessor, and he could, therefore, safely say that it had been investigated. He would promise to look through the Papers again; but he must ask the hon. Member to ask Mr. Clare not to send any more of them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(6.) £71,000, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(7.) £64,900, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

MR. BIGGAR thought it was desirable the Chairman should now report Progress.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, the remaining Votes were not of a contentious character, and more might well be taken. If not, then it was probable Navy Estimates would not again be heard of until the end of the Session approached.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £22,300, Marine Divisions.

(9.) £1,062,500, Sec. 1, Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether the hon. Gentleman really wished to take that Vote that night?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, it was desirable to take as many as possible for the reasons he had stated. Probably if Votes were postponed they would, under the pressure of Business, be put off to a late period of the Session.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the items under Sub-head "B" required a little explanation. There would seem to be a decrease in metals of £63,500.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the decrease referred to was only apparent, as, on reference to page 115 of the Navy Estimates, it would be seen that a sum of £21,700 for electric light apparatus had been transferred from Sub-head "B" to a new Sub-head, "F." A saving in prices was expected to the extent of £29,000 under Metals; and, in addition, they had commenced the year with a better stock of the articles provided for in this sub-head. He might say this Vote, generally, was carefully gone into, and all the items were thoroughly examined.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he trusted the armour for the ships would be ready, whether paid for this year or not. He could understand that the time for payment might not have arrived; but the programme could not be fulfilled unless the supply of armour was kept up.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, it had been very carefully considered.

Sir JOHN HAY said, if this £63,500 were carried over to next year, and if more rapid progress were to be made with the ships, there would be a swelling of next year's Estimates under this head.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, there was always an overlapping of one year on to another.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, there had been some delay in the mounting of the 6-inch guns. Had the pattern for the carriages of these guns been decided?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that it had not been finally decided.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he would make this the subject of a Question later on.

Sir JOHN HAY said, he should like to know when the *Benbow* would be completed?

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, nothing had been set down for torpedo boats, either first or second-class. Were the Admiralty satisfied that past Estimates under this head were sufficient as compared with Foreign Powers?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the contract for the *Benbow* was that she should be delivered in October, 1885, and launched in January of that year. It was found a few days ago that the contractors were a little behind time; but it was not supposed this would seriously delay her completion. She would be fitted at the Dockyard in the year following her contract date of delivery.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, there were no Estimates for new torpedo boats. Those estimated for last year were being completed.

Vote *agreed to*.

(10.) Sec. 2. Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,052,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Machinery and Ships built by Contract, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

Mr. WARTON said, the Chairman really ought now to report Progress. Votes were being passed without consideration at the rate of £1,000,000 every two minutes.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, most of the Votes had already been the subject of discussion, and there was nothing debatable left. Members interested were present, and if the Votes were not taken now they would probably have to be relegated to a late period of the Session.

Sir JOHN HAY said, a long discussion was likely to arise on the next Vote but one (Martial Law, &c.); and after hon. and gallant Members had waited so long it would be hardly fair to enter on a discussion that must take up a considerable time.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, probably there would be no discussion upon the next Vote (New Works, &c.). It might be sufficient to take the Votes up to that, and then report Progress.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, it had been agreed to postpone the Vote which had relation to the working of the Contagious Diseases Acts, in order that any discussion on that subject might be taken upon the analogous Army Vote. He would suggest that they should also postpone the following Vote (Martial Law, &c.), and take the others.

Captain MAXWELL-HERON said, this would be convenient. It would be his duty to call the attention of the Committee to a question affecting the character of a relative of his, and it was desirable that he should do so at a time when his remarks could be made public.

Mr. PULESTON asked why should discussion in reference to the Contagious Diseases Acts be now avoided?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, an undertaking had been given by the Prime Minister to that effect.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £462,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he would like to have some information as to the completion of the works at Chatham, and also what steps the Admiralty were taking as to the extensions at Portsmouth. There was a great deal of work to be done yet, and a Vote was before the Committee for barracks for the convicts to be engaged there. Was it proposed to finish that work before the convicts were removed?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, it was so intended, and the work would be carried forward with all possible despatch. He agreed it was most undesirable to keep such work hanging on.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he also desired to know if the works at Keyham would be proceeded with vigorously? With regard to works at Malta also, he desired to put a similar question. There was some question as to the particular site, and he understood the Admiralty had sent out an officer to determine where it should be. There was no work more important to the Public Service than the Docks there; and he would urge on the Admiralty the importance of coming to a determination, and proceeding with the work vigorously.

Captain PRICE said, his right hon. Friend had anticipated him with a question in reference to Keyham Yard. Would it not be possible to push forward that work a little more rapidly? The works had now got to such a point in the building that with a little augmentation of the grant the work might be finished in a few months. Then, he would like to ask about the extensions at Haulbowline. The House was given to understand they would be completed by this time; but there was a Vote for £30,000 this year, and a note indicated that a further Estimate for completing the work was under revision. What was the meaning of that? Were the works to be still further extended? There was certainly an impression two or three years ago that the works by this time would be completed.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, no doubt there had been delay in the completion of the barracks at Keyham, the principal cause of which was the death of the contractor. There was no probability of their being completed until next year. With regard to the Dock at Malta, the Admiralty had had the question seriously before them, and he had accompanied the Director of Works and his Colleague last winter, when a site was selected. But since that time representations had been made by the officer of the Royal Engineers with reference to the exposure of the site to the fire of an enemy outside, and it had been thought prudent to examine another site adjacent to the Somerset Dock. The matter was now ripe for decision, and the work would be proceeded with vigorously. The delay in the works at Haulbowline arose out of the difficulty of employing convict labour. Reliance was placed upon obtaining a larger number of convicts than were actually obtained. Quite recently it had been decided to remove the convicts altogether from Haulbowline. The Admiralty were anxious to expedite the works. The removal of the convicts would necessitate a supplementary appropriation of about £4,000, in addition to the £30,000 provided in the Estimates, in order to supply free labour, in lieu of the convict labour withdrawn. He anticipated the work would occupy two years more before the Dock would be fit for use. Certain engineering difficulties had been encountered, which were not anticipated when the work was undertaken.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, the time had now arrived when, after a long Sitting, the Chairman should report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he thought that it was understood that, with the exception of the Votes mentioned earlier, the remaining Votes should be taken. The "Half Pay"

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, the noble Marquess was under a misapprehension. The Boards of Governors were not touched by the Bill in any way. The Central Authority under the Bill was the Local Government Board; but the Bill did not interfere with the Boards of Governors at all.

Motion *agreed to;* Order *discharged,* and Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING (FISHING BOATS) BILL.—(No. 144.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD SUDELEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to carry out the recommendations of the Committee appointed last year by the Board of Trade to report upon the Sea Fishing Trade. The fishing trade of this Kingdom was very extensive, and gave employment to a sea population of about 95,000 men and boys. During the last few years there had been an enormous development of trawler fishing, of which the principal stations at present were Hull, Grimsby, and Yarmouth. The Bill related principally to this class of fishings, since, owing to the size of vessels and the length of time trawlers were usually at sea, an increased stringency in the regulations was necessary. The drift net fishing, although a most important industry, was chiefly confined to certain localities, and the boats were small and seldom absent from port for more than 24 hours altogether. The great facilities afforded by the railways for the rapid distribution of fish throughout the country had tended to enhance the demand for this important article of food. Indeed, everything pointed to the fishing trade becoming more and more extended, so that due provision should be made for the good government of those engaged in it. Docks and accommodation for landing had been provided; but it was stated in the Report of the Committee that—

> "The only drawback to the progress of this industry, so beneficial to the general public, appeared in the unsatisfactory relations existing betwixt the owners and crews of some of the vessels."

It was proposed to remedy these grievances by the present Bill, of which the chief points were as follows—Apprenticeships and agreements with young boys, discipline of the seamen employed, certificates made compulsory on the skippers, easy method of settling disputes between skippers and seamen, and reports to be made of all casualties. Since the Payment of Wages Act of 1880 was passed there had been a great falling-off in the number and conduct of the apprentices. They had been able to cancel their indentures and evade their obligations to a very great extent by deserting or refusing to join their vessels; and there could be no doubt that this had been the cause of serious annoyance and loss to the owners. Under the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854 there was no limit of age under which a lad could be apprenticed; and instances constantly occurred of boys, at the early age of 10 and 11, binding themselves, and being sold or bound by others, for the long period of 10 years as apprentices, without the intervention of any person to see that they understood the conditions they subscribed to, or to see that the master's part of the agreement was fairly carried out. This had resulted in grave discontent among the apprentices, especially in cases where the indentures contained no stipulation as to any money payment being made by the master. Under the present Bill it was proposed that no lad should be indentured before he was 13 years old, or for a longer period than seven years. The master was to be held responsible for the lodging and food of the lad, and the indenture must enumerate the whole of the conditions the parties thereto had to carry out. The Mercantile Marine Superintendent, or a Board of Trade officer, must in future be a party to the indenture, with power to act as guardian and protector of the lad, and the selling of boys to the Service for the sake of illegitimate profit was made penal. The next most important feature of the Bill was that portion which related to discipline. Unfortunately, owing to doubts concerning the effect of the Act of 1880 upon Section 243 of the Act of 1854, great differences had arisen among the magistrates at the several ports. By the Act of 1880 the power of arrest without warrant for desertion or failure to join the ship were repealed. It further abolished the power of imprisonment for the same offences, though it left in full force that portion of the previous legislation on the subject relating to forfeiture of clothes and effects. It also left in force the power of imprisoning seamen for wilful disobedience to lawful command; but, unfortunately, this had been entirely misinterpreted by many of the magistrates at these ports, and had not been carried out. The result of the misunderstanding had been that men had believed that they could safely break their engagements by simply deserting and refusing to join the ship, and they had actually done so in large numbers, trusting that the time necessarily occupied in procuring a warrant would give them full opportunity for avoiding arrest. The civil remedy had been inoperative, as very frequently the men had no effects and no wages due to them. Under the present Bill it was intended to prevent any further misunderstanding, and power was given to Superintendents of the Mercantile Marine and officers of the Board of Trade to issue warrants for the arrest of seamen for the offences of desertion, refusing to join, and disobedience to lawful commands. By Clause 42 of the Bill it was made compulsory upon all skippers of trawlers of 20 tons and upwards to hold a certificate of competency. Clauses 43 and 45 provided that there should be a report of all deaths, injuries, and casualties to the Mercantile Marine Superintendent, and powers of inquiry were given. This had not, unfortunately, been the case up to the present time, and instances had constantly arisen of lads having been lost overboard, and no report whatever having been made of the occurrence. There had also been cases of brutal treatment, and actual murder had occasionally taken place. It was hoped that this system of regular and compulsory reports, together with the new rules by which all captains would have to be certificated, would to a very great extent do away with cases of ill-usage, and much improve the general conduct of the crews. There were also various clauses providing for the regulation of seamen's lodgings, for which existing legislation had been found inadequate. Trusting he had said enough to enable their Lordships to understand the scope and objects of the Bill, he begged to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he could hardly think the proposal serious, that a Bill so minute in its provisions, and affecting the interests and even the liberties of so many of Her Majesty's subjects, should be read a second time in so precipitate a manner at this late period of the Session. As far as he knew, there had been no inquiry into the subject by Parliament. It was true that there had been a Departmental Inquiry; but Parliament had no share in the selection of the persons who were to inquire; and no guarantee that the inquiry would be conducted in such a way as to command its approval. The Bill dealt largely with the charter of the fishing population, the Mercantile Marine Act of 1854, it established new regulations for trawlers, and would subject apprentices and seamen employed in fishing boats to the summary punishment of four weeks' imprisonment for desertion and other offences. Neither the Members of their Lordships' House nor of the other House of Parliament were able to say whether the provisions of the Bill were wise or the reverse. The proper course would have been to print the Bill, send it down to the places affected by its provisions, and by the light of their representations or remonstrances the Government might be directed as to what was best to be done. If their Lordships passed the Bill now, they would pass it absolutely in the dark. The Bill had been circulated only that morning, and could not be interpreted without reference to several other Acts of Parliament. Under these circumstances, he earnestly trusted the noble Lord in charge of the Bill would not press the second reading today. He should be better pleased, however, to hear that the noble Lord would not press it this Session.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he understood from the Government Department which had framed the Bill that the fishing populations were extremely favourable to the Bill; and, seeing that their Lordships were anxious to have Bills introduced in that House, the course taken by the noble Marquess was not encouraging.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, their Lordships were anxious to have Bills introduced in that House, but at a proper time, and not in the last days of July. His noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) objected to the second reading only on the ground that the House had not sufficient information. Their Lordships had not any sufficient knowledge of the clauses, though they might have received the approval of the Board of Trade. He would suggest that, having printed the Bill, it should be circulated among the population of the places concerned, and should be re-introduced next Session, if it were found to be a good measure.

LORD WAVENEY said, he had found that in the fishing town of Lowestoft the prevailing opinion was that there was not sufficient power to deal with apprentices and others who broke their contract.

LORD SUDELEY said, that he proposed to postpone the second reading until that day week.

Further debate on the said Motion adjourned to *Tuesday* next.

PARLIAMENT—DESPATCH OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—BILLS REPORTED FROM STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he rose to ask, Whether Her Majesty's Government would take into consideration the expediency of introducing into that House the Bills passed by the Standing Committees of the House of Commons on Bankruptcy, Criminal Appeal, and Patents, whereby due time would be allowed to that House for their consideration, which could not otherwise be the case if they were to be passed in the present Session? He did not propose that Bills which had passed through Committees of the House of Commons—that was to say, Committees of the Whole House—should be introduced in their Lordships' House; but only those Bills which had passed through a newly-constituted body of the House of Commons, and which, perhaps, might never reach Committee stage in the other House. If those Bills were introduced in their Lordships' House as new measures they would have an opportunity of considering them carefully, and of sending them down amended to the other House. Otherwise, owing to the late period of the Session, it would be impossible for their Lordships to give them due consideration. If what he proposed was done, it would enable the House of Commons to consider the Bills, not only as they had come from the Grand Committees, but as they had been amended by their Lordships.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that the object of the noble Earl was excellent; and the Government were obliged to him for making suggestions with the object of facilitating the despatch of Public Business. They did not, however, see their way to the adoption of the noble Earl's present recommendation. Grand Committees were an experiment, and, in his opinion, a successful experiment. A perfectly new arrangement, such as that proposed by the noble Earl, could not be agreed to for the reason given, a few days ago, by the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), in which the Government felt that there was considerable force—namely, that as the Bills had not passed all their stages in the House of Commons, their Lordships might have to consider the same measures twice over.

SPAIN—THE STEAMSHIP "LEON XIII."

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I rise, according to Notice, to ask a Question of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with respect to the imprisonment of three English engineers serving on board the *Leon XIII.*, and to move for Papers. When I first placed this Notice upon the Paper we were not aware of the very much graver matter which has occupied the attention of the noble Earl. Though the actual interests involved in the matter to which my Notice refers are not extensive, the question which is raised is one of some importance; and I should like to hear what the noble Earl has to say upon it. The case is this. Three English engineers sailed in a Spanish steamship which had been manufactured on the Clyde, and when they were in the Red Sea they were seized by the Spanish captain, placed in irons, and confined below decks. This was done on a charge which was not subsequently pressed, and which I may, therefore, assume was not held to have any validity. They were kept in irons for three months below decks in the latitude of the Equator, and the windows were closed. This was severe treatment; but it amounted to no more than a private grievance—a matter for the consideration of English engineers proposing to serve on Spanish ships, but not a matter which could come under the notice of the Government and the House. But when they reached Point de Galle they contrived to send ashore a statement of the treatment they were receiving. The result was telegraphic communication with Singapore; and when the ship arrived there, a motion was made for a Writ of *habeas corpus* for the purpose of bringing the men up before the Court, in order to ascertain by what right they were confined. The captain refused to obey this Writ; and in so refusing he was supported by the Spanish Consul; and the refusal has subsequently been sustained by the Spanish Government. The position taken up by the Spanish Consul and the Spanish Government seems to be that even in English waters a British subject is not within the jurisdiction of the Writ of one of Her Majesty's Courts if he is on a merchant vessel flying a foreign flag. Of course, what would be true of Singapore would be equally true of the Thames; and, under this doctrine, a British subject might undergo the most unjust and outrageous treatment on board a foreign merchant vessel; and the treatment might be continued even after the issue of a Writ of *habeas corpus* from one of the Queen's Courts. The noble Earl has very properly refused to accept that doctrine; but I could wish that it had been negatived in a more decisive manner, because it is a doctrine which I am sure neither the English Government nor the English people could listen to for a single moment. But I have not stated all the facts. After the captain of the ship refused to obey the Writ of Attachment which was issued against him, he was brought before the Chief Court of the Colony. As he refused to produce the men, he was himself committed. It was stated in Court that it would be necessary to take measures to prevent the ship from carrying away the three engineers in the hold; but the captain, and the counsel who was defending him, told the Judge that the ship would not move away, that the men would be produced next morning, and that the ship could not leave, as she had no provisions. The Spanish Consul was by when that statement was made to the Judge. No sooner was the Court over than he walked down to the quay, and, with the help of some engineers from a neighbouring Spanish vessel, raised the anchor, and ran the ship out to sea with the three engineers on board, and carried her on to Manilla. I regret very much that, under those circumstances, the noble Earl has not withdrawn Her Majesty's *exequatur* from that Consul. His ground for not doing so is that the Consul acted in good faith, but under a misapprehension; but a Consul who so grossly misconceives his duty is not fit to possess Her Majesty's *exequatur*. I do not wish to impugn his motives; but considering the doctrines that have been advanced by the Spanish Government, and considering that the Consul has since been decorated for his share in these proceedings, I cannot but think that the notice taken of the transaction by the noble Earl is inadequate. It is necessary that the Government should insist upon obedience in British waters to the Writs of Her Majesty's Courts; and it is necessary that the liberty of British subjects serving on foreign vessels should be fully secured; and, therefore, I believe that grave and serious notice ought to be taken of conduct similar to that which this Spanish Consul has pursued, and that the matter ought not to be left in its present unsettled state. I am afraid there is danger that this case might be cited on future occasions as a case in which it was held that it was doubtful whether the denial of the Queen's jurisdiction was not rightly made. I, therefore, trust that the noble Earl may be in a position to assure us that an emphatic protest has issued from his Office.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, in considering this matter, it is necessary to consider the difference between the two questions which are involved in it. For the engineers themselves there is no doubt that the case was one of very great hardship; but the remedy of those who take employment under foreigners must be sought for in the Courts of the country to which those foreigners belong, and so must the remedy in this particular case. The Spanish Consul at Liverpool has volunteered to act as an assessor in this case, and has stated that his decision would be recognized as binding on the owners, and the captain of the vessel. In the interest of the engineers Her Majesty's Government thought it best formally to ask the Spanish Government whether the decision of the Spanish Consul would be accepted as final—whether, in short, it would have a legal binding effect in the event of its being in favour of the men? We have not yet received a reply to that question, but are expecting it daily; and, in the meantime, we do not feel that we can do anything in the matter. With regard to the other point of complaint against the Spanish Consul and the Spanish Government, I do not think that at present we have any case as regards the Spanish Government. However, we may still have reason for complaint, provided the action of the men results in an obvious miscarriage of justice; and in the event of such a state of circumstances arising it will, of course, be necessary to make diplomatic representations to the Spanish Government. We have, however, very great reason to complain of the acts of the Consul at Singapore; but after considering the whole question, and ascertaining that he was acting under a misapprehension as to the nature of a Writ of *habeas corpus*—a misapprehension afterwards shared in by the Spanish Government—we do not think the case so bad as it appears to be at first sight. Your Lordships ought to remember that the Government of the Philippines acted in a most commendable and conciliatory manner, and, losing no time, liberated the three engineers from the ship in which they were confined. But there is another consideration which has influenced Her Majesty's Government in this matter. Some months ago we had reason to complain of the tone and character of the communications we received from the Spanish Government; but since that time a very great change has taken place, and nothing could now be more courteous and conciliatory than the language adopted by them towards us. The noble Marquess says that the question has been left open, and certainly it has been left open as regards the right of the engineers; but if your Lordships will read the Papers you will see that, so far as the Government is concerned, it has been very fairly closed, though, as I have said, it may be re-opened in the event of a gross miscarriage of justice.

THE SUEZ CANAL—CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord LAMINGTON, who had given Notice that he would ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether the statement is correct that out of the twenty-four directors of the Suez Canal Company only three are English; and, although every ship passing through the Canal must take a pilot, only one English pilot is employed? said, he did not propose to ask the first part of his Question, nor to say anything on the subject, which, at the present time, was agitating the public mind, except that it was manifestly impossible for the three English Directors to exercise any considerable influence in the management of the affairs of the Canal. The Question in regard to the pilots, however, was one that required some explanation?

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, with regard to the first part of the Question of the noble Lord, the assumption of the noble Lord is perfectly correct. The state of the Directorate of the Company is exactly as it was when the Shares in the Canal were bought. With regard to the pilots, I think the best thing I can do is to read a Report which has been prepared on the subject. The noble Lord will see that the point in question is one of those that are dealt with in the Provisional Agreement. The Report states that there are 17 pilots at Port Said to pilot vessels in and out of the harbour, and 97 Canal pilots. Of the Port Said pilots, 12 are Greek, two are French, one is English (Maltese), one Austrian, and one Italian. Of this number eight speak English, or can make themselves understood in English. Of the 97 Canal pilots, 27 are French, 24 Italians, 19 Greek, 17 Austrians, and 10 English (three Englishmen and seven Maltese). All the 97 can either speak English or make themselves understood; 45 can speak English, and 52 can make themselves understood in their directions for working the ship. This shows a much more satisfactory state of things than that stated in the Question of the noble Lord; but, at the same time, the Government are of opinion that much more should be done in the interests of our vessels, considering the preponderance of English shipping in the Canal. I cannot help taking this opportunity of making a few remarks with regard to this question. Your Lordships will remember that this Canal, which has been of such use to us, and which, on the other hand, owes its entire prosperity to this country, was not made with the concurrence of England, but very much in spite of, and with the opposition of, this country. Lord Palmerston opposed it on political grounds, some of which have now passed away. He also considered it a bubble Company, and the scheme quite impracticable, and he was in his right in doing this, although it was a mistaken view, on the very high engineering authority which had been furnished to him on that occasion. The opposition of Lord Palmerston had two important effects—one, that it influenced the conditions of the concession to the Company; and the other, that it afforded a stimulus in France, by the excitement of international *amour propre*, which, in the opinion of those conversant with the matter and competent to judge, really alone enabled large sums of money to be lent, and thus brought about the completion of the Canal. My Lords, for 10 years the Canal was anything but a commercial success; but during the last 4 years it has been not only a great success, but promises an increasing success in every manner. It promises to be highly remunerative to the shareholders; and I think the House will admit that the men engaged in a speculation of this sort accompanied by so much risk, unquestionably have a right to receive larger interest for their money than those who invest in an undertaking almost certain of success. The events of last year have given this country a peculiar influence in Egypt, and I believe that unless we lose our relative position among the nations of Europe, that influence is likely to continue. One of the immediate consequences of our military success was that our interest in Egypt, which has always been great, has increased, and many rich and energetic capitalists have turned their minds to enterprizes of great utility to that country. To all the promoters of these enterprizes I have always held the same language. With the entire concurrence of my Colleagues I have stated that we rejoice to see enterprize and capital directed to the improvement of Egypt. On the other hand, Her Majesty's Government are not inclined to commit themselves to industrial, economical, and commercial enterprizes, and the very fact of our peculiar position in Egypt makes such enterprizes less, rather than more, desirable. Yet we admit that there may be enterprizes of such an exceptional character that they ought not to be neglected by Her Majesty's Government if they tend to the advantage of this country, and, indeed, of the whole world. What Her Majesty's Government have a right to expect is, that they should not be called upon to give an opinion on any embryo plan, or to consider any plan unless it is put in a complete manner before them for their consideration. I may say, with regard to this particular point of the improved accommodation for sea-going vessels between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, that I have had four different schemes before me; but, up to the present time, none of them have been presented in a manner which fulfilled the conditions we thought it necessary to make before assenting to anything of the kind. The increase of the traffic in the last four years and the quarantine difficulty have produced delays which have excited for the first time great discontent on the part of shipowners. One of the most obvious ways of meeting the difficulty was to arrive at some understanding with the Suez Canal Company. That was not merely our idea, but was the idea also of many of those who now find fault with the manner in which it has been carried out. It is quite clear that the existing Canal possesses many advantages. In the first place, it is made; in the next place, it is undoubtedly the shortest route from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea; and, lastly, it has been acquiesced in by all the European nations without exception. My Lords, a few months ago we had some confidential communication with the Directors of the Company, but for a long time there seemed to be no prospect of a satisfactory arrangement. Your Lordships must be aware that in this negotiation M. de Lesseps had a very strong position. In the first place, he believed that he had an exclusive right to the communication between the two seas, as far as the Isthmus was concerned. He also held that he had the power to give permission to anyone else. Now, the first point which was considered in these negotiations was whether this claim of M. de Lesseps to any exclusive right was valid or not. I do not know whether Her Majesty's late Government considered this point; but it seems fair for me to believe that they assumed an exclusive right, otherwise they would not have invested many millions of our capital in an enterprize of this sort—that they did not do so reckless a thing as embark in an enterprize which might turn out to be most unsuccessful, while if, on the other hand, it should turn out to be successful, it was liable to interruption and destruction by the construction of a rival Canal. Therefore, I have some right to assume that if they thought at all on the subject they believed that there was an exclusive right. There were two men in the Foreign Office as competent as any to give an opinion upon a question of this sort. They had no doubt as to the existence of an exclusive right; and we ourselves ascertained that the Egyptian Government had been advised by their legal adviser that this right existed. Our own Law Officers advised the same thing. We had the advantage of referring to the highest legal authorities on the subject. My Lords, the responsibility in a matter of this sort rests with Her Majesty's Government; but it is impossible for us, because one or two eminent counsel take a different view of the construction of a deed, to disregard the absolute conclusions of all the official advice that was open to us for the purpose. And I must say more, that though this advice was contrary to that which we should have wished to have, yet it did commend itself to our common sense. I cannot conceive, it being granted that there was an exclusive privilege, that that exclusive privilege did not mean something of substance. To say that it is an exclusive privilege of forming a Company is to say that it is what would turn out to be no exclusive privilege at all; and I cannot but think that if one of your Lordships gave an exclusive privilege to a Company not about to spend £20,000,000, but a much smaller sum, in building, say, an hotel, upon his estate, he would not, after having given it, feel himself at liberty, either legally or morally, immediately to give a concession to some other Company to establish an hotel in the same place. My Lords, I wish to point out that we never, in the course of these negotiations, made the slightest admission with regard to this claim of M. de Lesseps. We were obliged to admit it in the other House of Parliament the other day, when the scheme was condemned on the ground that there was nothing to be dealt with but a *tabula rasa.* Now, I wish to guard myself against saying that this is a question which can never be argued in the future. Supposing that the Canal Company, against their own interests, were to do nothing to facilitate communication between the two seas, and that they acted to their own disadvantage on the dog-in-the-manger principle of doing nothing, and preventing others from doing anything—I do not say that this state of things might not justify the exercise of considerable diplomatic pressure. But that is not the state of things at all. The Canal Company have already decided to widen and deepen their Canal. They have gone further than this. They state—and I have no reason to doubt it—that they have the means of making a double Canal, though not absolutely in the most advantageous way, on their own land, requiring no further concession at all, and that they would thus be able, undoubtedly for a great many years, to furnish very ample accommodation to the shipping and commercial interests. Now, the question remains as to whether, under these circumstances, the bargain we have made was so bad that Parliament should reject it, as they have a perfect right to do, and as was perfectly understood between ourselves and M. de Lesseps. If I had answered the Question put by a noble Lord yesterday, I should have gone in some detail into the advantages which we think are to be derived from the arrangement which we have made, and into some defence with regard to the concessions that we are willing to make in return. But I think the Report goes much more fully into these questions than I can do, showing the undoubted advantage of a double Canal, constructed on the best possible lines, such as we have agreed to urge upon the Egyptian Government to give a concession for the making of, and showing that it does give a very large, instead of a very insignificant, reduction of the burden on shipowners, both with regard to ships in ballast and ships in cargo. I believe the shipowners are very much mistaken in thinking that these different dues very much affect them; but they do affect, in a very large degree, the consumers. But, my Lords, the question is whether we could have obtained better terms than we have got. If I am right in saying that M. de Lesseps had this strong position—if he is right in saying that he had some title to claim a very considerable return to the shareholders for that which they at such risk have constructed, and if I show that on political grounds—as I am quite sure your Lordships will admit—it is much more advantageous in this matter that we should go heartily with France than in opposition to her. I do say that it is a subject which is well worthy of your Lordships' consideration. I should like the House to consider what are the alternatives. I have made allusion, as the noble Lord has done before me, to our position in Egypt at this moment. Our position in Egypt might have been different. We might have withdrawn our troops immediately from Egypt, and left everything purely to diplomatic agency; or, on the other hand, we might have annexed or conquered the country; but I think that, whatever we might have done with our Forces, it would not have affected our position with regard to doing anything which is unfair to the existing Canal Company. Even if we had conquered the country, I think it would have been, according to the modern usages of civilization, perfectly impossible to force the Egyptian Government to do anything illegal, or to do ourselves that which was unjust and illegal, with regard to an Egyptian Company composed chiefly of foreigners to that country. Therefore, I wish to know what is the alternative pressed on us. As regards the bargain, I can only say that during the three months' negotiations it has been the opinion of those who negotiated the terms, and of some of my most competent Colleagues who have been examining this subject, and given great labour to it, that these are the extreme conditions which we could obtain from M. de Lesseps. That being so, we thought it right to submit the scheme to Parliament for its consent to our carrying it out.

THE MARQUESS OF **SALISBURY**: My Lords, I should not have thought it necessary to make any observations in reply to the statement of the noble Earl, had not the noble Earl brought in the conduct of the late Government as in some measure a justification for the proposal now before Parliament. I confess I was surprised at the noble Earl's argument. He said it would have been a reckless proceeding on our part to have invested money in the shares of a Canal if it had been possible that a rival Canal should be created. Is he prepared to carry that view into private enterprize? Is he prepared to say that everyone is guilty of a reckless investment who invests in any railway or in any telegraphic works, or in any canal, with regard to which it is possible that a competing line or canal may be constructed? Is it not the case that many railways exist in this country where there is the fullest, the most open competition, which are yet exceeedingly profitable undertakings? The noble Earl has, moreover, entirely ignored what Lord Beaconsfield put forward very prominently at the time of investing in the purchase of the Canal Shares—that, though a sound commercial operation, it was not principally or mainly a commercial operation; but that it had a political object—a political object which was well stated and well understood at the time—and the possibility that a rival Canal could be created would not in the slightest degree have affected the political aim which Lord Beaconsfield's Administration had in purchasing those shares. As a matter of fact, if by this or any other arrangement a rival Canal were to be commenced to-morrow, it would still have been not only a political step in the highest degree expedient, but it would have been a successful and profitable financial operation, and its profit would not have been seriously interfered with by the creation of a competing Canal. It is evident no competing Canal could ever have obtained support at all until the profits of the first Canal had arrived at such a point as to invite investors to take part in such an undertaking. I therefore entirely repudiate the idea that Lord Beaconsfield's Government gave a constructive sanction to this claim of monopoly on the part of the Suez Canal Company. With respect to the legal considerations referred to by the noble Earl, I do not conceive that it is my business to argue them, nor should I be likely to do so with success. But the noble Earl must be well aware that legal opinions on the subject are much divided, and that authorities quite as great as on his side can be quoted against the view that M. de Lesseps has any monopoly over the junction of the two seas. The noble Earl rested his case on the use of the word "exclusive" in the concession of 1854; but he did not take notice of the fact that the concession of 1854 had of itself no validity or value whatever. It was still-born, because it never received that which alone could give it validity or value—namely, the sanction of the Porte. Twelve years later the Porte gave its sanction to the Agreement of February, 1866, in which there was a clause revising somewhat vaguely bygone Agreements; but the whole question lies in this—whether the words used in the Firman of the Porte giving sanction to the concession of 1866 are wide enough and specific enough to carry by implication that which they did not say explicitly—namely, the conferring on M. de Lesseps and the Company the strange prerogative of barring for over 100 years all other industry and enterprize in the junction of the two seas by which such a vast commerce is carried? This is a matter, my Lords, which Parliament will have to argue carefully, and it will be argued by disputants much better qualified than I am to deal with it; but I venture to say that even if legally the words did convey the meaning which Her Majesty's Government, in my opinion, most imprudently put upon them, I doubt very much the competence of the Sultan or the Khedive to make an Agreement that would debar nations from the natural right of passage across the Isthmus of Suez for the commerce of the world. Supposing there had been some improvement in the Dardanelles or the Cattegat, would it have been within the competence of the Sultan's Government or of the Danish Government to place an artificial limit upon the passage of the commerce of the world through those channels?

Earl GRANVILLE: I should like the noble Marquess to speak so that my noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack shall hear his remarks.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: What I wished to say was, that this was more than a mere legal question; it deals with that far higher question of how far Governments have the power, without appeal, to confer upon persons receiving concessions a prerogative which shall have the effect of preventing the natural access to means of transit which, as a *primâ facie* right, is possessed by the commerce of the world. That is a point which I desire to commend to the consideration of the noble Earl, and it does not rest merely upon legal grounds. The noble Earl has asked what we shall do in the alternative. Well, I confess that the objections which at first sight I feel most strongly to the proceedings of the Government are that they confound the practical difficulty with the legal difficulty—that on account of the practical difficulties of the moment, which may or may not be genuine, they are raising a legal and moral obstacle which, when those practical difficulties are removed, will yet remain behind. It may be possible that another Canal could not now be cut without those diplomatic complications which, as the noble Earl says, this country desires to avoid. Upon that point I do not wish to pass a judgment. But if that is so now, it may not always be so. The difficulty may pass away this year, next year, a short time hence. If this improvident Agreement is not concluded we shall then be in a position to make use of any opportunity we may possess, and by the aid of British capital to secure a British Canal from sea to sea. If this bargain is concluded it will give a practical security to the monopoly claimed by M. de Lesseps, which will be an impediment to the chance of such a desirable end whenever circumstances may be favourable to our achieving it in the future. That is the great danger which I apprehend from the Agreement which the noble Earl has defended. There is much to be said as to its improvidence in detail; but those are questions for argument when the project comes nearer to us, and we have to pronounce a practical decision upon it. For the present I will content myself with regretting that from words used in the other House, and certainly in the conduct of the arrangements, the tendency of Her Majesty's Government has been to give an unnecessary confirmation to the monopoly claimed by M. de Lesseps — a monopoly which could not but be disadvantageous to the commerce of this country?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, there is one thing the noble Marquess has said to which I am able to give my cordial approval, and that is that the question of the effect of the concession to the Suez Canal Company, the rights of that Company, and the proper course to be taken by this country with respect to it under the present circumstances, rises into a higher region than that within which either I myself or any other English lawyer has a right to speak with authority. In that I entirely agree with the noble Marquess, and I shall be glad if in the discussions on this subject that is borne in mind. We occupy at this moment a position in Egypt which makes it, as it appears to me, of the highest obligation that we should both ourselves respect—and, as far as we have any influence, that we should not use that influence so as to lead the Khedive not to respect—the obligations which he and his Predecessors may have entered into with those persons by whose money the Canal has been made. It was a great, it was an extraordinary undertaking of doubtful success, of great difficulty, requiring the outlay of very large capital; and it could not have been entered into, or accomplished, except on the faith of public engagements of an important and peculiar character. Could any private individual have been expected to enter into such an undertaking or advance such a capital? I do say that if ever there was a case in the history of the world in which the engagements of Governments and Sovereign Powers towards private persons required to be considered and acted upon *uberrimâ fide* this is the case; and no course could have been less honourable or less creditable to a country like ours than if, having obtained an accidental superiority of position in Egypt through political movements to which we were unwillingly led, though forced into them by the view which we took of the interests and duty of our country—if we had availed ourselves of that position to go to the right or to the left in opposition to private rights contracted by the Government of that country under such circumstances; and more especially when those private rights were intimately connected with interests cherished and valued by a great neighbouring nation, whose position in Egypt, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, we were under special obligations to consider and to respect. I have said that there was one part of the noble Marquess's speech with which I entirely agreed, and that is when he laid aside the technical authority of English lawyers, proceeding upon principles of narrow verbal construction, as sufficient to rule this question; but there was another part of his speech which I listened to with unfeigned surprise. He referred to high political, or, I may say, cosmopolitan considerations as paramount to all others on this question. He seemed to speak as if the Isthmus of Suez, before the Canal was made, had been a natural maritime highway and channel for the commerce of the world —as if it had not been any part of the Egyptian territory; as if no territorial concession had been required for it; or as if, the Canal having once been made, the geographical nature of the world was changed, and all territorial interests were to give away to the convenience of the nations navigating the Canal. My Lords, I think that was an argument founded upon forgetfulness of the fact that the Canal came into existence by means of these concessions, and by means of the money which the Suez Canal Company laid out upon them. There is no analogy whatever between this case and that of the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles or any other natural maritime passage in which all the world may have an interest. The territory of the Isthmus of Suez belongs to the same Power to which it belonged before; and whatever footing international commerce has obtained upon that territory, it has obtained by means of these engagements; and whatever may be the true construction of these engagements, nothing will induce me to believe that your Lordships will ever consent to enlarge that international interest by violence. My Lords, I have thought it necessary to say so much. I quite agree with the noble Marquess that the time for a detailed discussion of this question has not yet arrived; but I could not help taking exception to the manner in which the noble Marquess has stated the case.

EGYPT—THE SLAVE TRADE IN UPPER EGYPT.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of FIFE, who rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether they could give any information as to the state of the slave trade in Upper Egypt; and whether they had given any authority to our representative in that country to take further steps with a view to its suppression? said, that no sooner had Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon turned their backs upon the Soudan than the old practices were revived with, he might almost say, increased atrocity. He learnt that the practice was now to take the slaves from Darfour by a more roundabout way, entailing 47 days' journey over paths strewn with human bones. The mortality might be inferred from the value of a slave before and after the latter part of that fearful journey. At Obeid he was worth £3, at the Second Cataract £12, and yet these unhappy creatures were said to reach that point 40,000 in number. If that represented the number finally disposed of, what could be the number originally kidnapped? There was no doubt that many of the officials who had been appointed to suppress the Slave Traffic had themselves been deeply involved in it; at all events, we had it on the very high authority of Dr. Schweinfurth, that—

> "No subordinate in Egypt had ever been seriously punished by his Chief for conduct concerning slavery."

This was still further confirmed by Colonel Stewart's Report that—

> "None of the really big firms engaged in the trade had been molested," because "there were too many interested in the business, and the Notables were too powerful and influential."

It had been admirably pointed out by those who guided public opinion that it was useless to interfere with the supply of slaves unless we went to the root of the evil by stopping the demand for them, and unless we insisted upon the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Egypt. However, there was already a Treaty concluded between this country and Egypt in August, 1877, abolishing the Slave Trade, and stipulating that in seven years from that time the sale of slaves in Egypt should be rendered illegal, and in 12 years in the Soudan. Therefore, in 12 months from the present date, according to our own Treaty rights, it would be our duty to see this degrading Institution effectually stamped out. In the Parliamentary Paper on the Soudan, he noticed that the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs requested that the suggestions of Colonel Stewart should be brought to the knowledge of the Egyptian Government. He rather doubted that having much effect, as the facts narrated were well within their knowledge already, and the Oriental mind was peculiarly obtuse to unpalatable facts and suggestions. It had been abundantly proved that no Native had the power, even if he had the will, to do any real good. The whole of his surroundings and traditions were on the other side. Power and authority must be placed in the hands of some resolute European, backed by that civilizing influence which it was surely now our bounden duty to exert.

Earl GRANVILLE: In reply to the Question of my noble Friend, which is of so great importance, and in which he takes a great interest, I am glad to find that he has already had an opportunity of reading a most interesting and able Report by Colonel Stewart on this question as regards Egypt at this moment. The noble Earl must be aware that the state of disorganization in which the Soudan is now is most unfavourable for any active measure on this subject; but I am happy to say we have recently appointed two able men as Consuls at Souakim and Khartoum, and I believe they will be able to give valuable assistance to the endeavours which the Government are most anxious to make in regard to these matters.

House adjourned at Six o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 17*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—*Resolutions* [July 16] *reported*.

Public Bills—*Committee*—Agricultural Holdings (England) [186] [*First Night*]—R.P.

Considered as amended—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money)* [254]; Sea Fisheries* [257].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Companies Acts Amendment * [246], and *passed.*
Third Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2)* [217]; Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3)* [218]; Mersey River (Gunpowder)* [262], and *passed.*
Withdrawn—Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment * [69].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

CHANNEL TUNNEL RAILWAY BILL (*by Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Tuesday next."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, he understood that the postponement of the second reading was at the request of the Board of Trade. [Sir CHARLES FORSTER: Yes.] Then, he thought that the proposal was only a reasonable one. As the six Reports of the 10 Members of the Joint Select Committee of Lords and Commons were expected to be issued to-morrow, perhaps even a shorter interval might have been sufficient. In consenting to the postponement of the Bill for a week, at the instance, he presumed, of the Board of Trade, he hoped they would, on that day week, receive some decisive opinion and recommendation from the Government in regard to this great International question. He made this remark at this stage so that there might be no misconception, as far as he was concerned, as to the reason why he consented to the postponement.

Motion *agreed to.*

Second Reading *deferred* till *Tuesday* next.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK (INTEREST) BILL.

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the case of the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Interest) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, this was a Bill of a very peculiar character, which proposed to pay interest on a large scale out of capital, in entire opposition to the Standing Order recently passed by the House. He, therefore, begged to give Notice that when the Bill came on for consideration he should move "that the Report, as amended, be considered on that day three months."

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That, in the case of the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Interest) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited.

QUESTIONS.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—OFFICE OF HIGH COMMISSIONER.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Committee appointed to consider the office and duties of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific have reported, or are likely soon to report; whether there will be any objection to laying the Report, when made, upon the Table of the House; and, whether any endeavour has been made by Her Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of Foreign Governments in regulating the labour traffic of the Pacific Islands?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I have inquired of the Chairman of the Committee, and I find that the temporary absence of the Naval Members has somewhat delayed the completion of their Report. When made it will be laid on the Table of the House. Until the Government have received and considered the Report, they cannot with advantage take any fresh step.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Who is now acting as High Commissioner?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Governor of Fiji.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—RESULTS EXAMINATIONS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the questions on the arithmetical test cards used by inspectors at the results examinations in National Schools are, wholly or in part, taken from the treatise on the Practice of Arithmetic by Professor O'Sullivan, of the Central Training Department, Marlborough Street, Dublin; whether Professor O'Sullivan has had any share in the selection of the questions, or in the preparation of the cards, now or heretofore in use for the purpose of testing the proficiency of National School pupils in arithmetic; and, whether Professor O'Sullivan's Arithmetic is sold by the Commissioners of National Education to the pupils of their schools?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed by the Commissioners of National Education that Professor O'Sullivan is the author of a treatise on the practice of arithmetic which contains upwards of 8,000 carefully selected exercises, and that of the 1,000 or so questions on the test cards used in the results examinations some few are identical with questions to be found in that treatise. Professor O'Sullivan is Chairman of a Committee of nine members, under whose direction the test cards were prepared. Professor O'Sullivan's treatise is on the Board's list of books sanctioned for use in National schools, and sold to managers for that purpose. There are 10 or 11 other treatises on arithmetic on the Board's list. I do not know whether any questions on the test cards are from any of these treatises; but if not they ought to be.

MADAGASCAR—THE FRENCH AT TAMATAVE.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received confirmation of the telegrams published in Monday's paper, to the effect that, a British packet on reaching Tamatave was boarded by the French Admiral and forbidden to land any passengers, or to disembark any merchandise except on payment of the French tariff; whether Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Tamatave, Captain Johnstone, Commander of the "Dryad," has been forbidden all communication with the shore; whether the incoming mails were taken by the French Admiral and the outgoing mails made up by him; whether he also demanded the Consular Despatches; whether, in view of these arbitrary proceedings, Her Majesty's Government will despach a sufficient naval force to Madagascar to defend the British flag and to protect British commerce; and, whether he will communicate to the House the text of a Despatch lately received by Her Majesty's Government bringing intelligence up to date of July 3rd?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have received, as yet, no official information of the news brought by the *Taymouth Castle* to Durban, for the early communication of which they are indebted to the courtesy of Sir Donald Currie. The House is aware, from the statement made by the Prime Minister on the 11th, that the French Admiral stopped communication between the *Dryad* and the shore. The statement respecting the mails and the despatches were contained in the telegram received by Sir Donald Currie, of which no official confirmation has arrived. The Question as to the Naval Force was answered by me on Friday last; but Questions as to the movements of Her Majesty's ships should be addressed to the Secretary to the Admiralty. No despatch has been received bringing intelligence up to the 3rd of July. The latest official information received is that communicated by the Prime Minister. The latest despatch is dated June 14th. Up to that date the attitude of the French Admiral and Consul towards the British Consul had been courteous and conciliatory.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the noble Lord say whether the despatch which Her Majesty's Government did receive came from Captain Johnstone through Colonel Miles, of Zanzibar; and also whether he, or the Secretary to the Admiralty, can inform the House if two additional ships of war had been sent to Tamatave?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have already stated to the House that it was not a despatch, but a telegram, the substance of which was communicated to the House by the Prime Minister.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Who was it from?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Colonel Miles.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Colonel Miles is at Zanzibar. Did it come originally from Captain Johnstone?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that if the hon. Member desired any further information it would be much better that he put the Questions on the Paper. With regard to what he said just now about Questions relating to the movements of ships being better addressed to the Secretary to the Admiralty, he wished to explain that there was no desire whatever to withhold information from the hon. Member; but that he was influenced by motives which he was sure the hon. Member would understand, because the Admiralty were, of course, better informed on those points.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY—COPY OF THE REGISTER OF SHAREHOLDERS.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is entitled to claim a certified copy of the Register of Shareholders in the Suez Canal Company; and, if so, whether he has obtained such certified copy, comprising all transfers of shares up to date?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the shares of the Suez Canal Company are shares "to bearer," and that, therefore, there can be no register of transfers. Shares to bearer may be deposited for purposes of safety at the office of the Company, and some have, I believe, been so deposited; but I have no claim to know who have made these deposits. The hon. Gentleman will find the regulations on this subject in the Statutes of the Company, printed in "Egypt, No. 6 (1876)," page 9.

MR. M'COAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the proposed loan of £8,000,000 to the Suez Canal Company will rank as a debt of the Company before or after the £9,643,556 of 5 per cent. "obligations," "delegations," and "bons de coupons," yet remaining to be redeemed at par; and, through the agency of what tribunal repayment of such loan could, in the event of the borrowers' default, be enforced?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the proposed loan will rank *pari passu* with the mortgage debts of the Company, and, therefore, the interest will rank *pari passu* with the interest on the obligations, and before the charge for the delegations. I am not quite sure that I understand what the hon. Member means by the "Bons de Coupons," which do not appear in the accounts of the Company. If he means the "Titres de Coupons Consolidés," the loan will come before them. In reply to the second Question, I have to say that the Suez Canal Company is an Egyptian Company; and, therefore, as laid down in Lord Derby's despatch to General Staunton of the 11th of December, 1875, any suit of this character must be tried according to the Treaties which regulate the relations of foreigners with the inhabitants of Egypt—that is to say, now by the International Courts. The hon. Member is doubtless aware that in the case of disputes between the Company and shareholders, as such, the Conventions and the Statutes provide for arbitration, with appeal to the highest French Courts. We should not, however, be shareholders in respect of the proposed Loan.

MR. M'COAN: Is not the right hon. Gentleman aware that by the terms of the original concession the Company is strictly an Egyptian Company, subject to the local and native law of Egypt?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have just said that it is an Egyptian Company.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether, in the event of the necessity for foreclosure, the Loan of £8,000,000 will be a first charge?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I think I explained before that the whole of the debenture debt of the Company would stand on the same footing.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, when the concession was given to the Canal Company, the Company was not subject to the National Tribunals of Egypt, and the International Tribunals were only created after the concession was given; and whether any Act has been passed transferring the jurisdiction over the Company from the National Tribunals to the International Tribunals?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I think the hon. Member had better ask the Question with Notice. I have already said that it is now subject to the International Tribunals, with the exception which I explained.

JAMAICA—THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he is now able to say whether the Collector General and the Agent General of Immigration, both official members of the Legislative Council of the island of Jamaica, are absent from the Colony, in addition to those officials mentioned by him as being absent, namely, the Governor, the Colonial Secretary and Lieutenant Governor, the Chief Justice, the Attorney General, and the Director of Public Works?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Protector of Immigrants has, I find, just arrived in England on leave, and the Collector General has recently retired. But the Attorney General will be now arriving in Jamaica; and the vacancies to which the hon. Member refers will be filled up as soon as possible, and that will be very shortly indeed.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS (ENGLAND) BILL.—[BILL 186.]

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Solicitor General*)

COMMITTEE. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

IMPROVEMENTS.

Compensation for Improvements.

Clause 1 (General right of tenant to compensation).

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON moved, in page 1, line 8, after "tenant," to insert "has added to the value of his holding by good cultivation or." He said he proposed this Amendment in order to supply what was wanting in the Bill as it now stood—a want that was felt by tenant farmers throughout the length and breadth of the land. The proposal, if agreed to, would be the means of fulfilling the promises which had been made to the tenant farmers of the country on all occasions by Members in all parts of the House. It raised no Party question. The question was one purely of agriculture, and any Member might support the Amendment without in any way infringing his loyalty to his Party. Above all things, it would be a test of who were and who were not the farmers' friends in that House. Hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House had assumed to themselves for many years, and with good reason, the title of the farmer's friends, and they had on many occasions endeavoured to improve the condition of the farmers. He hoped they would to-day show that they were really worthy of the title of farmers' friends by voting for his Amendment, and by that means giving to the tenant farmers that which they wanted for the completion of the Bill. He hoped that the Irish Members who might take part in the Division would vote for the Amendment, and would thus secure for the tenant farmers of England some of the benefits they had obtained, by the liberality and the justice of that House, for the tenant farmers of Ireland. He hoped the Liberal Members, both above and below the Gangway, would support the Amendment, and thus show that the promises they made so freely in 1880, during the Elections, were not made merely to get votes, but were given with the intention of being carried into effect. The professed object of the Bill was to put an end, as regarded tenant farmers, to the practice which now existed, and by which owners of land appropriated to themselves, at the end of the lease or tenancy, the improvements the farmer had made, without giving any compensation. This object had been avowed by Members in all parts of the House and throughout the country; and on all hands the doctrine had been proclaimed that the tenant was entitled to reap the benefit of his improvements. The principle embodied in the Bill was that full compensation should be given for the outlay of the tenant, as also for the labour he had expended on his holding. The Schedule annexed to the Bill divided the improvements on which compensation was to be paid into three distinct classes. His Amendment would supply a fourth class—namely, good cultivation, thus making the thing complete. In many cases good cultivation was as important a factor, if not more so, in the improvement of the value of the land as any of the improvements which were scheduled in the Bill. There were many thousands of farms in the country which required none of the improvements given in the Schedule, as they were well supplied with buildings, well-drained, and in good condition. In such cases as these all that was required was that the tenant should keep the land in good condition by a course of careful farming. If he did this, say for 20 years, he improved the value of the land quite as much as if he made any definite improvement on which he could put his finger as having executed at any particular time. He (Sir Alexander Gordon) maintained that the tenant farmer was as much entitled to the value of this improvement as to that of any other. At present, the landord got all the benefit of such improvement; and the object of the Amendment was to provide that the advantage should be reaped in future by the tenant. The Bill provided against bad cultivation on the part of the tenant; and it was only reasonable, under these circumstances, that the tenant should be compensated for improved value due to good cultivation. He wished, furthermore, to point out that, in regard to Schedule 1, the tenant was obliged to obtain from the landlord his consent in writing to the execution of the improvement. This gave an inducement to the landlord to refuse his consent which did not now exist. The landlord knew now that if the tenant executed an improvement of the first class, whether the former gave his consent or not, it became his property under the terms of the lease. Under the Bill, if the landlord once gave his consent, he immediately rendered himself liable for the expenses incurred by the tenant, and to that extent incurred a liability which did not exist under the present law. The Schedule was divided into three portions. The 1st Part was purely permissive, and in that respect be could see no practical difference between the Agricultural Holdings Act and the measure now under discussion; and, indeed, for all practical purposes, the two measures were in this respect precisely the same. The 2nd Part of the Schedule would, as it stood, operate with a certain amount of hardship upon the landlords, and he hoped to see it altered. The 3rd Part was declared by practical agriculturists to be, as it stood, quite unworkable. The difficulty of dealing with the improvements included in the 3rd Part of the Schedule was so great that most experienced agriculturists declared it was quite impossible. When they came to that Schedule he should certainly take part in the discussion; but he mentioned it now in order to show that, unless they paid the tenant for the increased value due to good cultivation, they would really be conferring very little benefit on the farmers by passing the Bill; and that, in fact, they would do much more to benefit the landlords than to give any advantage to the tenants. He was surprised to see yesterday, in *The Times*, a letter which was supposed to have been written for the information of the Cabinet. It was without any signature; but as it was avowedly composed for the purpose of supplying information to the Cabinet, he presumed it was written by some legal adviser of the Government. He (Sir Alexander Gordon) was surprised to see that this gentleman commenced his argument by a quotation from *Johnson's Dictionary*—namely, that "improve" meant not to amend a bad thing, but to improve a good thing. This was a very "special pleading" argument; but he (Sir Alexander Gordon) should like to point out to the Committee that if this learned adviser of the Government read his *Johnson's Dictionary* a little more closely he would find that the word "improvement" might be used without any reference to perfection, and that improvement meant progress in any respect. In *Webster's Dictionary* the word "improvement" was described as "the amelioration and the improvement of barren or exhausted land." If, therefore, the Government trusted to the information supplied by their learned adviser, they would fall into a very great error as to the real meaning of the word "improvement." Again, in *Richardson* — [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen said "No, no!" but when this adviser of the Government made such a statement as that which he (Sir Alexander Gordon) had quoted, it was advisable to ascertain how far it was borne out by the best authorities. Richardson gave a similar explanation to that furnished by Webster. He thought, therefore, they could no longer believe that the term "improvement" in this Bill was only to be applied to land already in a good state of cultivation. He had no doubt it would be said that if the Committee approved of his Amendment, very great difficulties would have to be encountered in carrying it into effect; but he could not help thinking that if the Committee adopted its principle, with the assistance of the 121 learned lawyers who were numbered among the Members, there would be no difficulty in formulating words to give effect to that principle. Did the Committee really wish the tenant to have the full value of his improvements, or not? If they did, no difficulty would be found in securing it for him. He had lately received a letter from a farmer of very large experience in Scotland, who told him it was quite possible to improve the value of a farm more by careful cultivation than by a lavish expenditure in manure. He (Sir Alexander Gordon) could only assure the Committee that farmers, from one end of the country to another, were anxious to have good cultivation included in the improvements which were specified in the Bill, in order that they might derive full benefit from the care and labour they expended on their holdings.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, after the word "tenant," to insert the words "has added to the value of his holding by good cultivation or."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. BIDDELL said, he quite agreed with the hon. and gallant Member that good cultivation on the part of the tenant should be paid for; but he did not think it was necessary to adopt the hon. and gallant Gentleman's proposal. Suppose a man was about to take a farm of, say, 100 acres, which was in a very bad state of cultivation, he would probably say to the landlord—"I cannot give you the rent you ask for the whole of the tenancy. I must have 5*s*. an acre off for the first half-dozen years, on account of the bad state the farm is in." Thus a reduced rent would be paid during the years of reclamation. Under these circumstances, he did not see how the Committee could reasonably pass this Amendment. He quite agreed with the hon. and gallant Member that it was desirable to encourage good cultivation; but he could not agree that it should be paid for twice. He knew nothing in the present day that more increased the value of land than good cultivation; and he was sure that in the present state of the market any tenant, on taking a farm, could obtain a reduction of the rent if the land were in a bad state of cultivation. That being so, he (Mr. Biddell) did not think the tenant could also claim compensation in a direct way. He must, therefore, vote against the Amendment.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he should not follow the lead of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for East Aberdeen by discussing portions of the Bill which were not really affected by the Amendment. He would confine his remarks to the proposal immediately before the Committee. He wished to point out that when a landlord let a farm he did so on the assumption that the tenant would resort to good cultivation. If the hon. and gallant Gentleman desired to effect the object he had in view—an object with which he (Mr. Howard) entirely sympathized—he should have used the words, "better cultivation" instead of "good cultivation." But he would point out to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that the first Amendment in his (Mr. Howard's) name completely covered the present proposal. He proposed to alter the 1st clause by making it provide for compensation to the tenant who had improved his holding. This would ensure good cultivation in all cases where compensation was awarded under that portion of the Bill. He hoped, therefore, his hon. and gallant Friend would withdraw his Amendment in favour of that of which he (Mr. Howard) had given Notice.

Mr. STORER said, there was an additional reason why the Amendment should not be adopted. All farms should be cultivated in a good and husbandlike manner, and to pay a man for cultivating his land well was to give him more than he was entitled to. This was a sufficiently strong reason for not acceding to the proposal.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, that as the Amendment did not seem to be acceptable to the Committee, he would ask leave to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. JAMES HOWARD moved, in page 1, line 8, to leave out "made on," and insert "improved." He said that the alteration which the carrying of this Amendment would effect in the clause was of such a simple character that its object might not be apparent; but it really embodied a very important principle. The wording of the Bill fell entirely short of what should be the object of a declaratory clause; because, after all, the 1st clause was simply a declaratory one. It declared that where a tenant had made on his holding any improvement comprised in the Schedule, he should be entitled, on quitting such holding, to compensation for such improvement. This was to be the case whether he had improved the whole of the holding, or whether he had only improved a small portion and neglected the greater part of it. Thus, if this clause remained as it stood, the tenant who had drained a particular part of his holding, but had neglected the rest of the farm, and had allowed it to deteriorate to a considerable extent, would be entitled to compensation. He believed that his Amendment embodied a far sounder principle. It provided that the tenant should improve the holding as a whole, and not an infinitesimal portion. He had no sympathy with bad tenants, and not a single Amendment that would be moved on this Bill would be of the slightest benefit to any but an improving tenant. He believed his proposal raised an important question. At all events, the Amendment was of a Conservative character; and he hoped that the Government would accept it, and that hon. Gentlemen opposite would support it.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 8, to leave out the words "made on," in order to insert the word "improved." —(*Mr. James Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. PICKERING PHIPPS said, he was opposed to the Amendment, because he was of opinion that the effect of it would be same as that of the proposal which had just been made and withdrawn. He considered that if the words "made on" were left out, and the word "improved" were inserted in the place of them, it would mean the recognition of a right to compensation for ordinary good cultivation. He should, however, if this proposal were withdrawn, support the next Amendment of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard), on the principle that the tenant, on the determination of a tenancy, had a right to be paid for any improvement he had made.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the real scope and the importance of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire. That Amendment seemed to make a very simple alteration in the Bill; but he hoped he should not be regarded as trespassing on the time of the House if he called attention to its effect when taken in connection with the further Amendments placed on the Paper by his hon. Friend. His hon. Friend now proposed to leave out "made on," and to insert "improved." Further on, in the last line of the clause, he proposed to leave out the words "the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant," and to insert "the increase of the value of the holding properly due to its improvement." If both these and a consequential Amendment were accepted, the clause would run as follows:—

> "Where the tenant has improved his holding he shall, on and after the commencement of this Act, be entitled, on quitting his holding, at the determination of the tenancy, to obtain from the landlord, as compensation under this Act for such improvement, such sum as fairly represents the increase of the value of the holding properly due to its improvement."

He thought that this proposal struck vitally at the principle of the Bill. One of the most important principles in the Bill was that which was embodied in the Schedule—namely, that the improvements for which compensation was to be given should be specified. His hon. Friend proposed practically to strike at the whole of these Schedules, and to make the basis upon which compensation was to be given the vague and very indefinite ground of the general improvement of the holding. What did his hon. Friend mean when he employed these vague terms? He (Viscount Lymington) maintained that if they carefully examined the meaning of the words "the increase of the value of the holding," they would find that very little would be left for the landlord. His hon. Friend maintained that if a tenant in any way improved his holding he had a right to compensation. He (Viscount Lymington) contended that the landlord had a right to profit by a good tenant, if he could do so without any injustice to the tenant himself. It was perfectly true, as his hon. Friend wished to imply, that it was to the interest of the landlord to secure a good tenant and to encourage good cultivation. But if the Amendment were agreed to, a good tenant who took a farm from an equally good tenant would not profit from the richness of the crops which he obtained. Again, supposing a tenant took a farm in a bad condition, and therefore at a correspondingly very low rate—at a rent, say, below the value of the property—he would not only be compensated by the lowness of the rent for bringing the farm into good condition, but he would be paid twice over by the landlord, because, at the expiration of the tenancy, he would again receive compensation. His hon. Friend had certainly been very discreet in saying very little as to the extent of the effect of this Amendment if it were adopted by the Committee. As a matter of principle, it seemed to him (Viscount Lymington) to be very fair that the landlord should be entitled to a share of the increment which good and proper cultivation of the soil produced. The object of the Bill was to endeavour to effect a proper apportionment of the respective rights of the landlord and the tenant in this respect. If the Amendment of his hon. Friend were adopted, the effect would be that the landlord would be obliged to pay for any improvements, whether they were for enriching the farm, or whether they were of such a character that the tenant himself derived the largest amount of benefit from them.

Mr. STORER said, the hon. Member for Bedfordshire had passed this Amendment over in a very light and airy way; but there was a great deal more in it than appeared on the surface. The proposal amounted to this—that compensation should be given for the improvement of the condition of any farm, no matter for what length of time it had been in the tenant's hands or in those of his family, as long as there had been an improvement upon the condition it was in when the tenant entered on it. The farm might have been in the tenant's hands for a great number of years; and if that were the case, how could it be proved to the satisfaction of any jury or any valuer in what state it was when the tenant entered upon it? He objected to the Amendment on this ground, and also because it would award compensation to the tenant for mere good cultivation. There was another thing to be considered. If a farmer was to be rewarded for having brought his land into better cultivation than he found it on entering upon it many years previously, the landlord ought in the same way to be recouped for the deteriorated condition of a farm. If the principle which the hon. Member wished the Committee to adopt were thus carried to its legitimate conclusion, nine farmers out of ten would suffer very greatly, because in bad seasons it would be totally impossible for them to keep their land up to the condition in which it ought to be. He hoped the Government would not accept the Amendment, because he was quite sure that, although the hon. Member professed to be a great friend of the tenant farmers, if the proposal were agreed to, and they also became liable for deterioration during all seasons of the year, it would be a very bad thing for them.

Mr. HENEAGE said, in proposing this Amendment the hon. Member for Bedfordshire appeared to him to be raising a question that had been settled on the second reading of the Bill. The Amendment would abolish the Schedules altogether, and, in fact, destroy one-half of the Bill. He thought if the Government would state whether it could go forward in the event of the Amendment being carried, that it would tend to abridge what must otherwise be a long discussion.

Mr. DODSON said, in answer to the appeal of his hon. Friend (Mr. Heneage), he rose to say that the Government were not prepared to accept the Amendment, the effect of which, as previous speakers had pointed out, would be to do away with the principle of the Bill, which was that the improvements to be paid for should be definite improvements. He pointed out that the Amendment of his hon. Friend would not necessarily mean that there should be good cultivation; it might amount to nothing more than farming the land not so badly as a bad predecessor. Again, if the tenant was to be compensated for leaving the farm in a better condition than he found it, the owner ought to be compensated for his farm being left in a worse condition than when the tenant entered upon it. That would operate very hardly and unfairly in some cases. Take the case of a widow succeeding her husband, or a son succeeding his father, or the case of a bad farmer succeeding a clever one, and leaving the land, with the best intentions, in a worse state than he found it. A further objection to this proposal was that it would be exceedingly difficult, in many instances, to estimate the improvement. When a tenant came into possession of a farm, an accurate account would have to be taken of the condition of every field and of every acre of land, and an equally minute account would have to be taken of it when he left. It would be almost impossible to ascertain the precise amount of improvement, or even whether there was any improvement at all. For these reasons he was unable to accept the Amendment.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, the Amendment was a very important one, and he hoped his hon. Friend would take a Division upon it. The question raised by the Amendment was whether the landlord should take a share of the improvements due properly to the tenant's skill? — and that was the question they had to decide. When the Bill was first spoken of by the Prime Minister, he announced, in terms as full as possible, that the tenant was to be compensated for the whole value of the improvements. Now, that was what he and his hon. Friends asked for in presenting this Amendment to the Committee. There were a great many improvements besides those in the Schedule, and one of them was undoubtedly improved cultivation. Every practical farmer knew that the expenditure on improved cultivation was, perhaps, as large in amount as for any other improvement which the tenant could make. Take the case of heavy clay farms. The tenant's expenditure on such farms for improved cultivation would be as much as in any other single direction, or for any of the improvements which he was allowed to perform with compensation under the Schedule. Hon. Members opposite said that a tenant going into possession of a farm took into consideration the exhausted condition of the soil and bad cultivation. That was true to a certain extent; but if a tenant took a farm in that condition, he paid the landlord more rent for the farm than it was then worth; he offered for the farm not its value in the condition it then was, but as it might be when improved by his capital and skill. Now the Bill proposed to limit the tenant's compensation to the improvements named in the Schedule. Why should he not be entitled to compensation for other improvements? If the tenant left the farm in a deteriorated state, the landlord would be entitled to compensation as much as would make up to him the loss in its value to the incoming tenant. Speaking for the tenant farmers, he said they were willing to accept a clause which would give the landlord power to interfere and prevent his land being exhausted. The proposition now before the Committee seemed to him to be only reasonable and fair. The farmers wished that they should be compensated for the improvement of the holding properly due to them, not for the increased value due to other causes, and this could be more easily estimated otherwise than by means of a Schedule. Any experienced valuator, looking at a farm as a whole, would be able to say whether the farm had been improved or was going backward, and whether the improvement was due to external causes or to the capital expended on the land. He was anxious that the Bill, if it passed, should be a settlement of this agricultural question; but he was satisfied that if it passed in its present form, it would do little towards a settlement, because the farmer would still insist on his right to compensation for the whole increased value of his holding so far as due to his industry and skill. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would reconsider the Amendment, the adoption of which would in the end be of advantage to the landlord, because it would stimulate the tenants to improve their holdings; it would make the rents more secure in future, and that, from the experience during late years, could not fail to be very satisfactory to the landlords.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he shared the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with regard to the Amendment—namely, that if it were adopted it would render the clause impracticable. Neither did he see what would be gained by the adoption of the Amendment, which could not be gained by more fitting and more proper means. The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) said if the Amendment were not accepted that the tenant would be debarred from receiving the whole value of his improvements, of which he said there were a great many that were not named in the Schedule. He was not prepared to admit the accuracy of the hon. Member's contention that the tenant would be so deprived; but, supposing the hon. Member were right, surely the proper way of raising this question would be by stating to the Committee that great variety of improvements which he said were not included in the Schedule. But there was another and a graver objection to this proposal of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire, and that was that if the Amendment were accepted with the subsequent Amendments dealing with the clause, the compensation to the tenant would include not only that which he was fully entitled to, but also the improvements which were inherent in the soil, and which constituted a very considerable part of the property in land. Therefore, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would adhere to their determination, in which he was convinced they would receive the support of the large majority of the Committee.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, he thought the inevitable consequence of the proposed alteration would be to arrest the development of rent. He was not prepared to say that the whole of the value which resulted from the cultivation of the soil should go to the tenant. The proposal would have the effect of stereotyping rent, and producing a state of things from which he could see no escape. To take away the landlord's permanent interest in the soil was to eliminate one of the most important factors in the welfare of the country. For these reasons he could not support the Amendment.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, with reference to the statement of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay), as to there being many improvements not included in the Schedule, that the Government, when they reached that portion of the Bill, would be prepared to consider any addition to it which the hon. Gentleman might propose. At the same time, he ventured to point out that the Schedule had been taken from the Act of 1875, and he had never heard of any improvements that were not included in that Schedule; indeed, he had a great authority in support of that view in the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. Howard) himself, who, he believed, had always been considered as the father of the Schedule in question. He found that his hon. Friend, among other statements with regard to the Act of 1875, said, no longer than 18 months ago before the Royal Commission, that the Schedule of the Act of 1875 contained all possible improvements which could be made on a farm, and that the improvements in the Schedule were taken word for word from a Schedule which he had made himself. His hon. Friend now complained that the Schedule did not contain all the improvements possible. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) admitted that there was one improvement—namely, the improvement by good cultivation referred to by the hon. Member for Forfarshire, which was not in the Schedule; but Her Majesty's Government considered that that was not an improvement within the sense of the Bill. Even if they were to insert the words proposed by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire he did not think the object aimed at would be attained, because he believed it had been held by the Courts of Law that good cultivation was not improvement within the legal meaning of that term.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, most of the objections taken had gone altogether beyond the scope of his Amendment. He objected to the declaratory form of words proposed by the Government, and had himself suggested others which he believed contained a sounder principle. The Schedule of the Act of 1875 having been referred to, and his opinion with respect to it quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Commissioner of Works, he would point out that since that opinion was given agriculture had progressed, and that what was applicable to one period might not be to another. [*Laughter.*] Some hon. Members laughed at the statement that agriculture was a progressive industry; but, at all events, it had been so in the past, and he hoped it would continue to be so in the future. Had hon. Members forgotten the most modern introduction into agriculture—the introduction of silos? When this Schedule was placed before him he saw at once that the most modern improvement in agriculture was not included. He asked

Her Majesty's Government whether, if Schedules were necessary for improvements, they were not equally necessary in the case of dilapidations and waste? The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had attempted to show that all possible improvements were included in the Schedule. But he (Mr. Howard) remembered that on the introduction of steam power the Lincolnshire valuators framed a Schedule of compensation to the tenant for deeper cultivation. That was not in the Schedule of this Bill. Again, there was no more frequent improvement of land in Scotland than the freeing of it from boulder stones; but that also was not included. He said that the effect of the clause as it stood would be to tie the hands of farmers for a generation. The noble Viscount behind him (Viscount Lymington) had asked what he meant by improvements. Well, if he would turn to his Amendment further down the Paper, he would find this set forth on a principle which he believed to be better and sounder than that of the Schedule. Another hon. Member had said that after a man had been in possession of a farm for 40 years it would be impossible to tell whether it had been improved or not; but he would point out that that argument would apply with equal force, whether there were Schedules to the Bill or not. Then the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) said if the Amendment were adopted it would be absolutely necessary to abolish the Schedules; but, however that remark might apply to his future Amendment, it did not apply to the present; because, if it were agreed to, there was no reason why the Bill should not retain the Schedule now attached to it.

MR. DUCKHAM said, the farmers of England were that day intently watching the proceedings of the Committee. He fully agreed with the opinions that had been expressed by several hon. Members as to the incompleteness of the Schedule. For his own part, he would rather see the Bill postponed for another year than that it should be passed with the Schedule which it now contained. He maintained that unless the Schedule included everything in the nature of improvement which could be effected on a holding, it would be better that it should be left out of the Bill, and the question of improvements settled solely by arbitration. There were, undoubtedly, many improvements which were not included in the Schedule.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the hon. Member was not confining his observations to the Amendment before the Committee.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he, of course, bowed to the ruling of the Chair. A reference, however, to the Schedule seemed to be essential to the discussion of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. Howard); and he was under the impression that he should not be out of Order in travelling over ground that had been touched upon by almost every speaker since the Amendment was proposed.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 275; Noes 35: Majority 240.—(Div. List, No. 206.)

MR. DUCKHAM pointed out that it was impossible to draft a Schedule applicable to every description of holdings, and the consequence was that there were many things which were in the nature of improvements required by some land that were not included in the Schedule of the Bill. For instance, there was land that, unless the boulders and rocks upon it were removed, could not be cultivated, and the same remark applied to some pasture land, which was of little use for feeding purposes until the stone on it had been got rid of. Then there was the grubbing up of gorse, and many other things, which had to be done, and which were not dealt with in the Bill. Again, there was provision made for the planting of hedges, but none for the removal of old hedge-rows, an operation which involved the removal of stumps of trees, and was often attended with considerable expense. He need hardly remind the Committee that many years often elapsed before land could be got into profitable cultivation; therefore, unless all these things could be taken into account, the farmers in the country would not be satisfied with the Bill, or regard it as a settlement of the agricultural question. He said that if a tenant improved his holding by any means, he ought to be compensated, amongst other reasons, because he might be removed by the hand of death—as, indeed, many farmers of his acquaintance had been, shortly after making extensive improvements entirely at their own expense, the whole benefit of which had gone to the landlords, without any compensation being paid to their widows and families. For these reasons, he earnestly appealed to the Committee to adopt the Amendment he now begged to move, with the object of eliminating the Schedule from the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, to leave out the words "comprised in the Schedule hereto."—(*Mr. Duckham.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODSON said, he hoped, in view of the Division that had taken place, and the remarks made by him in connection with the previous Amendment, that his hon. Friend would not think it necessary to take a Division on this Amendment. He admitted that the observations of his hon. Friend constituted very fair arguments for making modifications in the Schedule; and when that portion of the Bill was reached, Her Majesty's Government would be quite ready to consider any Amendment his hon. Friend might have to propose for the purpose.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, a short time ago he made an appeal to the Government to give the Committee one reason for the introduction into the Bill of a Schedule of improvements, while there was nothing of the kind in relation to dilapidation and waste. He hoped, unless they got some explanation and some reason for this, that his hon. Friend would divide the Committee, notwithstanding the appeal made to him by the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill. He again asked, if this Schedule was so necessary in the case of improvements, why a Schedule was not also necessary in the case of dilapidations?

Mr. DODSON pointed out that the Bill did not provide for dilapidations, and the only reference to waste was at that portion of the Bill which provided that the landlord might strike off sums due to him for waste or breach of covenant from the amount of compensation claimed from him by the tenant.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, the Committee ought to have a declaration from the Government on this point. The landlord had a claim at Common Law for dilapidations and deterioration; whereas the tenant had no claim for compensation at Common Law. It was proposed in the Bill to give the tenant a claim for compensation in the case of the improvements specified in the Schedule; and his hon. Friend the Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard), by the last Amendment, proposed that the tenant should have a general claim for compensation for improvements, just as the landlord had a general claim for dilapidations; but the Government had declared against that principle. In order to put the landlord and the tenant on the same footing in the face of the law, the Schedule ought to specify what constituted the landlord's claim for dilapidation, in the same way as it did the particular improvements for which the tenant could claim compensation. If they wished to do justice to the tenants for the improvements they made, the Bill would accomplish that to a certain extent; but if they desired to see the Bill have the further effect of greatly improving cultivation throughout the country, it was desirable, in the interest both of the landlord and the tenant, that the tenant should be given general powers to claim compensation for general improvements. The point raised by his hon. Friend was, that if there were a Schedule of improvements, for which only the tenant was to be compensated, there ought to be a Schedule of dilapidations, for which only the landlord could claim. The Bill, as it stood at present, defined the power of the tenant over the landlord; and he (Mr. Barclay) agreed that the landlord's power over the tenant should be likewise clearly defined. He trusted the Government would give an assurance that this should be done; otherwise he thought his hon. Friend should go to a Division on his Amendment, as a protest against the one-sided nature of the clause.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY said, he intended to give Notice of an Amendment, the object of which was to import into the Bill some words in the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 bearing on this subject.

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE said, he wished to call attention to the evidence given by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) before the Royal Commission. The hon. Member, being asked if he would approve of a tenant erecting farm buildings in front of the landlord's windows, said he was opposed to the idea. But the erection of buildings of that kind was one of the improvements which the tenant might make without consulting the landlord at all if the Amendment were adopted. Again, the hon. Member who moved the Amendment (Mr. Duckham) had mentioned as an improvement the clearing away and grubbing up of scrub. He did not know whether that was so; but he thought the Committee would perceive that to give a universal right to do, without consent, things of the kind included in Part 1 of the Schedule would be to confer upon the tenant practically a new right in the soil. For these reasons, he was opposed to the Amendment of the hon. Member, although he was quite sure that the Committee would listen to anything which he had to propose by way of addition to the Schedule when that part of the Bill was reached.

Amendment *negatived.*

MR. BORLASE rose to move, in page 1, line 10, after "entitled," to insert the words "on entering on a fresh contract of tenancy, where the rent is raised, or." The hon. Gentleman said, the simple object of this Amendment was to bring the continuing or sitting tenant, as he was now generally known, directly and explicitly within the purview of this Bill—in other words, it was to extend the beneficial results of the measure, which were excellent in principle, beyond that infinitesimally small class of farmers whom it now affected, and to bring within its limits that far larger and more varied class who, for better and worse, through bad times and through good times, had held on steadily in their holdings, and had constituted the backbone of English agriculture. Now, in order to afford adequate protection to the sitting tenant, one of two courses, whatever might be said to the contrary, were open to them—either they must go in the direction pointed out by his Amendment, or they must introduce a system similar to that which they had introduced into Ireland, and which he, for one, was disposed to say could not be too strongly deprecated. That course was not desired by English farmers, nor was it required in order to meet their wants; and he believed it would do much to alienate from the soil of England those good landlords who had done so much to bring this country to the state in which it was at the present moment. He ventured to say, if the Committee would pardon him for a moment, that he did not believe there was a single association of farmers throughout the length and breadth of the land who were in favour of introducing the Irish Act into England. He was certain, for his own part, that the Farmers' Alliance, with which he was identified, had not that object in view; and if it had that object in view, he should not be a Representative of that Society at the present moment. Passing by that idea as un-English and unnecessary, the other course open to them was that to which his Amendment pointed. That course was to render it as difficult and inexpedient for his own interest as possible that the landlord should raise the rent upon the continuing tenant, or, in other words, raise it upon anything less than that upon which he was justly entitled to raise it. His contention was that where a landlord raised his rent he was himself the creator of a new departure; he, and he alone, was responsible for the new conditions which would exist, and for the consequences which would be brought about; he himself admitted that the time had then arrived when the previously existing conditions had come to an end, and that he was going to take a new departure which, in his opinion, would be more profitable to himself. In those circumstances, surely he could have no objection to allow the tenant to come to him and say—"Before we start upon these new conditions, let us now have a settling up of our old scores; let us see what is due to me for my improvements during the term of my tenancy, and what is due to you for the improvement of the land and for dilapidations, owing to external circumstances, for which neither of us are responsible." He knew that the answer which had been attempted to be made to this, both by Members of Her Majesty's Government and also in the Press of the country, was that the tenant would derive no ultimate benefit, because the landlord would have power to recoup himself by adding to the previously increased rent such a sum as would repay the interest on the amount which he paid for compensation. Now, he granted that it was right to do this; he granted that under no conditions should that right be taken from him; but let him try to use that right, and he would find a factor come into play which would immediately prevent him from so doing. That factor had its existence in the market value of the holding. Supposing that a tenant whose rent it was proposed to raise said—"No. Under these conditions I cannot possibly stay; I must go, and take with me the value which I can obtain for compensation as a leaving tenant." Now, was it likely that a satisfactory new tenant could be found who would pay this double increase—first of all, the increase which the landlord made, and which was perfectly just and fair; and, in addition to that, this interest which the previous tenant would be called upon to pay if he had remained. It would be absolutely impossible, and, more than that, it would never be attempted. The landlord would have to choose between retaining his steady and good tenant and being content with the increase at first proposed, and taking a new tenant. As Sir James Caird said, the landlord had no more power to raise the tenant's rent indefinitely than he had to raise the price of Consols or Railway Shares if he desired to sell them. Suppose the landlord wished to raise his rent £60 a-year, and that £1,000 was due for compensation; suppose, then, that he would add £40 to the rent as interest on the £1,000 at 4 per cent.; that, together with the £60, would make an increase of £100 a-year. He asked, could that landlord find any satisfactory tenant who would take over the farm in the face of the rent which the landlord wanted to raise? This Amendment would then act simply as a deterrent; it would violate no principle of farming; it would not interfere with the freedom of trade, and it would necessitate no new machinery, because the machinery under this Bill would already be in existence, and the provisions of the Bill, with regard to the compensation to be paid to the outgoing tenant, could be brought to bear as thoroughly as in the case of the compensation due to the continuing tenant. Now, he preferred this Amendment of his to the others placed upon the Paper below it, for this reason. If the contract of tenancy were ever changed on an occasion on which there was to be a settlement of the old scores, it would be found that the landlord conversely would be deterred from reducing his rent, because he would have to face the tenant with the fact that he might have to pay compensation all round. In conclusion, he would urge on the Government the adoption of his Amendment, on the ground that it was founded on a general desire in the country, as expressed by Sir James Caird and others, and which had received such general approbation. He would not trouble the Committee by quoting the words of *The Times* newspaper on the day that Sir James Caird's letter appeared; but he would remark that it was thoroughly in favour of the Amendment he proposed. Since this Bill had been before the public there had been a great many farmers' meetings, at one of which the following Resolution was passed—

> "That this meeting is entirely in favour of the Bill so far as it goes; but we trust that during its passage through Committee it will be materially improved, with the view of giving the tenant farmers full and complete security for unexhausted improvements by compensation of the sitting tenant."

Secondly, and lastly, he would impress this Amendment on the Government from the point of view of expediency, believing that by making this measure thorough and adequate, as it would be by the introduction of his Amendment, they would settle the agricultural question once for all on a basis both honourable to Parliament and satisfactory to the country. He begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 10, after the word "entitled," to insert the words "on entering on a fresh contract of tenancy, where his rent is raised."—(*Mr. Borlase.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. WIGGIN said, before the Committee went to a Division on this Amendment he would ask the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill whether, in the case of an increase of rent, the sitting tenant could only receive compensation on leaving his holding? Would the landlord have power to increase the rent for the improvements made by the tenant who did not quit his holding? If so, it would be most unfair; and, therefore, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give an assurance that this was not intended, and that it would be made clear in the Bill.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON said, he had listened carefully to the speech of the hon. Member who moved this Amendment; but he must ask to be excused for saying that he could not understand from that speech how the proposal would work. The hon. Member repudiated any desire to introduce the Irish system into this country; and then he explained how the landlord who wished to raise the rent on the sitting tenant would be prevented from doing so by the difficulty of finding another man who would pay the increase of rent as well as the interest on the compensation he would have to pay to the tenant. But, surely, that was provided for by the Bill as it stood. Take the case suggested by the hon. Member himself, of a landlord proposing to increase the rent by £60 a-year, and having to pay £1,000 for compensation; there would be altogether £100 which the landlord would require to get from the new tenant, whom, as the hon. Member said, he would not be able to find. Surely, in that case, he would keep the man he had already; if he found the total increase of rent to the extent of £100 an impossibility, he would put up with a lesser sum from the sitting tenant. If the Amendment were designed to meet the case where the rent was sought to be raised on the tenant's own improvements, that was an object with which he thought all must sympathize; but he was unable to see what more could be done in that direction than was already done by the Bill. There would be an agreement between the landlord and the tenant, so as to prevent the possibility of the rent being raised on improvements of the first class; and in the case of drainage the tenant might insist on its being done before he took the farm. The larger the outlay on it, if judicious, the greater would be his security, as, if a proposal were made to raise the rent, and the tenant preferred to go, the very magnitude of the sum to be paid would be likely to make the landlord think twice before he turned him out. And then, ordinary compensation for the unexhausted manures, fertilizers, and agricultural operations of the third class, was already secured by the Bill according to their value to the incoming tenant, which he believed was generally admitted to be the only fair standard for unexhausted improvements of the kind. It was easy to define those improvements; but the other improvement suggested was undefinable. Formerly, if a tenant did not agree to an advance of rent he ran the risk of losing his outlay on the holding as well as his home. Under the Bill he ran no risk of the former; but as to the latter, no price could be put on the *pretium affectionis*.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he rose for the purpose of asking the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) to withdraw his Amendment, and allow another to be submitted to the Committee. It seemed to him, in the first place, that the hon. Member, in proposing the Amendment, put the cart before the horse, so to speak, because he sought to place a fresh tenancy before the determination of a tenancy. The Amendment, he contended, would also be injurious to the tenant, because unless his rent were raised the hon. Member would give him no claim to compensation. It did not follow that on a fresh tenancy the rent would be raised; the rent originally might have been very much higher than a just and equitable rent for the farm, and if the tenant had to trust to the mercy of his hon. Friend alone he would find himself without any remedy whatever. He could not believe for a moment that Sir James Caird, if he were a Member of that House, would be disposed to support the Amendment now before the Committee. Upon the general question he would say one or two words only. He believed hon. Members opposite would be as desirous as were Members on that side of the House to give an advantage to the occupying tenant, if they could do so without any interference with the rights of property. From the year 1858 to the year 1868 there had been a rapid and continual rise of rent throughout the country. Sir James Caird had stated that within 20 years the rise of rent of agricultural land amounted to £331,000,000 sterling, and that the expenditure of the landowners was only £60,000,000 sterling. In this general system of raising rents the process was almost uniform. At the time he referred to, London valuers of eminence were asked to go down to the country for the purpose of valuing the estates of the landowners for a new rental. The gentlemen who went down had no knowledge of the tenants and the circumstances in which they worked, but they performed their functions; and the result was that a very large increase of rent was reported to the owner in respect of all the farms in his possession. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had a case in his mind at that moment, in which the rent was raised on every farm, and not a single tenant on the estate quitted his holding. But it could not be contended that there were not cases on that estate in which the tenant had a very considerable claim with regard to improvements; these tenants, however, were not in a position to make an active claim against their landlord. But what would have been the effect of the Amendment which he proposed? He did not contend that any one of those tenants would have received compensation in money; but the effect of giving them a claim for their permanent improvement in the land would have been to bring the landlord and tenants together; and, instead of the latter suffering an increase of rent upon their own improvements, the landlord and the tenant would have been able to make a bargain between themselves; they would have settled by a rough-and-ready system the apportionment of improvements, partly belonging to the landlord and partly to the tenant. The objection to the claim for payment by the landlord for transitory improvements had been already stated; these could never come into question, because if the tenant remained on the farm he would himself exhaust them. The question, then, only remained as to permanent improvements; and with regard to these, one of two operations might take place on an advance of rent; either allowance could be made as compensation for the tenant's permanent improvement, or the money could be paid down. There would be no objection to the landlord and tenant coming together and making an arrangement that there should be a modification of the rent. He did not think the Amendment referred to would carry them nearer to those objectionable principles which he desired to avoid. At the same time, he believed it would give the occupying tenants a very sound and sensible advantage, while it served the main object of the Bill, which was to promote good husbandry. For these reasons, he hoped the hon. Member for East Cornwall would withdraw the Amendment before the Committee.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE said, that the effect of the Amendment would be that the landlord, seeing that the tenant had a heavy claim against him for improvements, would have to let the farm again at an advanced rent. The Amendment, therefore, appeared to him not to be at all in the interest of the sitting tenant, for whom he (Colonel Ruggles-Brise) would be glad to see something done. With regard to the landlord, the Amendment would affect him prejudicially in several ways. It would make it difficult for him to raise the rent sufficiently high to compensate himself for the interest on the money he would have to pay to the tenant; while, with regard to the third part of the Schedule, the tenant would be compensated twice over, because at the end of a few years he would have exhausted all the improvements for which the landlord paid him. For these reasons, he could not support the Amendment before the Committee.

Mr. DODSON assured the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) that he appreciated the terms in which he had moved his Amendment. He also took that opportunity of rendering to him the tribute of credit due to that Alliance of which he was Chairman for what they had done in the interest of the farming class, and in the interest of agriculture generally. Having said so much, he must state his objections to the Amendment which the hon. Member had moved. In the first place, it seemed to him that the Amendment was only applicable to good times. It aimed at preventing the owner from taking advantage of the tenant's improvement to raise his rent in good times; but it did not attempt to prevent his taking advantage of the tenant's improvement to refuse to reduce his rent in bad times. But if it was to be wholly efficient from any point of view, they ought to provide for the case of bad times also. That, however, the Amendment did not touch. Again, the rent might be raised in consequence of the improvement of the holding effected by the landlord; in consequence of a rise in the market value of farms generally, or of a rise in the market value of the particular farm; but in none of these cases could it be contended that the tenant ought to be compensated. Where the rent was not raised, or was only raised for such reasons, and the tenant held on and continued to reap the benefit of the improvements he had made, he could not be held entitled to compensation for them. The single case to which the Amendment applied was where the rent was raised against the tenant on his own improvements. The answer to that was this. The owner, no doubt, might ask for such a rise; but, economically, he would not be able to get it, and for this very simple reason—the tenant would object that it was a rise of rent upon his own improvements. What was the position of the owner then? He must place himself in the invidious position of giving the tenant notice to quit, and he must give him compensation for his improvements. He must provide that compensation, either out of funds of his own, or out of funds provided by the incoming tenant. If he provided the money out of his own funds, he then lost as much interest as he gained in rent; and if he provided it out of the funds of the incoming tenant, then, of course, the incoming tenant could afford to pay so much less rent. Therefore, the landlord might as well agree to go on with the existing tenant at the existing rent; and it would be better for him to do so, and thus avoid the risks and trouble incident to changing his tenant. He had put the case of an owner disposed to take advantage of the fear or disinclination of the tenant to leave the holding. His answer to that objection was that if the tenant was so anxious to stay as to submit to a rise of rent upon his own improvement without resisting, and if the landlord took advantage of that anxiety, then the Bill would not protect him; but neither would the Amendment of the hon. Member. This assumed protection to the "sitting tenant" was delusive. It would give no more protection to the tenant than was already given to him by the Bill, which it was evident was a real, because an economical, protection, since the landlord would be unable to raise the rent upon the tenant's own improvement without being liable to pay for it. The tenant would have everything in the shape of protection short of the right of staying on—that was, short of fixity of tenure and a limited rent, objects which the supporters of the Amendment disclaimed. He said fixity of tenure and limited rent, because there was no use in saying that the rent should not be raised unless they gave him the right to stay for some considerable period, and there was no use giving him the right to stay except on condition that the rent should be limited. The one was worth nothing without the other. They were not prepared to grant this fixity of tenure; and, indeed, the hon. Member himself said he was not prepared to concede it. Then they came back to this — that the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member added nothing whatever to the security given to the tenant beyond that which was already given by the Bill. He therefore objected to the Amendment, and to the words proposed by the hon. Member, on the ground that they had been converted into a mere shibboleth, calculated to cause misleading hopes, and certain to result in disappointment if they should be adopted.

MR. PUGH ventured to think, with reference to what had fallen from his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, that there were very few Members in that House who possessed a practical knowledge of the subject who would agree with his right hon. Friend. He (Mr. Pugh) was quite prepared to join issue with his right hon. Friend as to whether the Bill would give the tenant 1*d*. more in the way of security, or whether it would not. He thought, if they were to talk of shibboleths at all, he might describe what his right hon. Friend said in regard to fixity of tenure and official rents as the shibboleth he wished the Committee to accept as the ground of rejecting the Amendment. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman spoke in good faith in alluding to fixity of tenure and official rents in connection with the Amendment; but the Amendment itself had been described in perfect good faith, because it was believed that it would give the tenant a certain amount of additional security without departing from the principle of the Bill, or, in point of fact, extending it. What was the position of affairs? He was not going to contest the question with the right hon. Gentleman whether originally the landlord ought to have got a greater rent, or whether, logically or theoretically, he could get a greater amount of rent; but he knew, as a matter of fact, that tenants every day agreed to pay an increased amount of rent sooner than leave the holding. He knew that this was the case in Wales, and that the tenant did pay a larger amount of rent. Indeed, it was the greatest grievance that the tenant complained of. He did not feel very much for the tenant who was quitting his holding, because he received the value of his improvements to a certain extent. There was a certain amount of money coming to him—it might be large or it might be small; but if the question was whether he was to pay an increased rent owing to the improved value of the farm, he was perfectly helpless, unless he was prepared to say—"I will leave this place where my father and mother have lived before me and go away somewhere else." It was a fact within his own knowledge that the rent had been raised in that way upon the tenant's improvements, and raised to a very great extent. What was the reason the tenant was not prepared to leave his holding. The right hon. Gentleman said that, economically, if he could not pay the rent he was asked to pay he would go away; but, in the first place, the question of sentiment was allowed to enter into the matter. A man did not like to leave the place where he had been born and bred, and give up a farm every field of which he knew, and he would pay an increased rent sooner than leave. Then, if he could not afford to pay such increased rent, he would contrive to go on paying it; and every year he would go back in the world on account of the increase of rent. He did not think that was a sentiment to be sneered at, or to be disregarded. There was another thing which weighed with the tenant—namely, that he had obtained a thorough knowledge of the farm upon which he had been engaged. If he went to another he had not only to change his neighbourhood, but when he moved an auction would have to take place, and he would have to sell various things at a valuation, and then he would be required to transfer his operations to an entirely different farm, of which, probably, he would have no special knowledge at all. At present, the tenant was on a farm of which he knew every field. He knew what would grow well, and what he ought to sow, and where weeds of a certain kind might be expected to grow. Even if he had very little capital he was able to get along. But if he was compelled to give up the farm, then he had to commence life again. They could not look upon these people as persons who entered simply into a commercial contract to take a house in the country. There were many considerations which the tenant farmer had to bear in mind, and which ought to be respected by all persons concerned. Of course, the tenant was entitled, when he left the farm, to be paid for his improvements; and he was of opinion that if the Amendment were adopted the effect it would have would be this. The owner of the land would consider his own interests before he raised the rent. The landlord and tenant would be brought together; they would consider the real value of the farm; and when they met, in all probability, in most cases, the landlord would agree to a reduction of the valuation of the farm for the improvements which had been carried out by the tenant at his own expense. What was the tenants' position now in regard to the law; because they ought to make their laws, as far as they could, in conformity with the principles of equity and justice. The position now was this—that the landlord was quite right in saying to the tenant—"Well, I grant that you have made improvements which are worth £10 a-year; but according to law that is not to be taken in account before you leave the farm. When you leave the farm you will be paid the full value of your improvements; but until then you must pay, in the shape of rent, the full value of the farm." Then, unless this or some similar Amendment were adopted, it would not be open for the landlord to say that; but he would have to negotiate upon a different basis, and the tenant would have the value of his improvements to negotiate upon. Therefore, if the Amendment were adopted, the tenant would be placed in a far better position. He would be enabled to obtain the value of his improvements, not as a dormant, but an active interest. It was no answer for the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to say that the Amendment would not give him a perfect protection. He (Mr. Pugh) quite agreed that it did not give him a perfect protection; but he contended that it gave him additional security. No doubt they could not give the tenant perfect security without going a great deal further—even to the question of judicial rents. They could not, theoretically, give him perfect security; but he (Mr. Pugh) did not know that it was necessary to do so. What he asked for, and what he believed the tenants would be satisfied with, was that they should have the security given to them by the Amendment, that they might be able to say, when they were called on to pay an increased rent to the landlord—"Part of the increase you ask for is due to the improvements I have made, and due to these improvements only." He did not see what answer to that claim it was to say—"Your improvements do not apply to back periods, when the rent was lower than it ought now to be." The right hon. Gentleman said, also, that the rent might be raised on other grounds by the owner. That was so. It was impossible to limit the grounds for enhancing the rent; but the object of those who supported the Amendment was that whenever it was proposed to raise the rent it should be taken into consideration on what account that rise of rent was due. He certainly pressed this as a very serious matter, and the tenants of the country looked forward to it more than to any other point. He knew very well, as regarded the tenants of Wales, that they all desired some additional security, and were anxious for the insertion in the Bill of some clause in the shape of the present Amendment. Under those circumstances, he hoped if the Committee went to a Division on the matter that the Government would meet them by inserting in the Bill either the Amendment of his hon. Friend or another Amendment in the same sense.

MR. CARPENTER GARNIER very much deprecated any interference on the part of Parliament in the question of rent at all. Very often the landlord would have a right to increase the rent owing to the state of the markets; and in many instances the improved value of a farm might be altogether independent of the improvements effected by the tenant. If the Committee accepted the Amendment he thought they would have to go much farther, and enter into the question whether the rent was rightly or wrongly raised, which, as had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, would lead to the introduction of the Irish system into this country.

MR. RATHBONE said, he was able to confirm the remarks which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. Pugh), that this was an Amendment very much asked for and desired by the small tenant farmers of Wales, who had made reclamations and other improvements at their own expense. A vast majority of landlords would only be desirous of doing justice to the tenant for his labour and outlay; but there were exceptions, and in the past they had been the occasion of the greatest possible injustice. Although it was perfectly true, as the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had stated, that it was possible for a landlord to go behind any Amendment of this sort and to evade the object of the law, yet those who studied these matters would be aware that the law often had a practical effect in indicating to those who wished to obey it what was just and right. There were a great many people who would do very hard things if the law enabled them to do them, and if they knew that they would not be breaking the law by doing hard things; but who, notwithstanding, would restrain their hand when they felt that the law was against them. Therefore, he did think, upon that ground, that the insertion of the Amendment would, in regard to what was just and right, be of considerable value. It would enable the tenants to resist any invasion of their rights, and to that extent it would afford them considerable encouragement. He, therefore, thought that some such Amendment was desirable in the Bill, even though it might be possible for the landlord to go behind it.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, he was very much at a loss to understand the argument of the hon. Member who had just sat down. The Bill, as it stood, was a very simple one, and it was placed upon a logical basis. In the relations between the landlord and tenant a sort of partnership existed, in which the landlord provided the land and a considerable portion of the capital, and the tenant provided the rest. It was agreed between them that provision should be made for the payment of interest upon the landlord's capital, probably to the extent of 2½ per cent, and then that the tenant should have the right to make the most he could out of the farm. The Bill said that at the termination of that contract, when a tenant quitted the holding, then, in addition to his taking away the capital he had placed upon the land, and the advantages he had derived from it, he should have paid to him by law from the landlord a sum of money for certain classes of improvements set forth in the Schedule which still remained in existence, and from which the incoming tenant would derive advantage. It might be fairly said that where the tenant had put up certain buildings, or carried out a certain system of drainage, or done other things, from the expenditure on which additional advantage had been derived, and if that expenditure had been incurred with the consent of the landlord, of course the tenant would receive compensation. But there were many things which might tend to improve the value of a farm which would not be owing to the outlay of the tenant. For instance, a large population might have grown up in the district, which would materially improve the value of the land, or railways might have been introduced into the district; and what it was now proposed to enact was, that no increase of rent should take place without entitling the tenant to claim from the landlord payment for the increased value of the holding. With regard to unexhausted improvements, the tenant might have made use of considerable quantities of bone or artificial manures, and might have derived the whole benefit from them during the time of his tenancy; but if any of the improvements carried out in that direction were still unexhausted, the tenant might be perpetually drawing sums of money from the landlord for such improvements, owing to the right he would have of giving notice to quit whenever he chose. The tenant could choose his own time for giving notice to quit. He would be able to say—"I have done so much upon the land, and I have a certain interest in the unexhausted improvement; and I therefore, by giving notice of my intention to leave the farm, call upon you to pay me the full value of my outlay." He thought that advantage for the tenant was controlled in some degree by enabling the landlord to say—"You shall be paid upon quitting the holding, but not in the meantime." He considered that the Bill, as it now stood, was fairly and logically drawn, and that the Amendment would be destructive of the principle of the measure.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said, he would not object for one moment to hon. Members advocating their views of the Amendment; but he believed that many hon. Members who supported it had not thought out the problem, but had allowed themselves to be led away by what he might call the phrase of the "sitting tenant." The allegation was this—that it was possible, under the provisions of the Bill, for the landlord to extort a rent from a holding which properly belonged to the tenant. He would respectfully put it to hon. Members who supported the Amendment that if they would examine the provisions of the Bill they would see that the views they held were not at all warranted. The question really was—Could a tenant, after the Bill was passed, be deprived of the value of his improvements? He had no intention of speaking of what had happened 20 years ago, in such cases as those which had been referred to by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold); but the question was, whether the Bill would not afford protection for the improvements of every tenant, so that if the tenant had some interest in the landlord's property that interest would be assured to him? The improvements of the tenant must come under one of the three heads of the Schedule. The first part of the Schedule applied to permanent improvements, which could only be made with the consent of the landlord. Consequently, at the time when the agreement was made between the tenant and the landlord, the tenant could make his own terms in regard to the repayment of any money he expended himself. The second part of the Schedule applied only to drainage; and then they came to the third and most important part—namely, improvements carried out in the ordinary operations of cultivation, which could be undertaken without the consent of the landlord. The argument now raised was, that if a landlord increased the rent, the tenant, if he refused to pay it, had no alternative but to leave the holding, or he would be unable to derive the advantages he ought to have from his improvements. It appeared to be imagined that the claim of the landlord to increased rent would be based upon the unexhausted improvements arising from the investment of the tenant. If the rent were sought to be raised upon any unexhausted improvements, how would the case stand? The landlord might be simply raising the rent upon grounds entirely unconnected with the outlay of the tenant; and the Amendment really involved this consideration — that the tenant was to remain in the enjoyment of land which might have been improved from external causes without paying anything for the increased value. He would, therefore, get the value of the improved position of the land, because he would be paid the value of the improvements, and would then go on enjoying them. He hoped that hon. Members would not prolong the discussion upon the question, as it seemed to him that the Bill, as it stood, afforded ample protection, and that no case had been made out in favour of the Amendment.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that it was very easy for the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) to assert that other hon. Members had not thought out this question, and that now the Committee had heard the hon. Member's arguments it was not necessary for them to hear anything more. Certainly he (Sir Alexander Gordon) had one or two words to say upon the question. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would find themselves able to accept one of the nine Amendments which stood on the Paper, all of which indicated the same spirit as that which his hon. Friend the Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) had moved. The purpose of that Amendment was to omit the words "on quitting his holding." The hon. Member had provided that the Amendment should only apply to cases where an increase of rent was made, and for this reason—that where a tenant remained in the enjoyment of his own improvements and at the same rent, he had no right to complain, because he would himself be enjoying the results of his own improvements. The hardship only existed when the landlord raised the rent. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would see the importance of leaving out these words "on quitting his holding." He might point out to hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Bill of the late Government, of which this was very much an imitation, had no such words in it; and therefore the Bill of the present Government was much more stringent and harder upon the tenant than the Bill of the late Government. He hoped the Government would consider the matter, because he was sure they were desirous of conferring a benefit upon the tenant, and of making the Bill easier to the tenant rather than harder. The right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill had used the very often quoted words "fixity of tenure" and "official rents;" but he failed to see a single Amendment on the Paper of that kind, indicating a desire for fixity of tenure or official rents. What they wanted was what the Bill gave—namely, judicial arbitration, and it was the same as that of the Bill of 1875—judicial arbitration, and a judgment by the Judge of the County Court. That by no means meant "official rents;" but judicial intervention and judicial arbitration. If the Bill made provision for those objects it would give all that was wanted. All that was now proposed was that the tenant should have the right to go to an arbitrator, and that the arbitrator should decide whether or not he should have compensation, and, if so, what was to be the amount of it.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, this was a very important Amendment, and it would be useless to urge the Committee to go a Division until the question had been well and fully discussed. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chippenham (Sir Gabriel Goldney) had raised some objections to the present proposal; but the hon. Member's objections were just as applicable to the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, which the hon. Member assisted to pass. The hon. Member seemed to assume that after a tenant, on the termination of his tenancy, had obtained £1,000, or some other sum, from his landlord for improvements, he would be compelled to start afresh, and then, on the termination of another tenancy, would be entitled to a similar claim. He did not think the hon. Gentleman could seriously imagine that anything of that sort could take place. On the contrary, on the termination of the second term of tenancy the tenant would only be entitled to the additional value given to the holding during the second term. Therefore, the objection of the hon. Member would entirely fall to the ground. The Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) raised two questions; but he (Mr. Howard) would prefer to take the sense of the Committee upon subsequent Amendments which dealt with each question, although, if the Committee went to a Division, he should certainly support the Amendment of his hon. Friend. He would, however, point out one defect in the Amendment which had not received notice at the hands of previous speakers. It would do away with the necessity of the landlord giving notice to quit to the tenant before entering on a new agreement for a future tenancy. That would be a considerable point gained, because it was not a pleasant operation for a landlord to give an old tenant notice to quit, and it was much more unpleasant for a tenant to receive such notice. It had been urged by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that the Bill did, to some extent, secure the sitting tenant; but he (Mr. Howard) contended that it did not secure him sufficiently or efficiently, and he had on a former occasion shown how, in various ways, he could be better and more effectually secured. He would remind the Committee that the object of the Bill was to secure the higher cultivation of the land, and that was the only ground for an appeal to the Legislature to interfere with the relations between landlord and tenant. They could not justify the interference of the Legislature between landlord and tenant upon any ground of justice, if the object were not to secure the higher cultivation of the land. Then, why should the benefit which the tenant was to derive be made payable only on his quitting the holding? The object was to give security to the tenant for the money he might have invested in many ways; and it was conceded that in the event of the tenant quitting the holding he should be compensated, because his claim was founded on the principles of justice. The claim advanced on behalf of the sitting tenant might be resisted and rejected by the present Parliament; but it would be ultimately granted, because it would be insisted upon by public opinion. It was quite obvious that if the sitting tenant did not enjoy a full and adequate sense of security, the very improvements which it was the object of the Bill to encourage and see carried out would not be made. With the permission of the Committee, he would read a portion of a letter out of some hundreds which he had received upon this subject. It was not from a gentleman of extreme views, but from a gentleman who had occupied the position of Chairman of the Chamber of Agriculture for the County of Cambridge last year, Mr. Robert Stephenson. The writer was not a revolutionary man; but he had put his points so fully and well that he (Mr. Howard) hoped the Committee would listen to an extract from his communication. The writer said—

"I feel strongly that those gentlemen make a great mistake who consider that the Bill already provides security for the improvements of the sitting tenant. They argue that a less rent from the old tenant is equal to a larger rent from the new one, because the landlord escapes paying for the improvements. Of course, it is; but it does not follow that the landlord will accept this lower rent if the same man will pay a higher one, which he will do rather than go. Under the Bill as its stands, every farmer knows well that on a re-valuation he will be asked to pay as much rent as a stranger would pay. Take, for instance, the case of a good landlord who does not wish to confiscate any of his tenant's improvements, but who thinks that, owing to other circumstances, he ought to receive a higher rent—such a landlord employs a surveyor, who goes over the farm, finds it growing good crops; but, however skilled he may be, it is impossible for him to say how much of those crops is due to the natural fertility of the soil, and how much to the improvements of the tenant, unless he has before him at the time a Schedule of the improvements the tenant has made. He cannot value the land by looking at the land alone. He must have regard to the growing crops, and these may be entirely due to the tenant's outlay, although the valuer may not be apprised of the fact. When we recollect that many landlords do not regularly employ a surveyor, and only send for one to make this particular valuation, it is not reasonable to expect that he can avoid valuing the tenant's improvements in the landlord's rent—in which case he is misled into considering that to be natural and, therefore, permanent fertility which is only fertility arising from the tenant's improvements of the third class; and so the tenant gets doubly punished—he is not only called upon to pay a rent on his own improvements, but the rent which is charged is permanent, whilst the improvements themselves are only temporary. He must always recollect that if the rent is valued too highly the old tenant will pay it rather than go, for the reasons mentioned in my letter to *The Times*. If injustice of this kind will occur under the best landlords we know what will happen in the case of those who are not so good. . . . . There cannot possibly be any harm in a clause providing that whenever the tenant's rent is raised he should, before paying the increased rent, receive the value of his improvements as if he were quitting the farm. Such a clause would be in perfect harmony with the provisions of the Bill; and there are so many reasons why a tenant cannot leave his farm that—suppose the Bill passes without such a clause—it will soon be found in practice that in a great majority of cases the old tenant will be content to sacrifice his improvements, and rather than be turned out would bid as much for the farm as a new comer, or, in other words, the landlord will receive rent on the tenant's improvements, without in any way paying compensation for them. People do not sufficiently consider the great evil arising from the land being over-rented. It is all very well to say the present depression arises from bad seasons. A man can farm any land in any season if the rent is in proportion; but over-renting the land—partly owing to the system of renting a man on his improvements—keeps the farmer poor in good seasons, and in bad seasons entirely ruins the agriculture of the country, and in the long run is no gain, but a loss to the landlord, as well as to the tenant and the public."

From his own experience, he (Mr. Howard) could fully corroborate the views expressed in this letter; and unless the interests of the sitting tenant were in some way or other fully secured, the objects aimed at by this Bill would assuredly never be accomplished.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, they were all agreed as to the desirability, necessity, and propriety of affording protection to the sitting tenant, as well as to the tenant who was leaving the holding; but the question which they had to consider—and the discussion had wandered very much away from it—was whether the acceptance of the Amendment would really add at all to the security of the tenant? That was the only question they had now to discuss. He could not help thinking that the idea of increasing that security arose from not looking into the position of the parties—the landlord and tenant—and the rights which would be possessed by the tenant under the Bill. They were not discussing the question whether he was now protected; but how the future sitting tenant was to be protected when this Bill had been passed into law, and whether, under the new state of things, he would get any additional protection by the acceptance of this Amendment. It was said that unless the Amendment was accepted the sitting tenant would have no right to compensation. He could not agree with that at all. The sitting tenant would have an active right to compensation when he was in a position to say to the landlord—"You cannot increase my rent without giving me a right to that compensation. Except by giving me notice to quit, you cannot increase my rent." Now, he wanted to know what was the position of the two parties when the tenant was brought face to face with his landlord? The tenant would naturally say—"You can only make me pay more rent by putting me in the position that I am to go if I do not pay it; and, if you do that, you will at once put me in a position that I shall have a claim for compensation to the whole value of my improvements; therefore, I insist that my claim is an active one while I remain on the farm. The fact that I can claim the sum of £100, which will be due this day week or this day month, places me in a different position from that which I should occupy if I had not that sum of £100 to claim." After all, the landlord would be placed in the position that the tenant could only have an increased rent imposed upon him by being forced to give up the farm, and the tenant could only be forced to come to terms by being paid the full amount due to him for his improvements. It was said that in many cases the landlord would be able to raise the rent notwithstanding that fact, because of the desire of the tenant to stay upon the farm. Well, how could he be prevented from doing that by the passing of the Amendment? The Amendment would only come into effect on the making of the contract for a new tenancy. It was to be rendered active face to face with the making of a new bargain; and if the bargain was one which the tenant did not feel inclined to accept, he would be in a position, rather than pay more rent, to say—"I will go away." If he was entitled to compensation, well and good; but the rent would still have to be fixed, and the Amendment did not touch the question of what the bargain might be. If the question came to a bargain with regard to the rent, then one of the elements of that bargain, according to hon. Members who supported the Amendment, was that in certain cases the tenant would be willing to pay more rent rather than go out. How were they to protect him against that if they passed the Amendment? The objection, therefore, to the Amendment was that, although they assumed to be giving additional security, in truth and in fact they were giving none. One word as to the improved condition of the tenant when the Bill passed. He thought it would not only give the tenant a legal position by enabling him to say—"You cannot make me pay more rent without giving me compensation;" but the right to compensation would often, in future, be the basis of the arrangements on which the rent would be fixed. A right-feeling man would object to raise the rent upon the tenant's improvements, when he knew that they were improvements for which he would have to pay if the tenant went out. He would not say that it would be legally impossible; but the fact that there was a recognition of the right to compensation would make it much less probable than it otherwise would be; and that fact would be an element also in the basis of a new valuation. It was a great additional protection introduced by the Bill. No doubt, there might be cases where a man, refusing to be guided by any sense of right, would act wrongly against the tenant; but, at the same time, the adoption of the Amendment would afford no protection against instances of that nature.

Mr. W. FOWLER agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that the Amendment would not practically benefit the sitting tenant; but he thought that the benefit afforded should be extended all round, and that it should apply both to those who gave up the farm and those who agreed to stay. He thought the Solicitor General had not quite caught the idea which was brought to the minds of those who were in favour of the Amendment. As he (Mr. Fowler) understood the matter, the compensation under the Bill would never arrive until the man went away—that was to say, that the tenant must leave the holding before he got the compensation. That being so, it inflicted on him the fine of leaving the farm before he obtained the benefit of his improvements. He wanted to know if that was really fair? Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the rent was unfairly raised, then was it not hard that the tenant should have to go out of the farm before he could obtain the benefit of the Bill? He might get some indirect benefit, as the Solicitor General had pointed out, because, in many instances, the landlord would be no more able to afford to raise the rent than he would have been before the Bill passed. That was quite true; but cases often arose in good times and in good agricultural seasons—such as existed some years ago—when they would find 10 men going after the same farm. It appeared to him that the landlord might raise the rent most unjustly; and the Bill would give no assistance to the tenant, because it said—"Unless you go out and make a great sacrifice; unless you sell your stock and your implements, and everything about you, you shall not get a farthing under the Bill." He had been told by Sir James Caird the other day that he had no doubt the fine in most cases would be quite equal to the whole amount of compensation the tenant would get. That being so, he thought the Committee ought carefully to consider what they were doing, and not to pass what was supposed to be a great boon to the tenants of the country, if, at the same time, it was to be incumbered with all sorts of inconvenient conditions. In the latter case they would only be mocking the tenant farmers, and would not confer on them any real and substantial benefit at all. The whole object of the Committee and of the Government ought to be to make the Bill effectual for the purposes for which it had been introduced.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY sympathized entirely with the object his hon. Friend had in view; but he thought the best security for the sitting tenant would be full compensation to the quitting tenant. If the quitting tenant were fully compensated for his improvements he thought the sitting tenant would be in a position to make reasonable terms with the landlord. He believed that if they passed this Compensation Bill it would lead very much to arrangements between the landlord and tenant, and that the valuation and compensation clauses of the Bill would be very seldom called into account. On the one hand, the tenant would be placed in a very much better position for dealing with his landlord regarding any increase of rent. He would be able to say to the landlord—"If you raise my rent I must be fully compensated for my improvements. No doubt I shall suffer considerable loss by leaving the farm, and I am willing to pay you the full rent of the farm itself, but not of my improvements; but if, on the other hand, you insist upon having a rent beyond that value, then

I must go, and have my compensation." The landlord would then naturally consider that if he had to pay full compensation to the outgoing tenant for his improvements whether he would get much increase of rent, and whether it would not be better for him to arrange with the sitting tenant who was in the occupation of the holding. That was the position in which the tenant farmers desired to be placed, and it was the position they were fairly entitled to hold. The tenant farmers desired nothing further than to pay a fair rent for the farm; and if a tenant was prospering well, and holding his own and paying his way, he would be willing to pay a higher rent for the farm than any other tenant, because he would dislike to leave the place where, possibly, he had been born and brought up and to go elsewhere. The landlord would be insured the full value of the farm, and, at the same time, the tenants would be in a better position to deal with the landlord. If they laid down the principle that the tenant, on leaving the holding at the termination of the tenancy, should have full compensation for his improvements, it would give the best security which the sitting tenant could possess. Although there had been a demand among the Irish farmers for fixity of tenure, there was no such demand made by the Scotch or English farmers as yet. He knew that their opinion was very much in favour of remaining on their holdings. They objected to be evicted from capricious motives, and their improvements confiscated; but he did not think it would be advantageous, either to English or Scotch landlords, that there should be a demand for fixity of tenure, and the best way to keep down such a claim on the part of the tenant farmers was to secure for them full compensation for their improvements, by making it impracticable for unscrupulous landlords to confiscate such improvements.

MR. DUCKHAM urged that it was the absence of security on the part of the tenant for the improvements he effected which had placed so large a portion of the land of this country in its present state. There were millions of acres of land in this country which would be cultivated and grow infinitely more than they did now if security for the tenant's capital were provided. There are large portions of land entirely thrown out of cultivation from the want of it, and the difference between the Bill and the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) was this:—That when the landlord demanded an increase of rent the tenant should then have a right to receive the amount due to him for his improvements before he was required to pay the advanced rent. That was the difference between the sitting tenant being compensated according to the lines of the Amendment and according to the Bill. As the Bill now stood, before the tenant could be compensated he must have given up the farm; whereas, according to the Amendment, he would be entitled to compensation should the landlord determine to increase the rent. That being so, he would then have the principal he had invested in the improvements to use in his business, and would be paying interest in the shape of increased rent.

MR. STORER remarked, that the outgoing tenant would be in most cases fully compensated by the incoming tenant; but it was now asked that he should also receive a large sum from the landlord for improvements. Who was to pay that sum? The landlord would not pay it without being repaid, and therefore it would fall upon the incoming tenant. Notwithstanding the views which had been expressed, he believed that the tenant farmers of the country did not want one farthing more than was in justice due to them, and he (Mr. Storer) should certainly not support the Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 45; Noes 196: Majority 151.—(Div. List, No. 207.)

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 10, to leave out the words "on quitting his holding."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, this Amendment did not at all touch the sitting tenant. He quite agreed with the Solicitor General and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that compensation could only be given on the determination of a tenancy; but what was the determination of a tenancy? A breaking of tenancy at which there could be a raising or lowering of the rent. He himself had placed an Amendment on the Paper to move the omission of these words, because they were surplusage in his opinion. If that was correct, then they were mischievous, because they put the two parties in this relationship to one another—that they would be supposed not to be able to enter into a fresh tenancy after there had been compensation given. A tenant and landlord were about to quit their relationship; the tenant claimed his compensation, there being a break in the tenancy. There were many cases in which a landlord would be very glad that a tenant who had lived with him on amicable terms, and who had done his duty to the farm, should enter upon a fresh contract of tenancy. That being so, why should they put words into this clause which would prevent such a contract being renewed? These words, "on quitting his holding," were mischievous in their character, and suggested that the law would be what many would be sorry to see—namely, that there should be no fresh contract between a landlord and an outgoing tenant. It might be said that the outgoing tenant was also the incoming tenant; but that would carry no weight, against his view that a tenant, after claiming compensation, might enter into a fresh contract.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Staveley Hill) appeared to advocate the Amendment chiefly on the ground that it would be a drafting improvement to the Bill. He seemed to say that, by omitting these words, the Committee would improve the wording of the Bill; but that was not the object of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) and others who had put the same Amendment on the Paper. If this was not a question of drafting, then the substantial question before the Committee was precisely that of the sitting tenant, upon which they had just given their verdict; and he appealed to hon. Members to consider whether it was worth while to reopen what the Committee had fully discussed and emphatically decided upon?

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY appealed to the Government to give way upon this point. It was not a question of the sitting tenant which was now raised. The Government proposed to put two conditions on the tenant before he could obtain compensation—one that it should be the end of the tenancy; the other that the tenant should quit his holding. That seemed to him to be clear evidence of the grudging spirit in which this Bill had been brought forward; for the clear and sound and honest principle was that the tenant should be entitled to compensation when the bargain was completed—at the end of the tenancy; and why should there be this further condition of quitting the holding? That was really a reactionary step. The Government were going back from the Act of 1875, which said that the tenant should be entitled to obtain compensation on the determination of the tenancy. There was no condition that he should quit his holding before being entitled to compensation, as was now proposed; and if the Government persisted upon retaining this condition they would put the tenant in a worse position than he was under the Act of 1875. If they really wished to do anything for the tenants they should give way upon this point; if not he hoped a Division would be taken.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this Amendment was the same in substance as that which the Committee had already discussed; but it was a somewhat wider proposal than the Amendment just rejected. Under that Amendment the tenant would have been entitled to compensation on any change of tenancy involving a raising of the rent; but this Amendment would put him in that position when there was a reduction of rent. It was true that these words were not in the Act of 1875; but that Act was extremely defective, and might have operated very unjustly to tenants, because it gave a tenant a right to claim compensation on the determination of his tenancy, but no such right to a tenant who did not make a claim to hold over his improvement. The Act had not, however, come into operation in that respect, and that defect had not been discovered until now; but there was the same defect in the Irish Act of 1870, and had caused considerable injustice. Tenants who had not made their claim at the right moment had lost all right to compensation;

and these words were now introduced in the interest of the tenants, in order to give them the protection which was not afforded by the Act of 1875. It was true that the Government had thought it well later on, by Clause 27, to give still further protection to the tenant, and he admitted that if that clause remained, these words would not be necessary in the interest of the tenant; but having inserted them originally, and looking at all the circumstances, they thought it better to make it plain that compensation should be given, not only on the determination of the tenancy, but on quitting the holding. The universal practice, under every agreement for compensation, in ordinary contracts, or by the custom of the country, was for the tenant to claim and receive compensation only when he quitted his holding; and he would ask hon. Members who favoured this Amendment to point out any case in which a tenant had ever received compensation on the renewal of his tenancy, and to say whether it was not the universal practice for compensation only to be given when the tenant actually quitted? The tenant who remained on a holding was both an outgoing and an incoming tenant. He was to himself an incoming as well as an outgoing tenant, and he was in exactly the same position as an incoming tenant who had paid compensation to an outgoing tenant. The Government considered that, on the whole, it was better that the law should conform to the practice, and they had, therefore, inserted these words. This was not merely a drafting question; it was an extremely important matter, and one which had been decided by the Committee by the last Division.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman was somewhat confused. Clause 27, to which he had called attention, had no application to the matter now before the Committee, for it merely continued the right to compensation for improvements in regard to a past tenant. That was the precise object of the clause, and, while it was useful, it had no relation to the present Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman had stated, and with a good deal of truth, that a tenant farmer never obtained compensation unless he was an outgoing tenant. That was the very reason why he proposed this Amendment, because within his knowledge, 25 years ago, scores and hundreds of tenants who would have been entitled to compensation under this Bill, did not obtain it because they continued as occupying tenants. The right hon. Gentleman had proved up to the hilt the necessity of this Amendment, because he had said a tenant did not receive compensation while he remained in occupation; and it was because their claims were not regarded that this Amendment was so necessary. He differed entirely from the right hon. Gentleman in thinking that this would in any way prejudice the rights of a landlord. It would simply protect the tenant, as he ought to be protected, against the raising of his rent, and the effect would be to bring a landlord and tenant together, and enable them to adjust the rent to their mutual satisfaction. The name of Sir James Caird had been frequently mentioned, and this Amendment was precisely that which he desired to see put forward and carried. He was glad to have this opportunity of taking a Division, and he hoped every hon. Member who desired to do justice to the farmers of England, and improve agriculture, would support him.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that what he meant was that, in the case of contracts under which a tenant received compensation only on the determination of the tenancy, the tenant never received compensation if he arranged with the landlord to continue in the holding. The compensation was always carried over.

SIR JOSEPH BAILEY said, that in times of depression it would be open to a tenant to give notice to quit, and he would then force the landlord to pay money for improvements at a time when it would be difficult to get a new tenant; and yet he might have no intention to quit, but merely to get money from the landlord.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman was not satisfactory. If a tenant had been sitting for several years the introduction of this provision would not give him any compensation until the end of the period. He thought it right to point out that this Liberal Government, which had made such great promises to the tenant farmers, were really offering them less than they had already under the Act of 1875. The question was, whether a tenant should, on principle, be entitled to compensation at the end of his lease; or whether the further condition should be imposed upon him that he must quit his holding? He was glad the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had admitted that this was not a question of drafting. There must be some other object in view to the prejudice of the tenant farmers in imposing this further condition upon them; and, therefore, he (Mr. Barclay) hoped the Committee on this point would give its decision against the Government, if they would not agree to withdraw the words.

Mr. DUCKHAM said, that during the debate many allusions had been made to the Farmers' Alliance. He must beg to inform the Committee that he was not a member of that Alliance; but he had the honour to be the President of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture, and he presided over one of the largest of its meetings he had ever seen on the 5th of June. At that meeting a resolution was passed unanimously in favour of eliminating these words from the Bill. He might add, further, that nearly every Associated Chamber throughout England and Wales had sent resolutions of the same nature. He did hope that the Government would find some way, if they could not consent to the elimination of these words, of making alterations which would meet the wishes and desires of the farmers of England. He assured the Committee that there was a very strong feeling entertained by them that there should be greater security in their holdings. They, like the people of Ireland, were attached to the hearths and homes of their forefathers, and often submitted to what they felt to be a wrong rather than quit; besides which, they did not care to be put to the cost of removing, which was a serious item, in some cases amounting to several hundred pounds. He noticed that Sir James Caird, in a letter to *The Times* on Saturday last, estimated that the loss a tenant would sustain by the cost of removing his farm stock and implements and furniture, and the damage and deterioration occasioned in the process, to say nothing of the difficulty of finding an equally suitable farm, might be moderately put at 10 per cent on his capital. Now, that was a very large item, and would very frequently be equal to the amount of compensation which would have to be paid to a farmer for the improvements he had executed on his holding.

Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, that, in confirmation of what the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had said, he might say that he knew of no instance, either under custom or agreement, where any compensation was paid to a tenant for his outlay, except on quitting his holding. This Bill was to give by Statute to the occupying tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements, which neither the custom of the country, or the custom of the different counties, or agreements in the ordinary way, had secured to him. The 5th clause provided that where any particular agreement in writing secured to the tenant fair and reasonable compensation, the compensation should be payable in pursuance of the agreement, and should be deemed to be substituted for compensation under this Act. Where, however, an agreement did not prevail, the Act came into operation. They could not run counter to the existing state of things by setting up a new state of matters. He could not understand what claims could be made for compensation by a man who was still in the occupation and enjoyment of his holding.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON reminded the Committee that there were other ways of compensating a tenant besides paying him money. A new lease might be given to him at a reduced rent in consideration of the improvements he had made. He must again ask the Government whether, if they were so anxious to improve the tenant's condition, it would not be well, in the interest of the tenant, to make the matter optional by the insertion of the word "or?" A tenant then could take his choice.

Mr. PUGH said, the First Commissioner of Works had stated that it was because there was no custom to give the tenants security that they wanted this additional protection given to them by Statute. If there was a Statute which would give them the right to compensation for their improvements in case their rent was raised, there would be no need for this Amendment. What the farmers throughout the country were demanding was that they should have some security without quitting their holdings. It had been said that some respect ought to be paid to what was done before the passing of the Act; but surely it was not contended that if a valuer was sent down from London to value an estate in Wales before this Bill was passed he would ever dream of inquiring whether the improvements had been made by the landlord or the tenant. He presumed the course would be exactly the same before as after the passing of the Act. There were other things which had to be considered. What would they say with regard to price? Supposing there was a farm worth £100, and the valuer said it was worth £120, no one would for a moment say that a man ought not to get £120 if he could.

MR. BIDDELL said, that, as a matter of equity between the two parties, he could not see why a man should be paid for his improvements as long as he was in the enjoyment of them. It might be said that all the reductions of rent now going on were taking place in consequence of improvements on the farm. That was not the case, because improvements for the time very often led to increases of rent. He was certainly of opinion that if they did not leave the clause as it stood they would step into further trouble. He would, however, like to receive some statement from the Treasury Bench as to the meaning of the words "determination of a tenancy."

MR. HENEAGE said, it was clear that the valuers, under the Bill as it was drawn, would have to find out who made the improvements. For instance, the 7th clause provided that—

> "The award shall not award a sum generally for compensation, but shall, so far as reasonably may be, specify—
>
> (*a*) The several improvements, acts, and things, in respect whereof compensation is awarded;
>
> (*b*) The time at which each improvement, act, or thing was executed, done, or permitted."

Therefore, the valuers would have to take great trouble to satisfy themselves as to when the improvements were made; and if they found that the improvements were made by the tenant, they, of course, would not be taken as landlord's improvements. There was another great fallacy abroad just now, and it was that the tenant only lost by quitting his holding. He maintained that no landlord who looked after his own affairs would ever wish to change a tenant, because a new tenant always desired something new being done. Although he did not attach very great importance to these words, he thought it was well they should be retained.

MR. MAPPIN said, one of the greatest complaints tenant farmers had was that they were liable to have their rents raised on their own improvements, and what was proposed to be done by this clause was to remedy such a state of things. If they did mean to redress this grievance, let them do it properly, and not compel a man to give up his holding before he received compensation. He hoped the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) would go to a Division, because, unless they expressed their opinion strongly upon this matter, the country would feel that they were not doing real justice to the tenants.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, it was with a view of meeting the difficulty raised by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for West Stafford (Mr. Staveley Hill) that he (Mr. J. Howard) had given Notice of his intention to leave out of the next clause the words "at the determination of a," and to insert "or on entering into a fresh contract of." He very much preferred those words, because they cleared up any doubt as to the intentions of the clause. At the same time, if his hon. Friend (Mr. Arnold) went to a Division, he (Mr. J. Howard) should vote with him. He entirely failed to follow the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, who would excuse him, he was sure, for saying that he entirely failed to show how the retention of the words proposed to be left out could possibly benefit the tenant farmers. The effect of the retention of the words, as he (Mr. J. Howard) had said previously, would be to compel the landlords to give notice to quit; whereas the elimination of these words would avoid this painful necessity. Furthermore, it appeared to him that by the introduction of these words the Government seemed determined to bar, not only one door, but two doors, against the tenant. He hoped, however, that he was wrong in such a supposition.

that the rumour which was afloat that there was a coalition between the two Front Benches was really the case, and that it was perfectly useless to attempt to move any further Amendments. He appealed to the Prime Minister to give to the Committee some assurance as to the real reasons of the Government for not accepting this Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 87; Noes 30: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 208.)

The CHAIRMAN called upon Colonel Kingscote to move the next Amendment in line 13.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he had an Amendment which came before it in line 12.

The CHAIRMAN: That is a consequential Amendment, and it would be out of Order to put it after the decision which has been arrived at on the Motion of the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase).

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, he had an Amendment before that of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) which had not been placed upon the Paper. He proposed to move, in line 11, after the words "quitting his holding," to insert the word "or." The object of the Amendment was to provide that the tenant should have the opportunity of obtaining compensation from the landlord under the Act at the determination of a tenancy as well as upon quitting his holding, in order that he might get as much benefit as possible from the Act of the late Government, and in order to moderate, to some extent, the new hardships which the present Bill imposed upon the tenant.

The CHAIRMAN: I am of opinion that that is an Amendment which is covered by the previous decision, and therefore it cannot be put.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD wished to point out to the Chairman that the Division upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) covered two points.

The CHAIRMAN: I cannot enter into that question now. I have already ruled that the Amendment which the hon. Member proposes to move would not be in Order.

Mr. STORER said, he had given Notice of an Amendment in line 12, which he believed was in Order. He proposed to insert after the word "landlord" the words "or incoming tenant, as the case may be." The object of that Amendment was to provide that where a tenant had made improvements in his holding he should be entitled to obtain in compensation a sum fully representing the value of such improvements, either from the landlord, or from the incoming tenant. Many things might pass from the outgoing to the incoming tenant which might be called improvements. Of course, where the consent of the landlord was necessary to an improvement the landlord was made to pay; but there were many improvements of an agricultural nature which might be made without the consent of the landlord, and in all such cases the measure of compensation was the benefit the incoming tenant derived. Certainly the incoming tenant had to pay for such improvements, and would naturally expect to do so. His capital would be appropriated to that purpose, and he (Mr. Storer) did not see why his name should not stand in the Bill in connection with such cases, at all events. The Amendment would provide that where the landlord had not given his consent the incoming tenant should be called upon to pay, and not the landlord. The landlord could repay the outgoing tenant for improvements to which his assent had been given, and the incoming tenant might be required to repay the landlord. But, without such a provision as this, it might be dangerous in many cases to admit an incoming tenant upon a farm who was only anxious to obtain part of the tenant right connected with the farm. Such tenant might come into possession of a farm and then refuse altogether under the Bill to pay for the improvements effected by the outgoing tenant, and, as long as he paid the rent, he would be able to hold the property at least for two years without being turned out. It was well known that there were tenants who shifted about from one place to another for the simple purpose of acquiring tenant right, and then getting paid to go out. The insertion of this Amendment would, he thought, get rid of that temptation and danger.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 12, after the word "landlord," to insert the words "or incoming tenant, as the case may be."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DODSON said, he hoped that the hon. Member did not intend to press for the insertion of those words. The object and intention of the Government in respect to this matter of liability to compensation was to leave the liability upon the shoulders of the person upon whom it now rested by law—namely, the landlord. It was perfectly true that in many cases the incoming tenant paid the compensation to the outgoing tenant; but that was simply by arrangement. The owner of the property was the person liable by law, and that was so under every custom everywhere. There was an additional reason why they should maintain that state of the law under the Bill, because by the Bill they were going to give the owner the power of charging these matters upon the inheritance.

MR. PICKERING PHIPPS said, he thought the position of the owner and the position of the occupier were quite distinct. He was quite certain that the farmers of this country were not desirous of having extraordinary tenant rights to pay when they went into a farm. He could not vote for the Amendment, because it was only fair to the outgoing tenant that the owner of the farm should be responsible to him, and not the incoming tenant.

MR. STORER intimated that he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, the Amendment he was about to move in no way affected the vital principle of the Bill. It was an important Amendment notwithstanding. He proposed, in page 1, line 13, to leave out the words "such sum," and insert "so much of his outlay thereon." The object of the Amendment was to provide that when a tenant quitted his holding he should be entitled to claim from the landlord, "so much of his outlay thereon" as fairly represented the value of the improvements to an incoming tenant. It would be admitted that the tenant's interest in the improvements he had himself effected was represented by the outlay he had made. The land itself had an inherent quality for which the tenant paid rent. That was to say, that it had something inherent in it which the tenant was capable of getting out. He got profit from whatever he put into the land and whatever he spent upon it; and if he were compensated for outlay, surely he got all that he could expect, whether he was holding the land or when he quitted it. He thought it would be a most dangerous principle to establish by law that the tenant was not only to get the value of his own improvements, but also the value of improvements which were to come afterwards. It might be said that this was a question of valuation. So it was; but then he thought they ought to put before the valuers exactly what they were to value. They ought not to be asked to value anything beyond the actual cost of the tenant's outlay, because it could not be discovered all at once whether they were improvements or not. It might be said that the tenant ran two chances. He might employ manures or feeding stuffs, and he might apply them so that no real improvement was effected upon the holding, and he ought not to think it a hardship if he were obliged to produce bills showing what his outlay had been, and to place them before the valuers. He (Colonel Kingscote) very much deprecated the calling in of any other court or tribunal than the landlord; but he did not wish either the tenant or the landlord to be at the mercy altogether of the valuers. Let the valuers have clear and distinct lines laid down on which they would have to go, and let them know what they would have to do. It seemed to him a most dangerous principle that they should have merely placed before them for their judgment what they could see, and not have the actual cost put before them to show what the tenant had laid out. The matter was of so much importance that although it might be said, and some of his hon. Friends around him had said, that this Amendment would come in better in a later clause of the Bill, yet he thought that in this clause, which was the Instruction Clause, it could not be too clearly defined what was not to take place. Therefore, he felt that he really was moving in the proper place words which would simplify matters extremely, and which did not affect in any way the principle of the Bill, but simply declared and placed before the valuer what he was to do. He believed the Amendment was required in order to render the clause equitable as between the outgoing tenant and the incoming tenant and the landlord. After these few remarks he would move the insertion of the words of his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 13, to leave out the words "such sum," in order to insert the words "so much of his outlay thereon,"—(*Colonel Kingscote,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, he thought the Committee must see the force and reasonableness of the Amendment. It appeared to him that the Bill of 1875, in this particular respect, was very superior to the clause in the present Bill, because the amount of compensation to the tenant in the Bill of 1875 was clearly defined as a certain portion of the outlay incurred by the tenant. The tenant in such cases produced his vouchers, and a valuer was not required; but, at the same time, the landlord could not be called upon to pay more than the tenant had actually expended. He should like to know how it was possible to tell how much of the improvements upon a farm was due, under this clause, to the expenditure and enterprize of the tenant, and how much was due to other external causes, such as improvements in seasons, or improved markets in the neighbourhood, or the introduction of a railway into the district, or to an inherent fertility of the soil, which might have been brought out by the action of the tenant? He thought it would be very unreasonable, in all cases like these, to attribute all the improvements to the outlay of the tenant. He could quite imagine that a tenant might have expended the sum of £20 upon his farm, and by that expenditure he might have actually increased the annual value of the farm by £5 a-year. By the clause, as it stood in the Bill, it was proposed that the landlord should be called upon to pay the capitalized value of that sum of £5 a-year; and in that case he would probably have to pay the tenant more than £100. But no tenant, for such an outlay, could reasonably expect to be paid a sum like that. He should like, for a moment, to call the attention of the Committee to a statement which appeared to have found its way into *The Times* newspaper yesterday, and which professed to contain an instruction on this particular point. An imaginary instance was given of a farmer who, by simply turning the course of a river, reclaimed 1,000 acres of swamp, and converted them into fertile land. In that instruction, the writer said that it would be most unreasonable for the tenant to claim compensation for the whole of that improvement; because, after all, a large portion of the improvement existed in the soil itself, from which the tenant had simply removed the water. These were questions which ought to be looked at from every point of view; and he was quite certain that the more they were considered the more the Committee would be in favour of limiting the payment to the tenant to the amount of money he had actually expended.

Mr. FLOYER said, that they had hitherto talked of the advantage of the outgoing tenant; but he wished to remind the Committee that there was such a person as the incoming tenant, and he thought that, as a rule, although the landlord did not like to lose sight of old friends, in order to receive new ones, yet he looked with some interest upon the incoming tenant. The incoming tenant was to occupy the farm, and it would be most detrimental to the future occupation of it if his means upon entering it and stocking it and cultivating it were to be considerably curtailed. He knew he might be told that, according to the Bill, the landlord was the person who was to recompense and pay the tenant for his outlay, and that all the liabilities lay upon his shoulders. He had no desire to find fault or quarrel with the provisions of the Bill; but there was another thing which possessed a strong power in most counties, perhaps more in some than in others—namely, the custom of the country and the habits of the people, whether landlords, tenants, labourers, or whoever they might be. Now, he fancied that under that custom they would find, practically, that although the landlord was liable for a considerable part of the improvements which the tenant had effected, and for which he was to be paid on quitting his occupation, an arrangement must be made between every landlord and every tenant on going into the farm, under which there would be a certain portion of the improvements for which the incoming tenant would be expected, and would agree to pay. Now, what portion of the improvements would that be? Under the Schedule attached to the Bill there were three Parts. The 1st Part was a very important one, and it formed a very large part of the improvements into which the tenant, if he so wished, could enter, and incur a very extensive outlay. He could not speak for other parts of the country, only for his own; but he did not think that there were many tenants in his part of the country who put up large buildings, or who went into any extensive outlay upon permanent improvements, such as the laying down of permanent pasture, planting osier beds, making water courses, irrigating the land, &c. Therefore, that part of the Schedule was one upon which the tenant would have a claim upon the landlord on quitting the farm, and he had no doubt the landlord would be perfectly ready to compensate him for his outlay, because, in the first place, the improvements must have received the consent of the landlord. Next came the 2nd Part of the Schedule, which applied to drainage? For that part, also, arrangements must be made, and opportunities were given in the Bill for the landlord and the tenant to agree together as to the mode in which the drainage should be executed; and, no doubt, if the tenant did a material part of the drainage, in that case, also, the landlord would be ready to recoup the outgoing tenant. He came now to the 3rd Part of the Schedule, and that part again affected landlord and tenant in different parts of the country in a different manner. It had reference to improvements to which the landlord's consent was not required, such as boning of land with undissolved bones, chalking, claying, marling and liming, and then there came after that repayment for the outlay on feeding stuffs, manures, and things of that nature. Now, these were matters which he did not think were very well put into the 3rd Part of the Schedule. If he remembered rightly, under the Agricultural Holdings Bill, they formed part of the second class. They were, no doubt, of a more transitory nature than the other two classes to which he had referred—namely, permanent buildings in the 1st Part, to use a generic term, and the drainage included in Part II. How was the outgoing tenant to be recouped for these purposes? He had said that, no doubt, the landlord would repay the tenant for the first portion — namely, No. 1 Part of the Schedule; and he would also be ready, as a general rule, to repay him for the second portion; but he apprehended that, although the landlord might be bound by the Act to repay the tenant for the 3rd Part, to a very great extent, at least, the repayment under the 3rd Part would be made by the incoming tenant, and it was only fair and reasonable, because the improvements under the 3rd Head of the Schedule were of a very transitory nature, consisting of chalking and liming, and still more the use of manures and feeding stuffs, which were matters which, after a few years, might cease to be productive. Chalking was supposed to last, under the Agricultural Holdings Act, up to two years. He believed that liming was pretty much the same; and as to feeding stuffs, some people, and even high authorities, thought that feeding stuffs, and more especially artificial manures, did not benefit the farm, if they benefited it at all, after one year, and certainly that they did not benefit it for more than two years. ["Oh!"] He did not give that as his own opinion, because his opinion was of very little value indeed; but he gave it as the opinion of many men of high authority and ability. Looking to the fact that the landlord would pay a certain portion, and the incoming tenant another portion, of the compensation, he thought they ought not to burden the incoming tenant too much. Let them have fair play. The outgoing tenant was a very good man; but the incoming tenant was also a very good man, and he wanted to hold the balance fairly between them. He wanted to give what was reasonable to the outgoing tenant, and not to put too much weight upon the incoming tenant. He thought the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) pointed very strongly, and led very directly, in this line. The hon. and gallant Member wanted to accord to the outgoing tenant an amount of compensation that was only reasonable and fair. It was reasonable in the interests of the incoming tenant. It was something more than that. One of the great difficulties in this Bill, and it was illustrated at an early period rather curiously by one of the speakers on the other side of the House—he was not sure that it was not the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard)—was this. It was stated, as an objection against the Amendment then under consideration, that there was no more difficulty in dealing with the proposed arrangements made in the Amendment than there was in dealing with the other parts of the Bill. The objection taken was to the effect that, after a lapse of time, it would be difficult to make out exactly what the improvement was. After a lapse of 10 or 20 years, it was said it would be difficult to say how far it was a case of general improvement on the farm—that was to say, how far a general improvement on the farm could be alleged to have taken place. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire had said that that was only the same objection that might be urged against every other part of the Bill. That was not saying much for the Amendment. What seemed to him (Mr. Floyer) to be a great advantage, or one of the great advantages, of the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) was that it did define what was to be paid. The objection to the Bill was the uncertainty of the amount, and of the whole proceedings when the tenant quitted his farm. They had to call in the valuers; and what did they know about it? Suppose the improvement was chalk; the valuers would go into the field and they would see that it had been drained and that it had been chalked—they might prove it by digging into the soil, and seeing how far the chalk went down. Here he would observe that it was a curious fact that chalk went down at a moderate rate every year; and if they put a spade into the ground, by the depth the chalk went down they could tell how many years ago the material was put on the land. What they wanted was to check the valuation that might be made. If the valuation was thoroughly arbitrary, and if the valuer was to be at liberty to go upon the farm without any directions or *data* on which to proceed, there would be great difficulty in bringing things to a fair and reasonable conclusion. But one point certainly could be kept in view, and that point, he thought, had been very fairly argued by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Gloucestershire—namely, that the amount of the outlay of the outgoing tenant should be one of the items on which the valuation was formed. The outgoing tenant should not be allowed to charge more for his compensation than the sum he had expended in making the improvement. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had always rather led them to suppose that this matter had been in his mind; because he (Mr. Floyer) had observed that the right hon. Gentleman, in dealing with this Bill, had spoken of it not as an Agricultural Holdings Bill, but as a Tenants' Compensation Bill. Now, a Tenants' Compensation Bill was clearly that which repaid a man for his expenditure. That paid to a tenant purely as compensation was not a visionary sort of sum to be allowed according to the idea which a particular individual might take of the value of an improvement. The valuer, if left alone, might say—"I think this improvement was judiciously executed —I think it is a valuable one—it is such an excellent one that I think the tenant who has executed it should be paid a great deal more than his original bill." It seemed to him (Mr. Floyer) that it would be very possible for a valuer to take that position; and then the question arose as to whether that was was reasonable; and certainly, so far as he could gather from the expressions of the right hon. Gentleman, the Prime Minister had pointed in that direction. He had had it in his view that the outgoing tenant should be compensated for his outlay, but that he should not be entitled to receive any fancy sum which a valuer might be inclined to give; and it was well known that valuers differed very materially on questions of this kind. Some men took widely different views to others. Now, it was on these grounds that he hoped the Committee would adopt the views of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Gloucestershire, and that Her Majesty's Government would give favourable consideration to the Amendment. He did not wish to make great changes in the Bill; but he thought this Amendment would be within its legitimate scope and meaning. He did not wish to depart from the lines of the right hon. Gentleman who had charge of this measure (Mr. Dodson); but it seemed to him that this proposal was within its legitimate scope, and he therefore trusted that the Government and the Committee would give it their favourable consideration.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Amendment went to the principle adopted by the Government in giving compensation to tenants; and he was sorry to say that they could not consistently with that principle accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. He might remind the Committee that the Act of 1875 adopted a different principle—namely, a principle founded on the original outlay on the improvement, with a specified deduction for each year that elapsed after the improvement had been effected. The Government, after careful consideration, came to the determination that that principle was incapable of being adopted generally over the whole country. They came to the conclusion that it was not such a principle as worked out fairly when applied to the whole country. In some cases it might work out that the tenant would receive too much compensation, and in many cases the tenant might receive too little; and, generally speaking, they had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to adopt that principle as a universal one in the absence of a sufficient contract between landlord and tenant. It became, therefore, necessary to lay down a new principle, and the only one which had appeared to them proper was to allow the actual value at the time the incoming tenant came into possession. In most cases, probably, it would be the fact that the actual value at the time the tenant quitted the holding would be considerably less than the original outlay, because time would elapse since the improvement was made, and no doubt, in most cases, the improvement would have somewhat deteriorated in quality. But in some cases the improvement increased in value in the interval; and therefore it appeared hard that the tenant should always bear the cost of the depreciation, and that yet in those few cases where there had been an appreciation the tenant should not receive the benefit of it. The hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyne (Mr. Donaldson-Hudson) seemed to fear that under the Bill, as it now stood, something more than the actual value of the improvement to an outgoing tenant would be given, and that the inherent qualities of the soil should be taken into account. Well, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) ventured to disclaim that interpretation of the clause. He maintained that the clause, as it stood, did not bear that interpretation. The value of an improvement did not include any of the inherent qualities of the soil. The hon. Member himself had quoted a case referred to in the memorandum that appeared in yesterday's *Times*—he referred to the following case. Suppose a watercourse were turned from its bed, and the effect of that was to add several hundred acres of good land to a farm, would the tenant, on quitting his holding, after making such an improvement, be entitled to the land so reclaimed? He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) said distinctly that it would not be so under the clause as it stood, because the value of that land was not the value of an improvement effected by the tenant. The improvement effected by the tenant was the diverting of the watercourse, and not the addition of the land to the farm. On this point there was no doubt, and could be no doubt, as it had been practically determined by a judicial decision arising upon almost similar words in the Irish Act of 1870, and in the more recent Irish Act of 1881. On this point he would venture to quote to the Committee the opinion of a very able and learned man, long a Member of that House—namely, the late Mr. Isaac Butt—who wrote an interesting treatise upon the Irish Land Question in 1870. Mr. Butt's contention was that the acquisition of land in such cases was not the creation solely of the tenant; it was the creation partly of the skill of the tenant, and partly of the inherent qualities of the soil. He had pointed out that it so happened that these inherent qualities did not always enter into the calculation of the letting value of the land. By improvement of this kind, said Mr. Butt, land valued at 2*s.* an acre had sometimes been made worth many pounds an acre. These improvements, contended Mr. Butt, which were the result of the inherent qualities of the soil, were not the property of the tenant, but were the property of the landlord, who had a right to have them returned when the tenancy expired. This was the opinion of the Irish Judges; and in this connection he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) need hardly remind the Committee of the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," in which case that very doctrine was laid down—namely, that where an improvement had brought out the inherent value of the land the tenant was not entitled to that improvement, but only to the cost of bringing it about. He could give many instances of what would happen in such cases. Suppose a tenant were to drain a field at a cost of £6 an acre, and supposing that increased the letting value of the property by 10*s.* an acre, would the tenant be entitled to the capitalized value of that 10*s.* an acre? He said not. The tenant would be entitled to the cost of effecting the improvement only. There was another case. Supposing a tenant removed a hedge at a cost of £10, and that the effect of that removal was to throw a considerable amount of land—say an acre—into the farm, was the tenant to be entitled to the capitalized value of that acre of land? He said not. The improvement was the grubbing up of the hedge, and not the acquisition of the land which was already there. It was clear that in such a case the value of the improvement was not the capitalized value of the land, but the actual cost of the act which had been done. Reverting to the general argument, he would remind the Committee that, as a general rule, undoubtedly the value of an improvement at the time of quitting a holding would be less than the original outlay. There might be cases, and there would be cases, where the value was greater. He would put to the Committee two or three such cases. Suppose a tenant had laid down permanent pasture with the consent of the landlord—he believed he was right in saying that that would not come into its true value for some considerable time afterwards—was the tenant to be limited in his compensation by the original outlay in such a case? He said not. The tenant should have added to that the fact that the land had not been producing its true value for three, four, or five years until the pasture came to its true value. The amount lost in that way should be added to the original cost of the improvement. Take another case. Suppose a farmer, with the consent of his landlord, planted an orchard which did not come into proper value until 10 years afterwards. It was quite certain that an orchard would not begin to bear profitably for some years after the time it was planted, and during the interval probably the tenant might lose the value of his land to a great extent. Besides that he got no interest on his outlay. When he quitted his holding, was his compensation to be limited by the original outlay on the improvement? He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) said that would be most unjust. What he was entitled to in such a case was the actual value of the improvement at the time he quitted the farm. He would put another case. Suppose a tenant had applied lime extensively to a field. He believed it not unfrequently happened that the value of the lime was not realized until two years or so after its application. He had been told there were such cases. On certain qualities of land it was undoubtedly the fact that the lime did not effect the object with which it was put down for two years after the application. Supposing that at the end of those two years a change of tenancy occurred, and supposing, in the meantime, that the value of lime had gone up, was the tenant to be entitled only to the original cost of the lime, and to no addition either on account of the increased cost of lime at that moment, or on account of two years having elapsed before any value was derived from the operation? If lime were to go down in value, then a deduction might be made from the original outlay; and yet, according to the Amendment, the tenant would not be entitled to the increased cost in regard to lime having gone down in value. If they adopted the principle that compensation was to be the actual value of the improvement at the time the tenant quitted his holding, they must take that principle with all its conditions—namely, that in some cases the tenant would get less than the original cost—in most cases probably—but in some few cases he would get more; and where the actual value at the time was more than the original cost, he thought it would be extremely unfair to the tenant if he were not allowed to get it. Under these circumstances, he ventured to hope that the Committee would retain the clause as it stood, and not adopt the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought there was great force in the argument that compensation to the outgoing tenant should be measured by the value of the improvement at the time rather than by the extent of the outlay; and he had given expression to that opinion, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite would recollect, on the Select Committee of last year, though on that occasion he was not in accord with most of those who sat on the Conservative side of the House. But he thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) himself had shown that that principle could not be accepted without very considerable limitation, and very much of his argument, as he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) understood it, went practically to admit the very principle for which the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire was contending; for what did the right hon. Gentleman say? He admitted that cases might occur where by grubbing up a large, straggling fence, considerable acreage would be added to a farm. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that it would not be right that the tenant who made such an improvement should reap the whole capitalized value of the land he added to the farm, but rather that he should reap the actual value of his improvement. Well, what would be the actual value of the improvement taken upon that basis? It could not be anything else than that portion of the cost of the improvement which remained unexhausted at the time of the tenant's quitting. The right hon. Gentleman said it would not be fair to give to the tenant the whole capitalized value of the land so added to the landlord's property, that being inherent in the estate of the landlord—just as he had shown that the natural qualities of a field which had hitherto lain dormant might be aroused into activity by drainage properly carried out to such an extent as to add very much more to the value of that field than anything that could be represented by the sum that had been spent in the drainage. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that in that case, too, the tenant was not entitled to the full capitalized value of the improvement of the land, and went almost so far as to say that the tenant's share would be measured by the cost of the improvement; for what had the right hon. Gentleman said? He had told them that the law, as interpreted by the Courts in Ireland, had laid down that the tenant could not profit in this way by the inherent qualities of the soil which belonged to someone else. But what was the decision upon which the right hon. Gentleman based that statement? Why, it was the decision in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," which had created so much excitement in Ireland, and was so strenuously objected to by hon. Members sitting below the Gangway on that (the Conservative) side of the House, and of which the Prime Minister himself, if he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) remembered rightly, had said that it was a matter which required grave consideration whether the law should not be revised in that respect.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): Not that point.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that decision had not been accepted as a satisfactory interpretation of the Irish Land Act by those who had been the main supporters of that Act; and now the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) asked them to rest upon that decision as a satisfactory interpretation of the Bill which was now passing through Committee. What he would venture to suggest was this—that if the right hon. Gentleman felt, as he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) quite admitted he might very well feel, that he could not substitute for the principle of value contained in this Bill the principle of outlay, that he should insert in this measure some limiting words which would show that the tenant should not be entitled to that which the right hon. Gentleman had admitted did not belong to him—namely, that part of the increased value which was due to the inherent quality of the soil.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND said, he thought they had came to a point on which he might say that he did not think the Committee had thoroughly realized the definition upon which this Bill was based. This Bill, as was customary now-a-days in Acts of Parliament, laid down a very broad principle in the very first clause. He confessed he had himself very grave doubt as to the wisdom of this definition contained in the 1st clause as applied to the whole class of what he thought were most improperly called improvements. He did not admit that the outlay of the farmer in either keeping his land clean, manuring his crops, or feeding his stock, should be called an improvement. He did not admit that such operations added to the letting value of the land. At first sight that might appear somewhat paradoxical. With regard to farms being given up in good condition, he had heard farmers complain of having their rents raised when they had got a farm into a good condition, and he had also heard others demand to have their rents lowered when the same thing had occurred. When a demand was made by a farmer to have his rent lowered under such circumstances, the landlord would say—"No; I can let the farm to-morrow at the same rent." He thought they ought to start upon the assumption that the farm was kept in reasonable condition, and that should always be borne in mind. He did not think the Committee had sufficiently borne in mind that the only compulsory part of the measure was that which applied to the 3rd clause. It followed that it was entirely the fault of the owner of the land if he allowed any power to which he objected to come into operation when he was able to stop it or to enter into a contract in the matter. He might, perhaps, appear to be depreciating the Bill; but, practically, that was what he had always thought was a right view for the Committee to take. It was a Bill for compulsory compensation to the farmer for that which was necessary for the conduct of his business. It was a Bill for free contract for that which was to the interest of both landlord and tenant—namely, the permanent improvement of the land. The compulsory effect of this Bill, practically, only applied to the 3rd clause. It was well known to the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that there were parts of England in which nothing could be worse for agriculture generally than to recognize outlay as the basis for compensation. There were places where they would be liable to be charged for what they ought never to have to pay for at all, and that was the origin of this clause. It was on that principle these words found their way into legislation.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he was sorry to hear the First Commissioner of Works say that this Amendment would directly go against the principle of the Bill, because he had an Amendment on the Paper of a similar kind which was in no way hostile to the principle of the measure. His regret, however, was modified somewhat by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, which he gathered was in support of the principle of this Amendment. It was true that the speech was a picture with two sides. On the one hand, compensation was not, under any circumstances, to include anything in the nature of what the right hon. Gentleman called the inherent qualities of the soil. The compensation, moreover, in nine cases out of ten, was to be less than the original outlay, although in some exceptional cases it might exceed it. On the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman said—and in this he thought the speech was inconsistent—that this Amendment, notwithstanding all that he had told the Committee, went directly against the root of the Bill, and that the compensation was to be actual value of the improvements to an incoming tenant at the time. The right hon. Gentleman started this contention by reference to hardships which would be incurred by a tenant who had laid out money on permanent pasture, and in making orchards, and in the use of lime; but he thought it had escaped the right hon. Gentleman that the tenant would be in this position. Having given up the farm he ceased to have any rent to pay, and having ceased to pay rent there was no hardship. It must be obvious, from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, that this point ought to be cleared up. He understood that the view and intention of the Government with regard to the amount of compensation was that it should not exceed the original outlay on the part of the tenant. But the outlay was not to be decided by the views of the Government, but by valuers throughout the country. What was the actual value to an incoming tenant of the improvements at the time? How was that to be estimated? No guidance or direction was given to the valuators, nor, so far as the terms of the Bill were concerned, was any limit placed upon their valuation. If he were a valuer, under these circumstances, he would have to decide according to the original outlay on the part of the tenant. He was to give such sum as actually represented the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant. But what was that value? Would not the valuers very likely decide that that value was the whole amount of the increase in the crops which the incoming tenant found on the farm owing to the improvements effected by the outgoing tenant? The hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Acland) said he took very little exception to this proposition, because, practically, it would be limited to the improvements mentioned in the third class. He was rather surprised at that statement, because, if he remembered rightly, in the Bill which the hon. Baronet introduced the measure of compensation was to be the value of the outlay to the incoming tenant.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND said, the Bill which he introduced was compulsory only as regarded those operations of which he had spoken.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he understood the hon. Baronet to say that this Bill, so far as it was compulsory, practically only applied to improvements in the third class. In that case, the two Bills stood exactly on the same footing. Naturally, therefore, he thought the hon. Baronet would have supported the principle of his own Bill on the present occasion. With reference to this subject, he would mention that this principle had been admitted and adopted in every Bill introduced into that House on this subject. It was the main principle of the Bill of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage).

MR. HENEAGE said, in his Bill this restriction only referred to temporary improvements.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he was aware of that; but what were temporary improvements as defined in the hon. Member's Bill? They included every kind of improvement under the sun, except those which were permanent. The improvements referred to in the Bill of the hon. Member included the whole of the second and third class improvements which were in the old Agricultural Holdings Act; and, with regard to all those improvements, he inserted a Proviso that, under no circumstances, was compensation to exceed the outlay. He thought there were very great grounds, indeed, for inserting that provision in this Bill. It seemed to him to be perfectly clear that everything which was given to a tenant as compensation over and above his original outlay represented the profits he would have gained if he had remained on the farm. But the right to make profits out of another man's land was precisely the thing for which a tenant paid rent. The rent was the consideration by which a tenant purchased the right to make profit out of another man's land; and, surely, it was only reasonable that when the payment ceased so ought the right to make the profit cease. If that were not so, it seemed to him that the landlord would be placed in this position. The incoming tenant, as a matter of course, would make his profit upon his outlay from the increased crops which he obtained, and which he sold at an increased price; but, according to the reading of this Bill, the man who went out was to have the same advantage. He was to reap the same profits, because he was to have such a sum as represented the actual value of his improvements to the man who went in. He hoped he might be wrong in this, and that he had placed an imperfect and incorrect interpretation on the Bill as it stood; but it seemed very far from being satisfactory at the present time. They had heard the opinion of the Government; but he did not see anything in the Bill to lead him to believe that the opinion of the valuer would necessarily be the same as that of the Government. He did not think it was possible that the matter could rest at this point; and he hoped the Government would reconsider the matter, and consent to the adoption of some words, or make some proposal, by which this matter would be distinctly cleared up. It could not rest in any satisfactory manner where it was; and, unless the Committee heard something further from the Government of a more satisfactory character, he hoped the hon. and gallant Member would take the sense of the Committee.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, that inasmuch as the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chaplin) had alluded to the views put forward by the First Commissioner of Works, but, in some respects, did not seem to have clearly followed those views, he would like to state again the view of the Government with regard to this provision. First of all, he wished to call attention to the exact effect of the Amendment. It was distinctly this—to make the outlay in all cases the maximum beyond which compensation should not go. The hon. Gentleman opposite was quite mistaken in saying that that was the proposal of the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Acland), or the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage). This proposal was that in no case could the value given to a tenant exceed the outlay. Was that a just restriction on the right of the tenant? He quite agreed with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Chaplin) as to the great importance, if it were possible, of laying down some principle of guiding the valuers; but he wholly objected to laying down an unjust principle. Was it a just principle to say that in no case compensation should exceed the outlay? The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had stated plainly that he did not consider that that would be in all cases just. Where there not cases in which a man might lay out a sum in improvements—say £200, in laying down permanent pasture? Supposing he spent that money, and reaped no benefit from it for some years, according to this Amendment, he would get no more than £200. Why should he only receive the exact amount he had spent? He had spent the money; and just when he was going to reap the benefit he might have to quit his holding and receive only his £200. That would be obviously unjust. In many cases when a tenant was going out the value of his improvements would exceed the amount of the outlay, and for which the incoming tenant would be prepared to pay a larger sum than had been spent by the outgoing tenant. If that were so, why should the outgoing tenant receive only the amount of his outlay? He maintained that that principle was not just, because deterioration or diminution of value would always be taken into account, and therefore, on the other hand, appreciable improvement ought to be considered. What the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Commissioner of Works had said was this. No doubt it was true that, in the great majority of cases, the datum would be the original cost. The cost itself might, in the vast majority of cases, be a guide to the value of the improvement. What a man had spent would be the starting point and the best guide for compensation; but it would not be necessarily conclusive. Then it was said that this proposition was in accordance with the proposal of the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Acland); but the hon. Baronet did not limit his proposal to the actual amount of the outlay. The measure of compensation was to be so much of the outlay as represented its value to the succeeding occupier—not so much of the outlay as represented the actual value, but whatever was the value of it to the succeeding occupier, and that might exceed the actual amount spent. It was the same in the case of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), and therefore he disputed that the Government were departing from their proposal. Another matter, which was a really different question, had been brought into the discussion—namely, that the tenant ought not to get compensation for what was not really his improvement, but really the improvement due to the inherent qualities of the soil. Upon that he thought they were all agreed; and his contention was that in this Bill that improvement would form no part of the improvements for which compensation was to be given to the tenant, because it would be no part of his improvements. What he was to be compensated for was his own improvements. The value of the land was no part of the value of his improvements, and he could not conceive that any valuer would act upon such a principle. With regard to the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," there were several points decided, and upon one or two of them there was great difference of opinion between the members of the Court of Appeal. There were four Judges on one side and three on the other on one point, and the view of the Prime Minister was that the decision of the three Judges was the decision in accordance with the intention of the Act rather than that of the four. That was a point which might require consideration; but upon the point now under consideration the whole of the Court were unanimous. Those who differed on the other points were agreed upon this; and, therefore, there was an unanimous decision to the effect that when a tenant's improvements were being considered only what he had done himself should be compensated for, and not any of the value of the inherent properties of the soil. But in that case it would not necessarily be limited to his mere outlay, because there was, in addition, the consideration of his skill in making improvements, which would be quite legitimately taken into account. He might, by the expenditure of a certain amount of money and a certain amount of skill, largely increase the value of the land. Of course, he was not to receive the increased value of the land so far as that was due to inherent qualities; but he should receive fair compensation for his skill, as well as the money he had laid out. That seemed to him an obviously fair view. Were they to lay down a hard-and-fast line that in no case should the value to the incoming tenant exceed the outlay, and that in no case the outgoing tenant was to get the amount for his improvements which the incoming tenant was willing to pay? In his view, it was not fair and just to lay down such a rule. Therefore the Government could not accept the Amendment.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman had not cleared up this very difficult question. When the First Commissioner of Works spoke he was in hopes, in the first portion of his speech, that he was going to make a statement which would be satisfactory to the Committee; but as he proceeded with his speech the right hon. Gentleman entirely explained away what he had first stated, for in the last part of the speech he tried to prove that, although he was not anxious to give to the tenant the value of the inherent qualities which might by good farming be to the benefit of the landlord, he was inclined to provide that in certain instances the tenant should receive all the benefit of the outlay he had made. He had mentioned permanent pasture; but that improvement depended entirely upon the class of land in which the seed was sown. No rule could be laid down upon that point, because it entirely depended upon the state in which the soil was. In some instances £200 laid out in that way might even be returned in the first two years; but in clay land it required considerably more money to lay down permanent pasture, and it often happened that after three or four years the ground had to be ploughed up again and some other crop taken from it. What compensation would be given in such a case to the incoming tenant who took the land when it was to be re-ploughed? Unless there was some principle laid down to guide the valuer as to what compensation he was to give, there would be no end of difficulties in regard to this Bill. In the old Act, no doubt, it was clearly laid down that the value should be such proportion of the sum laid out by the tenant as fairly represented the value thereof to the incoming tenant. So long as a tenant was in the enjoyment of his land he had the full benefit of the value of his own improvements. He paid rent to the landlord for the inherent value of the soil, and when he left the tenancy his successor also had to pay that rent; and surely that was the man who had the benefit of whatever value there was in the soil. He would take one other instance—namely, draining, which was rather a test question. What was to be done with regard to draining? Who was to have the increased value of the land—the landlord or the tenant? Those were points which ought to be settled before this question was parted with, because they were points of paramount importance with regard to the working of this Bill. If that matter was left as the Bill now stood, in his judgment valuers would naturally be very much inclined to benefit the outgoing and not the incoming tenant; because, generally speaking, they would look to the outgoing tenant as giving them their means of livelihood, and the incoming tenant would generally be very much neglected. If there was to be a different and a new class of valuers that would alter the question altogether; but, taking the valuers as they were, they would, in his opinion, read the Bill in a contrary way to the Solicitor General and the First Commissioner of Works. Suppose a tenant laid out £10 per acre on draining land, which was at the time worth 10*s.* an acre. If, at the end of 10 years, that land was let at 25*s.* an acre through the improved drainage, the cost in the first instance having been £100, what would be the value of that drainage to an incoming tenant? The value of the land would have been increased by £150.

The interest, taken at 3 per cent, would reduce that to £120. Was the outgoing tenant to receive £120, which would be exactly double what he ought to receive according to his outlay? That was a question he should like particularly to put, because it was of great importance whether, under such circumstances, the tenant was to receive the full benefit of his outlay, or whether the landlord was to receive extra benefit on account of the inherent qualities of the land? That was the sort of case they had to deal with; and when the right hon. Gentleman said that in certain cases the increased value was to be taken into account, he made no allowance in such cases for the land, but attributed the improvement to what the tenant had laid out. He knew many farms which were let at reduced terms, on the understanding that the tenant was to get the land into good condition. After he had done that, his rent might, perhaps, be increased; but he could then, if he chose, leave the farm, for he had been recouped for his operations by having a reduced rent, and he wished to ask the Government whether such a man was to receive anything for that which was his duty, and which he had agreed to do? Perhaps he had not put the point as clearly as he could have wished. If a man enjoyed the full benefit of all that he had put into the land so long as he was there, when he went out he was to receive, as he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) and his hon. Friends contended, the full money value of all that was left in the land. When a man gave up paying rent, was he to receive anything for the inherent quality of the land, which, perhaps, by his good farming he had improved? [The SOLICITOR GENERAL dissented.] The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General shook his head; but, as the Bill stood, there was nothing to prevent a valuer putting an extra value upon the improvements owing to the inherent qualities of the soil; and unless some words were put into this Bill to show clearly what was in the mind of the Government, this unquestionably would be the case. And if it was the case, it would be unjust, not only as regarded the landlord, but also as regarded the incoming tenant.

MR. ALBERT GREY said, it seemed to him that the question of what should be the maximum beyond which compensation should not go depended upon whether the Bill was compulsory or permissive. Now, it was compulsory in one part and permissive in another. It was permissive in regard to the improvements mentioned in the first Part of the Schedule, and it was compulsory as to the improvements named in the second and third Parts of the Schedule. He contended that where the Bill was permissive, as it was in Schedule 1, it was to give the widest possible presumption in favour of the tenant. The landlord could withhold his consent, and could stop an improvement from being made; but where the Bill was compulsory, he thought it was only right to limit the presumption of law, and he would be inclined to support the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote), which limited the amount of compensation to the extent of the outlay, if his hon. and gallant Friend would limit his Amendment to the compulsory part of the Bill. He (Mr. A. Grey) would suggest to his hon. and gallant Friend that he should withdraw his Amendment, and bring it up in an altered form, so that the clause should read in this way—

> "That compensation under this Act for such improvements, such sum as fairly represents the value of the improvements to an incoming tenant in the case of improvements mentioned in the first Part of the Schedule, and as much of his outlay therein as represents the value of the improvements to an incoming tenant in the case of improvements mentioned in the second and third Parts of the Schedule."

He ventured to make very modestly this appeal to his hon. and gallant Friend.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that the hon. and learned Solicitor General had cleared the hon. Baronet the Member for North Devonshire (Sir Thomas Acland) of having adopted the outlay as the test of the value of the improvements; but he was wrong in his defence of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), for by the 9th section of the Bill of that hon. Member it was provided as follows:—

> "Such custom fairly securing to the tenant the value to a succeeding occupier of the temporary improvements made or paid for by the tenant not exceeding the cost of such temporary improvements."

Looking to these concluding words, he thought they might hope to find the hon. Member for Great Grimsby supporting the Amendment now before the

Committee. He rose, however, to suggest a course which he believed might remove the difficulty felt by many Members to the Bill in its present shape. That difficulty was that there was nothing to guide the valuers in forming their judgment of the value. The Government had fairly stated their view to the effect that the inherent value of the land, though brought out and increased by the improvement, was not to be taken into consideration. This was in accord with the ruling of the Court in the Irish case, and was clearly just and reasonable. But unless some words were introduced by way of Proviso to that effect to guide and bind the valuers, how could we be sure that they would adopt that view? He hoped the Government would consent to the introduction of such a Proviso; and if they would do so he thought that the Bill would be much improved.

MR. HENEAGE said, they were now dealing with a specific Amendment, and not dealing with any Amendment that might be proposed hereafter. The Amendment before the Committee was an Amendment to the 1st clause, which was the ruling clause of the Bill. This Amendment would affect not only one part of the Schedule, but the whole of it; and, therefore, he did not think that because in his Bill the compensation was limited to the outlay with regard to temporary improvements, he could be called upon to support an Amendment to which he entirely objected, and which was certainly not in his Bill. He objected to the Amendment, because he thought it would be exceedingly unfair that it should apply to the first and second Parts of the Schedule. With regard to the permanent improvements, he need not remind the Committee that it was in the landlord's power to make these improvements, and that it was even the landlord's duty to make them. If the landlord, however, was unwilling, either because he was incapable, or for any reason whatsoever, to do the improvements, he was actually borrowing the tenant's money when he asked the tenant to make the improvements for him. He regretted extremely to differ with his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote) on this occasion; but the result of the Amendment would be this—that if the tenant made an improvement and it turned out badly, he would lose his money; but if the tenant, by his own judgment and by the work of his own hand, made an improvement which turned out well, he would get nothing more than the bare outlay he had made on his farm. That was a principle so utterly unjust that he (Mr. Heneage) could not imagine anyone who seriously looked into the question from a practical point of view endorsing it. He could imagine hon. Gentlemen who left a great deal to their agents not going into this matter thoroughly and not knowing how it would affect them; but, having had some experience of managing an estate without agents, and also of valuations, nothing would induce him to have anything to do with this Amendment. Let them consider for a moment how unfairly the Amendment would work in the case of drainage, which came in the second Part of the Schedule. They all knew that whilst one man would drain a field for £60, it would cost another £100; yet the work in the case of an expenditure of £60 might be a great deal better done than that in the case of the expenditure of £100. He asked hon. Gentlemen if they had not paid very dearly for borrowing money from the Government and getting their drains done by a Company? Not many years ago he was asked to go over the estate of a friend to see if it was fair any longer to ask a tenant to pay interest for drainage which had been done under Government. He found the drainage was of no use at all, yet on an adjoining estate he could see draining done under the tenants themselves, which had been done for half the sum, and which was in very good operation. His experience led him to the conclusion that draining ought to be done conjointly by landlord and tenant. He believed there was no one who was a better judge of what draining ought to be done, there was no person who could superintend draining better, than the tenant; and if the tenant was a good man, both he and the landlord could save much money if they went conjointly into the business. The hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) had referred to his (Mr. Heneage's) Bill. Now, the words of his Bill were that the compensation "shall be the value of the improvement to the incoming tenant." He (Mr. Heneage) thought if they were to guard against fraud the Amendment to Clause 7, standing in the name of the hon. Member for Hereford (Mr. Duckham), which restricted the compensation which should be paid to the outlay not exceeding the average of previous years, was a much fairer Amendment than this one. He would also like to remind the Committee that many tenants laid out a great deal of money in marling and in liming. Now, on some soil such work might do well, and on others it might fail. This was a really practical matter—not a political or Party matter—and it was fair to the tenant farmers of England to look at it in a practical manner. He (Mr. Heneage), for one, could not support the Amendment.

Mr. PELL said, he thought that whether the Committee agreed to the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Kingscote) or not, it was evident now that some limitations must be made in the Bill to meet the very reasonable objections that had been raised on both sides of the Committee, and not only to meet those objections, but to meet certain objections which, as he understood, presented themselves to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works. Let them consider for one moment what the Bill was doing here, in contradistinction to what the Act of 1875 did. Now, the Act of 1875 in one of its clauses recited that the valuer should ascertain the sum laid out in the improvement; that was absolutely necessary before the person who made the improvement could receive any compensation. Now, in this Bill the draftsman had studiously excluded any reference whatever to the outlay. That was a very serious change, and he thought the Committee might fairly consider what the effect of it might be. It had been stated on the Treasury Bench, with perfect fairness, that it was not the desire of the Government, when a tenant executed an improvement which might have marvellous effects, effects out of all proportion to the cost of the improvements, owing to some particular qualities of the land, that he should be compensated in respect of the inherent qualities of the land. He believed that the desire and the intention of the Government was that a tenant should not derive any extraordinary return for an improvement upon which it was clear his outlay must have been very small. But how would the valuers separate the value that attached to the improvements from the real qualities of the land, or from the outlay made by the tenant? He confessed that if he were a valuer he should have great difficulty on that subject, and he should be in still greater difficulty if the tenant handed over to him this Act of Parliament, presuming it to be passed in its present shape, which expressly protected the tenant from being bound to state to the valuer how much the improvement cost. All he would do, if he were a tenant, would be to point out the startling result of his occupation of the farm. He would not tell the valuer what an improvement cost, neither would he tell him what the condition of the land was before the improvement; but allow him to find all that out himself. It really came to this—that there must be some limit put for the landlord's protection, and, indeed, for the landlord's guidance, as to the amount of compensation to be paid. These improvements might have to be valued many years after they were executed. "An improvement" was a comparative term; and if the Committee eliminated the statement of the cost of the outlay, if they dismissed this entirely, which evidently the Government were doing in this Bill, it would be extremely hard for a valuer to arrive at any just conclusion, unless the valuer had some knowledge of the actual condition of the ground before the improvement was made. Was the valuer to call in the oldest inhabitant of the place, and to rely upon general statements which were not always correct? He (Mr. Pell) was of opinion that a decision upon such a question ought not to be arrived at upon such loose evidence as would be obtained in that way. Now, before he sat down let him draw the attention of the Committee to another effect of this clause, if it were left without some such Amendment as the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Kingscote) had proposed. Now, the valuers were to ascertain what sums as compensation would fairly represent the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant. Now, he was quite aware there was an Amendment on the Paper dealing with this subject, and he would not go into it at any length at this point; but he thought that unless they accepted the Amendment they were now considering, or something very like it, great injustice would be done. The value of the improvement to an incoming tenant was not the improvement of the holding. An improvement had a life like a human being; it existed for a certain period only. No improvement lasted for ever; indeed, they lasted only for a comparatively short time. The value of an improvement to an incoming tenant was its value for the time being, or, perhaps, for two or three occupations. It was possible that under the terms of this clause a valuer might, for instance, capitalize £20 or £30 at 30 years' purchase, though the same improvements would have to be repeated in the course of 10 or 12 years. He apologized for referring to this feature of the case, because he believed they would have to deal with it further on. He hoped that if the Government could not accept the Amendment they were now considering, they would, at all events, insert in the Bill some guidance for the landlord, or some limitations which would enable the valuers to clearly and distinctly separate that part of an improvement which belonged to the outlay made by the tenant, and that part which belonged to the natural character and adaptability of the land for improvement.

MR. ACLAND said, there was one consideration which had not yet been mentioned, but which he thought was of some importance in regard to this Amendment; it had been more or less pointed out by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). The hon. Member had said that if he were a valuer, he would take into consideration the state of the crops. He (Mr. Acland) supposed the hon. Gentleman would. What was intended by the Bill was that every encouragement should be given to occupying tenants to keep up the cultivation and condition of their land to the very last day of their tenancy. The last words of the clause were—

> "For such improvement such sum as fairly represents the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant;"

that was to say, that the advantage the incoming tenant should reap was that which he should pay for. The whole of the rest of the Bill was founded on the assumption that the improvements included in Parts 1 and 2 of the Schedule were improvements about which the landlord and tenant would make their own agreements. The last few words of Clause 1 really applied to the agricultural operations, which were affairs between the incoming and outgoing tenant. Therefore, in the interest of public policy, it was the duty of the Committee, if they wished to encourage tenants to do their duty by their farms, to give them every chance of reaping the full benefit of their outlays in those agricultural operations. If the Committee limited what tenants were to receive to their outlay, they would not give them a chance of getting the full value for the outlay which they would have received had they remained on the farm.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he thought the arguments just addressed to the Committee were the strongest arguments that could be used in support of the contention advanced by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Kingscote) on behalf of the Amendment they were now considering. What did the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Acland) say? Why, that the valuer was to be directed in his valuation by looking at what the land had produced; and if it had produced a fine crop, he had to conclude that an improvement had been made by the outgoing tenant for which compensation was to be paid. Now, the recent experiments at Woburn had clearly shown this—that, although they might find on lands crops growing luxuriously, they might be satisfied that there was no value left in the land; that after these fine crops of wheat or oats, as the case might be, had been reaped, the land would be absolutely exhausted. Of what service was it, therefore, that a valuer should go to land and see the crops growing there? The whole subject of their contention came to this — that everything was left to the valuer. Under the clause as it at present stood he received no guide; but this Amendment would distinctly give him a certain guide, because he would put down the outlay as a test. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works that there was a certain difficulty in absolutely and rigidly restricting the value to the exact amount of the outlay; and he (Mr. Paget) had placed on the Paper an Amendment to provide for the very few exceptional instances where no advantage might be reaped from the outlay during the first and second years, in which case it would be but reasonable that the interest should be added to the original outlay to represent the sum that the outgoing tenant would be fully justified in receiving. He did not wish to press his Amendment in the form it appeared on the Paper; but he ventured to throw out a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson), that the difficulty would be met by inserting in the Bill a definition of outlay, so that the word "outlay" might be held to include interest if the improvement had not borne any result, during the first or second years, to the man who had made the outlay. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General had said that they were all agreed. He (Mr. Paget) did not think the difference between them was at all material. The hon. and learned Gentleman thought he saw in the Bill as it was drawn something so clear that it would prevent a valuer by any chance whatever from handing over to the outgoing tenant that which was the result of some inherent substance in the land which had been developed by the improvement, and which the hon. and learned Gentleman himself admitted should not go to the outgoing tenant, but should belong to the owner of the soil. He (Mr. Paget) thought the difference between them might very easily come to an end, if the Solicitor General would exercise his intelligence in drafting an Amendment which would state clearly that which he believed they were all agreed upon, but which they failed to see in the Bill. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) clearly pointed out that if a valuer had nothing to guide him, except that which was contained in the Bill at present, he would be in no way restricted from giving to the outgoing tenant that which was really the property of his landlord, and which was the result of the inherent quality of the soil. In view of this, he (Mr. Paget) had drafted an Amendment which took the form of an instruction to the valuer. There, again, he had no desire to press his Amendment, because he would much rather the Government themselves adopted some words of their own embodying the same idea. If that were done, he had no doubt that the Committee would be quite satisfied. Until it was done, and unless it was done, he should be bound to support the Amendment which was now before the Committee. He impressed upon the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General the undesirability of leaving this matter in doubt. It was very undesirable to leave the matter in this state of uncertainty, as a Court of Law, before whom the cases would inevitably be brought, might decide exactly in the way which was not intended. The intentions of the framers of the Bill ought to be clearly set forth, and ought to be so clearly set forth that no valuer could possibly misunderstand them. If the Government only gave effect to their intentions by the Bill, as they had expressed them by their speeches, there would be little or nothing to complain of in respect of the particular point which the Committee were now discussing. The Solicitor General had said that valuers would act properly; but there might be valuers who would act improperly from want of information; valuers who did not know the state of land; valuers who had nothing whatever to guide them but the vague words of the Bill. The Committee now made a reasonable request to the Government—namely, that they should put clearly and beyond all chance of dispute and misconception that which they meant, and that which they had already asserted in speech.

Mr. DUCKHAM supported the Amendment, and was understood to say that in cases where the tenant effected improvements by means of labour, and had to hire teams of horses, it would be possible to prove the outlay; and the improvement could be made a matter of valuation by the arbitrator or valuer.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, that as he had an Amendment very much on the same lines as that moved by his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote), he hoped the Committee would allow him to say a few words, for the reason that after the discussion they had had he should not think it necessary to bring forward his proposal. Before he adverted to the Amendment, he should like to point out one curious argument made use of by the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) whilst he was speaking upon the point just now. The hon. Member seemed to have made in his own mind a great point of the fact that one tenant might, by an outlay of £60, do infinitely more good to his holding by good drainage than another man who spent £100 might do by bad drainage, and that, therefore, the man who had spent £100 would get more for compensation than the tenant who had expended £60 on good drainage. He (Viscount Folkestone) should like to point out this—that the main consideration in the Bill was that the value of the improvement should be what the value was to an incoming tenant. Therefore, if an outgoing tenant had spent £100 on bad drainage, and if that £100 was of no value whatever to the incoming tenant, the outgoing tenant would not obtain compensation for the expenditure; whereas if a tenant had only spent £60 on good drainage, which outlay was of value to the incoming tenant, the outgoing tenant would have the value of his improvement where it was not exhausted by use. Under these circumstances, it seemed to him that the argument of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby did not hold good. He was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentlemen in charge of the Bill that they agreed with the principle of the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend. What they objected to was that the amount should be limited to the outlay, because in some cases which were specified by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General the actual outlay would not include the total cost of the improvement. There were two instances named by one of the right hon. Gentlemen who had charge of the Bill. One was the question of laying down the land in permanent pasture. He (Viscount Folkestone) thought the argument was a just and fair one. If a man spent £100 in laying down permanent pasture the repayment of that £100 would not compensate him for his outlay, because for some years, more or less, according to the nature of the soil, he would get no benefit out of the land he had so treated. Therefore it was that in putting down his Amendment, instead of saying what was said by the hon. and gallant Gentleman, he had proposed to move, after the word "sum," to insert the words "not exceeding the total cost of improvement," whereby it appeared to him that the valuer, taking into consideration the value of an improvement, would take into consideration not only the actual amount of the tenant's outlay, but the loss he would have to sustain after he had made that outlay in losing the use of the land upon which the outlay had been made. The right hon. Gentlemen who had charge of the Bill did not seem inclined to accept the principle of his Amendment, and, therefore, he should not press it. He had been somewhat astonished to hear one of the right hon. Gentlemen in charge of the Bill suggest that not only ought the outgoing tenant to be compensated for the amount of his outlay, but that he also ought to be compensated for the skill he had exercised whilst living on his farm. When a man undertook a contract, to his (Viscount Folkestone's) mind, he was bound to exercise the fullest amount of skill at his command in his undertaking. However, as the right hon. Gentleman, from what he could see, appeared to think he was not right, he (Viscount Folkestone) might say that if the Government thought the outgoing tenant should be compensated, when his improvement was taken into consideration, for his skill, another Amendment might be moved later on in the Bill. He himself had one down for the purpose of compensating a landlord for waste and want of skill on the part of the tenant. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would have no argument to adduce against that proposal. There was one other thing mentioned by one of the right hon. Gentlemen who had charge of the Bill, and that was the question of liming land. The right hon. Gentleman had said that after an improvement had been effected in this way lime might have risen in value, and therefore the incoming tenant ought to pay more than the original cost of the material which had been put into the land two or three years before on account of the increase in value. He (Viscount Folkestone), for his own part, could not understand why an increase in the value of lime put in three or four years ago for the purpose of benefiting the land should affect the incoming tenant. However, he trusted that the right hon. Gentlemen who had charge of the Bill, from a phrase they had let drop concerning the principle of this Amendment, would accept some Amendment or Proviso at the end of the clause analogous to that which his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Gloucestershire had got down. He earnestly hoped that the right hon. Gentlemen in charge of the

Bill would take some Amendment of this description into their consideration.

Viscount LYMINGTON said, the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) would not only affect Part II. of the Schedule, but also Part III.; and, in fact, it would apply to all the improvements embodied in the Schedule, and the principles upon which the Schedule was founded. He quite agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who always spoke on these matters with a great deal of practical knowledge, that it would be most unfair to the tenant not to give him the value of the permanent improvements he had made. A large majority of the improvements under Schedule I., if effected by the tenant on the majority of the holdings in England, should be looked upon as similar to those effected in Ireland. They would have an entirely different basis on which to put their rights. They would have a claim to a large measure of legislation which Parliament had thought right to give to the Irish tenants. It was, therefore, on that ground that he entirely dissented from the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire as it now stood; but, at the same time, he entirely endorsed the views which fell from an hon. Friend, to the effect that the value to the incoming tenant did in no case represent the increase of the value to the owner. He also agreed very much with what had fallen from the hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Thomas Acland), to the effect that there were a large number of items in Part III. of the Schedule which could not fairly be said to represent tenant's improvements. On this point he would refer the Committee to the 20th section of the Schedule in Part III.—"Application to land of purchased artificial or other purchased manure." What he would recommend to the Committee would be this—would it not be possible, while agreeing with the proposition of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire, to act on the lines suggested by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey), that in regard to improvements in Part III. of the Schedule the principle which was now brought forward by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Gloucestershire should very largely apply? He would ask the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire whether it would not be possible for him to withdraw his Amendment as it stood, and to introduce it in some shape which would admit of the principle he now advocated applying to Part III. of the Schedule?

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, he hoped the Committee would have learnt that the proposal of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) was a great departure in favour of the outgoing tenant from the present practice of valuation under arbitration. The present practice was, that if a tenant had made an improvement, and had had no crop, and received no return therefrom, he should receive the whole capital he had expended; but that if he had reaped the improvement by successive, say for one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven years, the original capital was held to be returned proportionately to the crops which had been benefited by that outlay. The principle which the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire proposed was, that no matter how many crops had been taken, and, therefore, how many profits had been returned for the outlay, still the outlay *in toto* should be returned. He (Mr. Newdegate) so understood the Amendment. But the Government, on the other hand, contended that if the improvement had been successful, the tenant who had made the improvement should be compensated for the success, notwithstanding the return he had had in the shape of improved crops. That was just reversing the present practice; and, inasmuch as he thought his hon. and gallant Friend went quite far enough, he should vote for him, and against what the Government considered their improvement, and which he (Mr. Newdegate) considered double payment and an extortion.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, the hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. R. H. Paget) had alluded to an experimental farm at Woburn, which happened to be in his (Mr. Howard's) county; and that being so, and also from the fact of his being a Member of the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society, he might claim to be somewhat acquainted with the results of the experiment there. Well, if this experiment had proved anything, it had proved that compensation to the tenants should not depend upon the outlay, but upon the results, and that was the principle of the Bill. It had occurred to him, as well as to the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), and the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), that they had totally misapprehended the question to be submitted to the arbitrator. They seemed to think that the question to be submitted to the Referees under the Bill was the increased value of the land. Now, he would say most distinctly that the question was such sum as fairly represented the value of the improvement, and not the increased value of the land. Well, what would the arbitrators in the first place naturally ask themselves, when they were called on to determine the question of improvements? The first question they would ask themselves would be, what that improvement would cost; and, secondly, what it would cost in the future? As far as he (Mr. Howard) had an acquaintance with land valuers, they were as shrewd a set of valuers as any in the Kingdom. No tenant farmer had a chance of being chosen arbitrator unless he had proved himself to be a superior man of business. Land agents throughout the country were selected for this work. Then a great deal was said about the risk which would be incurred of the tenant being paid for the inherent qualities of the land. Not a single illustration was given by anyone who ventured on that prophecy. Before any weight could be attached to that argument, he should imagine they ought to have clenched the matter by showing, through the medium of illustrations, under what possible circumstances such compensation could be given. Then it had occurred to him that the hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. R. H. Paget) had entirely failed to apprehend the argument of the First Commissioner of Works. The point he had put before the Committee was, that in many cases the capital of the tenant laid dormant for years before the outlay became remunerative. That was particularly the case with grass land and orchards. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said that to lay down pasture would pay a man in two years' time; but if the hon. and gallant Member had had much knowledge of the county of Suffolk, he would not have ventured upon such an opinion. Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member would allow him to remind him of the old Suffolk couplet—

> "To break a pasture will make a man.
> To make a pasture will break a man."

He knew cases where the result of making a pasture was, that the tenant had hardly been able to pay the rent. Then, as to orchards. Some years ago he had planted one, and it had never yet paid the cost of fencing and pruning. To him it would have been a very inadequate compensation if the measure of the outlay had been the measure of the value to an incoming tenant. It appeared to him that the object of the Amendment was, that the tenant was to run all the risks of the experiment, and if the experiment failed at once, he was to get nothing; but if it happened to succeed, he was to be limited to the amount of his outlay. It proceeded upon the principle of "heads I win; tails you lose." He asked, between man and man—between tenant and landlord—whether that was an equitable principle? If the House had a majority of tenants instead of a majority of landlords in it, would such a proposition as that be listened to for one moment?

MR. BIDDELL said, he thought the evils of this clause, as it stood, had been very much magnified. He did not believe that anyone need have any fear of the operation of the clause; and as for the probability of an outgoing tenant obtaining more from an incoming tenant for his improvements than they had cost him, it seemed to him that if such a thing did occur it would be very rarely indeed. If, as a valuer, he had to value certain improvements, he should not base the compensation upon any speculation as to what the annual value of the improvements might be. For instance, if a tenant, by an outlay of £20, produced a return for a time of £4 or £5 a-year, which, capitalized, would amount to, say, £30, he should not allow the outgoing tenant that sum, as the incomer, he thought, would rightly argue thus with the outgoer—"Why should I pay you £30 for an improvement which I could, and should, have effected at a cost of £20, had you not done so?" If the larger sum was paid, the outgoer would be enjoying the profits of the farm after he ceased to pay rent for it. He should, therefore, support the Bill as it stood.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he rose to make a suggestion, which he thought would, perhaps, meet with the approval of the Committee, who had now been debating this question for some time. Everybody must have felt the weight of the argument urged by the Government and the hon. Gentlemen who opposed this Amendment. With regard to certain of the improvements mentioned in the Schedule—he meant the argument that if a tenant took the risk of making an expensive improvement, such as erecting buildings and other species of outlay mentioned in the Schedule, it was rather hard that he should run the risk of doing it without being allowed to reap some benefit in addition to the amount of his original outlay. There was great force in that argument. He was anxious to put before the Committee a proposal, which he would not be in Order in moving now; but which, if the hon. and gallant Member who moved this Amendment would accept it, would conduce to a general agreement in the Committee. He would propose to insert, at the end of the clause, the words—

> "Provided always, That in respect of improvements mentioned in the second and third Parts of the Schedule, for which the consent of the landlord is not required, such compensation shall in no case exceed the outlay incurred by the tenant."

The advantage of that would be that the landlord would not be put to the hardship of seeing the inherent increment he had a right to going into the pocket of the tenant. The chalk on land, and things of that kind, diminished in value as time went on—they did not increase; and if his suggestion were adopted no hardship would be done to the tenant, and yet the landlord's interest would be provided for. He had sufficiently indicated the nature of the suggestion he should be inclined to make to see if it met with the approval of the Committee, and to see if they could not avoid the inconvenience of a Division on the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Colonel Kingscote).

Mr. DODSON said, he hoped the Committee would consider that this particular Amendment had now been so far discussed that they were in a position to dispose of it. He should not have interposed had it not been for the observation of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He wished to say that, so far as the Government were concerned, they could not accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Kingscote); but, at the same time, they were equally unable to accept the suggestion made by the hon. Member who had just spoken. He could not now argue at length upon that suggestion; but it appeared to him that it did not seem to draw a sufficient distinction between marling and liming, and so on, and the other improvements.

Colonel KINGSCOTE said, he had listened very attentively to the remarks of the First Commissioner of Works, as well as to those of the hon. Member for North Devonshire (Sir Thomas Acland), and he certainly thought that every word they had said supported the Amendment he had moved. The First Commissioner of Works had mentioned improvements, such as permanent pasture and marling; but the Solicitor General later on had certainly gone more directly against his Amendment. But, so far as he could judge, the hon. and learned Member had only used the same argument as his Colleague with regard to the 1st Schedule. He (Colonel Kingscote) should have been glad to have accepted the proposition put forward by his hon. Friend the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey) and the hon. Member who had just sat down. If the Government could not accept that, or something in that form, he would be obliged to take the sense of the Committee on the matter. In submitting his Amendment to the Committee he did not wish to weary them again; he only wished to say this—that, after all he had heard from the other side of the House, he was still convinced that, in the main, his argument was a just one, and one that ought to be inserted in the Bill. With regard to permanent pasture, he owned that that was a difficult question; but it was about the only difficult question to be dealt with. The lime would certainly be recouped in the first year or two, together with the tenant's outlay; and he could see no hardship in that being so recouped. The only cause of difficulty would be, as he had said, permanent pasture, and in that case he thought something might be allowed;

but he hardly ever heard of a tenant farmer laying down permanent pasture without going to the landlord first and making some arrangement. He did not mean to say that the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) was not most practical in all his ways; but he ventured to think there were some other Members who were equally practical; and, although the hon. Member talked largely of his experience of tenants, he could not agree with the hon. Member. The object of his Amendment was to avoid pressing too heavily on the incoming tenant who, if too heavily pressed, would not have sufficient capital to expend on cultivation; and if the incoming tenant suffered in that way consumers also would suffer, because the tenant, finding his capital gone, would have to cultivate the land in the best way he could. He did not think the Amendment affected the principle of the Bill in any way. He believed it would be a wholesome check, and would be in the interest of both incoming and outgoing tenants. As the Government held out no hope that they would accept the proposition made by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey), or by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour), he felt he could take no other course but to divide the Committee.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 188; Noes 163: Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 209.)

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON moved, in page 1, line 14, to omit the words "to an incoming tenant," in order to insert "in so far as it may be suitable to the business for which the holding was let." He said he thought the principle of the Bill with regard to the value of improvements would, in some cases, act very harshly indeed on the incoming tenant. The improvements might be such as were not suitable to the business of the incoming tenant, and yet he would be called upon to pay the full value of the improvements to the outgoing tenant; or it might be exactly the other way, and there might also be collusion between the owner and the occupier. The owner might let his farm to a tenant who would carry on a different style of agriculture from that of the former tenant, and in a year or two let the holding to another tenant to carry on the original style of agriculture; and in that case the landlord would be able to make a large sum of money by getting from the new tenant that which he had from the second tenant. An arable farm might be let to a farmer who would alter entirely the nature of the operations; and if he was obliged to pay the full value of the improvements to the outgoing tenant great injustice would be done. Therefore, he thought it would be much better that the value of the improvements should depend upon their being suitable for the style of business for which the farm was let. There would be no unfairness in such an arrangement; and he thought it was one which would give great satisfaction.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, to leave out the words "to an incoming tenant," and insert the words "in so far as it may be suitable to the business for which the holding was let."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought the Government might give way upon this Amendment. He did not know whether the words suggested by the hon. and gallant Member were the most suitable for expressing clearly his intention; and he himself would prefer to insert the words "an incoming tenant to carry on the same description of business." That would make it clear that the outgoing tenant was to be compensated for the value of the improvements for the same kind of business. If that were not done it was quite possible that an outgoing tenant, who had made improvements in the direction apparently intended by the Government, might afterwards find that he had sustained considerable loss.

MR. DODSON said, he preferred the words as they stood in the clause to this Amendment. The words seemed to him to be unnecessary, while the words in the clause, in a simple manner, gave effect to the object which the hon. and gallant Member desired. The words were not "value of the improvement to the succeeding tenant or the incoming tenant," who might be a man who came in with particular views of his own, or with an intention to alter the character of the farm, but "value of the improvement to an incoming tenant"—that was, to an incoming tenant generally, who would go into a farm of a particular character, to carry on the same kind of business. Therefore, he thought the clause already did all that was necessary.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought that if that was the intention of the Government it ought to be clearly indicated in the clause, because to any practical valuator it would be an open question what the words meant. The holding might have been let by the landlord to carry on the business of a dairy farm. The succeeding tenant might be a market gardener, and he might say that certain of the improvements necessary for dairy farming were of no value to him. Certainly, he did not think it was clear that the outgoing tenant carrying on a dairy farm could claim compensation for improvements suitable for dairying only from a man who was to carry on the business of a market gardener. It was quite open to argument whether the outgoing tenant in that case would be entitled to fair compensation in respect, for instance, of cowsheds, because the incoming tenant might argue that they were of little value to him, and certainly not of the same value as they would be to a man carrying on a dairy farm business. He thought this ought to be clearly expressed in the Bill.

Mr. DODSON said, there was no difference between hon. Members and himself in principle; indeed, the Committee, he thought, were generally in accord upon this point. He should not like to accept these words off-hand; but he would assure the hon. Member that the Government would carefully consider the question, and if they thought they could make the point more clear by bringing up words on Report they would do so.

Mr. DUCKHAM said, he should prefer the Amendment of which he had given Notice—namely, to insert "holding," and leave out "an incoming tenant." Upon his farm he had a considerable number of buildings, which would be of no use to another farmer. A friend of his occupied his own estate, and had planted a large hop garden, which was just coming into full bearing, when the estate was sold. The incoming tenant was not accustomed to that sort of business, and in such a case, under this Bill, he would suffer an injustice. The improvements he thought which were to be paid for should be limited to the holding, and that would meet whatever class of men came in.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. ALBERT GREY said, he wished to propose an Amendment in order to prevent a tenant being paid twice over for the same improvements. His Amendment proposed that the tenant should not be able to claim compensation for the improvements which he had covenanted to make. He hoped the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster would see his way to accept this Amendment. He thought everybody would admit that it was only fair that the improvements for which tenants should have a statutory right to compensation should be only those improvements which were over and above those which he had covenanted to execute. At the present time compensation was given in one of two ways —either by low rent, or compensation at the end of the term. If it was proposed that the tenant should in every case be able to take compensation at the end of his term for the improvements which he might have effected, it would be a deterrent to the landlords to give compensation in the shape of a low rent. In the debates of 1875 it was pointed out very forcibly by the noble Marquess the present Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) that if Parliament attempted to re-adjust and regulate the relations between landlord and tenant the inevitable result must be a revaluation, with a probable rise of rent over a large part of England. He (Mr. A. Grey), therefore, hoped that, in the interest of the tenants, the Government might be inclined to accept this Amendment, which proposed that a tenant should not be able to claim compensation for those improvements which he had not covenanted to perform.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, at end, to add—"Provided always, That no improvement which the tenant has made in fulfilment of any particular agreement in writing shall be included in valuing such compensation."—(*Mr. A. Grey.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DODSON said, he was not quite sure he understood the effect which the words proposed by the hon. Member would have—that was to say, he was not quite sure whether they would apply to the particular agreements contemplated under Clause 5, or whether the Amendment was only intended to meet the case of improvements under a lease in which the tenant had engaged to execute certain improvements in consideration of a lower rent. Whether that was the case or not, he must point out to the hon. Member that it would be more convenient if the Amendment were proposed on Clause 6. He trusted that, under the circumstances, the Amendment would be withdrawn and reserved for a later period of the Bill.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE pointed out to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. Grey) that on Clause 6 he (Sir Joseph Pease) had an Amendment precisely similar to this one. He had put it down on Clause 6, thinking that was a much better place than on Clause 1.

MR. ALBERT GREY asked leave to withdraw his Amendment; but stated that he would move it subsequently.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had now to propose his Proviso at the end of the clause, which he read to the Committee during the discussion upon a previous Amendment. His Proviso ran as follows:—

> "Provided always, That in respect of those improvements for which the consent of the landlord is not required, the amount of such compensation shall in no case exceed the amount of outlay incurred by the tenant."

It would, of course, be at once observed by the Committee that this went over part of the ground only which they had already discussed. He thought he could show to the Committee in a very few words that there was really substantial justice in this Proviso, both for the landlord and for the tenant, and no injustice whatever either to the one or to the other. Let them consider, in the first place, the case of the tenant. If a tenant enlarged his buildings or reclaimed waste land, it did seem a hardship that he should not reap the whole advantage, provided his work did not turn out well. Improvements of that sort were not affected by his Amendment. A tenant could still reap any benefit of such improvements, even in excess of the outlay; but there was another class of improvement contemplated by the Bill—such as the boning of land, and improvements of that kind. These improvements had more to do with the ordinary conduct of agricultural operations than the improvements he mentioned at the outset, and the tenant ought not to go into them merely as a speculation. It would be manifestly unjust if a tenant were prevented getting more for his outlay of this kind than what he himself laid out; and a landlord had no right to complain if a tenant gained for his improvements even more than he laid out, provided the landlord might, if he had seen fit, have stopped the improvements. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) contemplated this possibility in his Amendment. Suppose a tenant reclaimed waste land. Of that reclamation he made a very good speculation, and a valuer gave him more than he laid out. It might be said that the landlord had no right to complain, because if he had liked he could have withheld his consent, or insisted upon doing the improvements himself. A tenant, perhaps, might lay out a great deal of money in manure for the land, which possibly did not do good, but actually injured the land — manure which stimulated the crops for a time, but produced great exhaustion, which the valuer did not see. A landlord had no power to stop him. The outlay might be injurious to the landlord, and not beneficial to the tenant; and yet it might well be that a valuer might give, judging from the growing crops he had seen, even more than the tenant had laid out. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) maintained that this was a kind of outlay for which the tenant had no right to expect more than he had laid out; and, by providing that he should not obtain more than his outlay in such a case, they inflicted no hardship upon the tenant, but they protected the landlord. He hoped that he, in these few words, had clearly explained to the Committee exactly what his Amendment did, and exactly what it did not do. He was convinced that if hon. Gentlemen would take it into serious consideration they would see that he had really protected the tenant in all legitimate speculative outlays, and, at the same time, he had protected the landlord in his undoubted right—namely, in anything he could get from the unearned income of the soil, or in any other legitimate manner. He hoped the Government would be able to see their way to adopt his Proviso.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, at end of Clause to add—"Provided always, That in respect of those improvements for which the consent of the landlord is not required, the amount of such compensation shall in no case exceed the amount of outlay incurred by the tenant."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. W. BARCLAY expressed surprise that such an Amendment as this should come from hon. Members who had always been anxious to pose as the farmers' friends. The Government had already given the farmers very shabby compensation, only compensation in respect of certain improvements, and that compensation it was wished still further to reduce. It seemed to be imagined that it was possible for the tenant to reap a very large profit upon the improvements he made. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had spoken only of Part III. of the Schedule; but the Amendment applied also to Part II., and nothing, he (Mr. Barclay) thought, was more speculative on the part of the tenant than drainage. Drainage might produce very beneficial results, or it might prove practically worthless. If it did prove worthless the tenant was to get no compensation; but if it turned out of greater value than his outlay he could have no claim to compensation beyond his outlay. There was another fundamental objection to the proposal of the hon. Gentleman. It was proposed that a tenant farmer should be only compensated in respect of his outlay. Now, a considerable number of improvements in Part III. would be performed by a tenant farmer with the hands he had on his farm, and in respect of whom there was no real or direct outlay. Under such circumstances, a tenant farmer, even if he got the whole of his outlay, would not be compensated. The hon. Member had referred to a case where a tenant farmer might apply manure to the soil without creating any benefit; but the Bill provided that in respect of such outlays, or so-called improvements, the outgoing tenant was to have no compensation, because he left no benefit. A practical valuator would be guided in assessing the value of the improvements under Part III. by what it cost the tenant to make the improvements. He (Mr. Barclay) did not think that any claim of an absurd character, or any exaggerated claim, could possibly be entertained under Part III. by practical, fair, and honest valuators; and as regarded Part II., he thought a tenant farmer was really entitled to such increased value, whatever it might be, whether it was greater or less than his outlay, which his improvements had given to his successors. He (Mr. Barclay) certainly thought that the Government ought to adhere to the principle which they had laid down, and which, after all, was the safest and fairest to all parties—namely, to test the value by the result. He did not think that tenant farmers were at all likely to get any large profit out of their improvements. Imaginary cases were brought forward by hon. Members; but, judging from his own experience and observation, very few improvements could be expected to give a greater return than 4 or 5 or 6 per cent. He thought hon. Members opposite ought not to begrudge so moderate a return. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had referred to the possible profit of taking in watercourses and reclaiming land, because it was considered that a tenant for such operation might possibly get more than he had expended. It was a curious point that if a tenant made such improvements, even with the consent of his landlord, he would not be entitled to any compensation under this Bill. He did not see any head in the Schedule under which such improvements could be classed, and in that particular he certainly considered the Bill needed amendment.

MR. BRODRICK said, he hoped the Government would accept the Amendment, and not be led away by the arguments of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay). The hon. Gentleman wished to establish a right on the part of the tenant to a profit to which he was not justly entitled. He (Mr. Brodrick) did not wish to introduce controversial matters into proceedings which up to this had been very harmonious; but he was bound to say that a great deal had been put into the hands of valuers in the Sister Island, and that those valuers had not satisfied either the landlord or the tenant. It was possible that in this case they might find valuers deciding upon a sum of money which was altogether wholly undefined. He considered that the very modest and discreet proposal of his hon. Friend (Mr. A. J. Balfour) ought to be accepted. The Committee had, by a very close Division, shown a strong predilection for some limitation such as was proposed. As this proposal was entirely in accord with the spirit of the Bill, he hoped the Government would give it their support.

MR. DODSON said, that although the Amendment proposed by the hon. Gentleman was somewhat more limited in its scope, its subject-matter was the same as that they had just disposed of. Several of the improvements to which this Amendment applied were improvements of a character as to which a tenant might fairly be entitled according to the Government's view, under certain circumstances, to more than his outlay. The hon. Member had pointed out that one, at all events, of the objects he had in moving this Amendment was similar to that which was aimed at by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. R. H. Paget)—namely, to secure that a valuer should not give to the tenant anything in respect of the inherent qualities of the soil. He (Mr. Dodson) regretted that that hon. Gentleman was not allowed to move his Amendment at once, because several suggestions had been thrown out in regard to that Amendment in the course of the previous discussion; and he (Mr. Dodson) thought it was quite possible, after the expression of opinion that had been made in different parts of the House, they might arrive at a substantial agreement upon that Amendment, or upon some words giving effect to the object of that Amendment, besides being satisfactory to the Committee generally. If that were so, he hoped the hon. Member would allow the Committee to proceed with the consideration of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire.

MR. KNIGHT said, it was possible for great injustice to be done under the valuation system without the landlord being able to prevent it. Let the House imagine a case of a farm worth £300 a-year, and a new tenant spending £1,000 in drainage, and very soon afterwards giving notice to quit. Two valuers are called in. The first says—"£1,000 has just been spent in draining. I value this improvement as worth 10 per cent on the outlay; no tenant will expend money on a farm under 10 per cent." The landlord's valuer, on the other hand, says—"The drainage is an improvement, no doubt; but I can only allow 5 per cent on the outlay." Suppose the tenant's claim of 10 per cent be allowed, the value of the farm will be said to be increased from £300 to £400 a-year. The increased value of £100, capitalized at 30 years' purchase, amounts to £3,000, and this sum might be claimed by the outgoing tenant. If 5 per cent only be allowed, the increased value of £50 a-year capitalized in like manner amounts to £1,500, or £500 more than the money expended. Whether the improvement be valued at 5 or 10 per cent, the tenant would go out taking a large sum of money more than he had spent, and to which he could have no equitable claim. He (Mr. Knight) feared that calculations of this kind might run through many such valuations. He thought that the only fair basis was the Lincolnshire system of cost, not value. Under that system many thousand square miles of the heath, the wold, and the fen had been brought into cultivation by tenants' capital in a manner satisfactory to both landlord and tenant.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the last Amendment was only defeated by a very narrow majority. As they were unable to succeed in the last Division, he hoped his hon. Friend would press this Amendment; and he (Mr. Chaplin) thought the hon. Gentleman was encouraged to do so by the circumstances by which they were surrounded. Had it not been for the fact that the Royal Agricultural Show was now being held at York, he believed a good many of their friends and supporters on this question would have been present, and that there would have been a much narrower Division than had just taken place. It was possible that they might on this Amendment receive some additional support, as it was almost identical with the Bill of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage). He did not know whether that hon. Gentleman voted against the last Amendment or not; but certainly the Bill standing in his name, and now before the House, advocated precisely a similar principle to the one involved in the present Amendment. He (Mr. Chaplin) could not understand what the tenant could be entitled to beyond his original outlay. No one had attempted to explain why a tenant had any right to expect to draw a profit out of a farm after he had left it. The Government had not as yet attempted to explain this point, and until they did so his hon. Friend would do well to press the Amendment. If once it was conceded that, under any circumstances, the compensation was to exceed the outlay on the part of the tenant, he really did not know where the compensation was to stop, short of the actual increase in the crops arising from an improvement. The hon. Gentleman the Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Acland) just now let the cat out of the bag, because he said that this was just what they were aiming at. That was, no doubt, the object and purpose of the Bill, although the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had spent a great deal of time in informing the Committee that, as a general rule, compensation was to be considerably less than the outlay, and that it was only in rare cases it was to exceed it. He (Mr. Chaplin) was surprised at the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Cornwall, because the hon. Gentleman would forgive him for reminding him that these Agricultural Bills were referred to a Select Committee, and a proposition of this nature was made in the Committee and put to the vote, and the hon. Gentleman himself was one of the Members who supported the proposition. He (Mr. Chaplin) had referred to the proceedings of the Select Committee, and he found that the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) moved an Amendment to add to one of the clauses of the Bill "and not exceeding the cost of such improvements." He then found that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), the noble Lord the Member for North Derbyshire (Lord Edward Cavendish), the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Acland), and two other hon. Gentlemen sitting on that side of the House—he forgot the places they represented—none of whom voted with the Opposition on the last Amendment, supported the Motion of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell). [An hon. MEMBER: What were the improvements?] They were the improvements referred to in the Bill. At present they were only dealing with the improvements for which the consent of the landlord was not required; but he (Mr. Chaplin) thought that the proposal of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire referred to all the improvements named in the Bill. Under these circumstances, he thought they had a right to expect and to claim more support for this proposition than they received on the last Division. He hoped his hon. Friend would go to a Division.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he thought the Amendment was moved at the wrong time; it ought to have been proposed on Clause 6, and not on Clause 1. He had given Notice of an Amendment to Clause 6; and if the hon. Member (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would refer to that Amendment, he would see it met all the requirements of the case.

MR. ACLAND regretted that he could not recall exactly what the proposition before the Select Committee was on which he gave the vote referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin); but he thought he explained himself sufficiently clearly just now when he said he supported the proposal of the Government on this Bill, during the discussion of the main point of the last Amendment, because, as he believed, the main point of that Amendment had reference to the agricultural operations, which were a matter between the outgoing and incoming tenant. He added that with regard to all the improvements in the 1st and 2nd Parts of the Schedule the landlord and tenant could respectively defend themselves by agreement.

MR. HICKS said, before they went to a Division he would be glad if the Government would explain to the Committee how, if this Amendment were not accepted, the valuers were to form any opinion upon the sum to be given to the outgoing tenant? They had been told by some hon. Gentlemen opposite that they were to judge by results; but he thought the Committee would be satisfied that such a course would be most erroneous. A crop might be produced by means which, instead of benefiting, would go very far to injure the land, but which would create a very favourable impression upon the mind of the valuers. He contended that unless the valuers knew the exact sum expended, and the exact means by which the crops had been produced, it was impossible for them to form any just opinion as to what ought to be paid for the supposed improvements to the outgoing tenant by the incoming tenant. If Her Majesty's Government persisted in refusing their assent to this very reasonable Amendment, they ought to show the Committee how the clause would work to the satisfaction of the incoming and outgoing tenant.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 141; Noes 133: Majority 8.

AYES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Brise, Colonel R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Campbell, J. A.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cavendish, Lord E.
Christie, W. L.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, T.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Curzon, Major hn. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G. W.
Ewing, A. O.
Fellowes, W. H.
Filmer, Sir E.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Galway, Viscount
Garnier, J. C.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Grey, A. H. G.
Halsey, T. F
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Knight, F. W.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, rt. hon. Lord H. G. C. G.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lymington, Viscount
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
March, Earl of
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, C. W.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D. R.
Paget, R. H.
Pell, A.
Percy, Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Ramsay, J.
Rankin, J.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Talbot, J. G.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W. E.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Winn, R.
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Balfour, A. J.
Chaplin, H.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Armitage, B.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barclay, J. W.
Bass, Sir A.
Biddell, W.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Brinton, J.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buxton, F. W.
Caine, W. S.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Causton, R. K.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Colman, J. J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Craig, W. Y.
Cross, J. K.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Fort, R.
Fry, L.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harrington, T.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Heneage, E.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Kinnear, J.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
M'Lagan, P.
Marjoribanks, hon. E.
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. N. H. Story-
Maxwell-Heron, Capt. J. M.
Milbank, Sir F. A.

Monk, C. J.
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Shea, W. H.
Paget, T. T.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A.
Porter, rt. hn. A. M.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Pugh, L. P.
Ralli, P.
Rendel, S.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, G. W. E.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Shaw, T.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, Lt.-Col. G.
Smith, E.
Smith, S.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stewart, J.
Summers, W.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Thompson, T. C.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Vivian, A. P.
Whitbread, S.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, right hon. Lord

Mr. R. H. PAGET moved, in page 1, line 14, at end, to add—

"Provided always, That in estimating the value of any improvements in Parts I. and II. of the Schedule hereto, due regard shall be had to the amount of the interest of the owner of the soil in or on which such improvements shall have been made."

He did not wish to take up the time of the Committee by any lengthened observations upon the Amendment, as he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was prepared to accept it. He (Mr. Paget) was not wedded by any means to the exact words of his Amendment, but was inclined to accept any alterations that hon. Gentlemen might think fit to introduce. What he contended for, however, was the principle contained in the Amendment, the principle being that the valuers should be directed, in settling the sum to be paid in compensation, to have due regard to the interests of the owners.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, at end, to add:—"Provided always, That in estimating the value of any improvements in Parts I. and II. of the Schedule hereto, due regard shall be had to the amount of the interest of the owner of the soil in or on which such improvements shall have been made."—(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH understood that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had accepted the principle of the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. R. H. Paget). The wording of the Amendment, however, seemed to him (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to be open to some objection. His hon. Friend said that due regard should be had to the amount of the interest of the owner of the soil. That, however, would imply that someone besides the owner of the soil, when a tenancy had expired, had an interest in the soil. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) would be sorry that they should do anything to give colour to any such idea; and, therefore, he should prefer some such words as these—

"Provided always, That in estimating the value of any improvements in Parts I. and II. of the Schedule hereto, there shall not be taken into account anything due to the inherent capabilities of the soil, or to any cause other than the skill and expenditure of the tenant in making the improvement."

These words really seemed to carry out what the Government intended; and if they were adopted they would prove a most valuable guide to those who would have to interpret the provisions of this Bill. Without such a guide they would be liable to go wrong to any extent, and to lead the parties into very expensive and unsatisfactory litigation. He should be glad to move this Amendment if it were in his power to do so.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he would be glad to accept the Amendment of his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) in lieu of his own; and, therefore, would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. DODSON said, he had suggested that they might accept an Amendment substantially carrying out the object which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. R. H. Paget) had in view; but the position of things had been altered by the last Division. The Committee had decided by a majority that in respect of a great part of these improvements—the improvements in Parts I. and II. of the Schedule—the measure of compensation was to be that of outlay. This Amendment, therefore, became inappropriate. At any rate, the words proposed could not be accepted without some consideration. The Government must take time to consider not merely the words of the Amendment, but whether an Amendment of this character was at all requisite or desirable under the altered circumstances of the case.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND said, they had derived great benefit to-night from the statements made respecting the decisions of the Irish Courts. It was not quite clear whether those decisions would guide the Courts in England. It might possibly be said that the decisions in the Irish Courts were given with reference to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland. He would venture to suggest, however, to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) that this was a matter of enormous importance, and that he ought to take ample time to consult the draftsman in regard to it. He (Sir Thomas Acland) thought they ought not too hastily to adopt these words, although, at the first blush, it appeared to him that the words were good and reasonable.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he would move to report Progress, and would put the words on the Paper in order that they might be properly considered.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 18*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—£15,182,707, Consolidated Fund.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Public Health Act, 1875 (Support of Sewers) Amendment * [267].

Committee—Agricultural Holdings (England) * [186] [*Second Night*]—R.P.

Third Reading—Sea Fisheries * [257]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [254]; Companies (Colonial Registers) * [260], and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Intoxicating Liquors (Off Licences) * [25]; Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) * [129]; Church of England (Patronage) * [41].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS (ENGLAND) BILL.—[BILL 186.]

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 17*th July.*]

[SECOND NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

IMPROVEMENTS.

Compensation for Improvements.

Clause 1 (General right of tenant to compensation).

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 14, at end of Clause, to add "Provided always, That in estimating the value of any improvements in Parts I. and II. of the Schedule hereto, due regard shall be had to the amount of the interest of the owner of the soil in or on which such improvement shall have been made."—(*Mr. R. H. Paget.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. DODSON said, he should like to point out to the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that his Amendment ought to be confined to the improvements in Part I.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, the Question before the Committee was not his Amendment. He had thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) had risen in order to inform the Committee of the course which Her Majesty's Government proposed to take after the Vote of last night on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), providing that, in respect of those improvements for which the consent of the landlord was not required, the amount of the compensation should, in no case, exceed the amount of the outlay incurred by the tenant. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) confessed that his own Amendment was placed on the Paper, without having fully considered the effect of that vote; and he quite agreed that, to some extent, it did deal with the same point which had been settled by the Committee last night, the Amendment being as follows:—

"Provided, That, in estimating the value of any improvements in Parts I. and II. of the Schedule hereto, there shall not be taken into account anything that may be due to the inherent capabilities of the soil, or to any cause other than the skill and expenditure of the tenant in making the improvement."

It would be convenient, he thought, if the right hon. Gentleman would state, on the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. R. H. Paget), what course he proposed to adopt.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, he should like to ask what really was the effect of the Amendment adopted last night? The words were—

> "Provided always, That in respect of those improvements for which the consent of the landlord is not required, the amount of such compensation shall in no case exceed the amount of the outlay incurred by the tenant."

It seemed to him (Sir Joseph Pease) that the words of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) were simply a copy of the words of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), only that it mentioned Parts I. and II. of the Schedule. He thought the effect of the sentence being in the negative, embracing, as it did, the heading of the 3rd Part of the Schedule, would involve a great deal of confusion.

MR. BORLASE said, it seemed to him that the words of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) applied to the 2nd Part of the Schedule, as well as to the other.

MR. DODSON: I quite concur in the opinion just expressed by my hon. Friend (Mr. Borlase), and I believe that the Amendment passed last night refers to all the improvements, except those in Part I. of the Bill. The right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has asked me to state the views of the Government, after the Division that took place last night. Sir, I must say I deeply regret the Amendment, which, I think, the Committee adopted somewhat in haste. There is no doubt about this—that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, it is a most serious inroad into the object we had in proposing the Bill; and we must, therefore, reserve to ourselves full liberty of considering what course we will take in regard to it. As to the Amendment immediately before us, which, I understand, is that of the hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. R. H. Paget), we are not prepared to assent to it. But the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has put words on the Paper, the substance of which, as I intimated last night, the Government are prepared favourably to consider. No doubt that intimation was conveyed before that most unfortunate Amendment, as I think, was adopted by the Committee; but, still, after what I stated in regard to the substance of this proposal, and what I have just stated as to the liberty which we reserve to ourselves to consider the course which we will adopt hereafter as to the words inserted by the Committee late last night, I shall be prepared, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, to assent to the words proposed by the right hon. Baronet, with this modification, that they should be confined to improvements in Part I., because the Amendment adopted last night covers the improvements in Part II. Then, I would suggest that the right hon. Baronet should leave out all the words after the word "soil," so that the Amendment would run—

> "Provided, That in estimating the value of any improvements in Part I. of the Schedule hereto, there shall not be taken into account anything that may be due to the inherent capabilities of the soil."

I think that, even from his own point of view, it would be better to leave out the words—

> "Or to any cause other than the skill and expenditure of the tenant in making the improvement,"

as they might seem to exclude a lower rent, or other considerations in regard to which the tenant has executed the improvement. I think it would be safer, from the right hon. Baronet's own point of view, if we stopped at the word "soil." There is one other suggestion I would like the right hon. Baronet and the Committee to consider, and that is rather as to drafting, than as to the substance of the proposal. It is not an unimportant suggestion, and it is one which I think the right hon. Baronet would do well to accept—it is to bring these words in in Clause 6. I think they would come in there more appropriately than in Clause 1. Clause 1 lays down broad principles; and Clause 6 lays down Regulations as to estimates of improvements. It says—

> "In the ascertainment of the amount of the compensation under this Act payable to the

tenant in respect of any improvement there shall be taken into account in reduction thereof, &c."

This is a matter, no doubt, of secondary consideration; but I think the suggestion I make, if adopted, would have a good effect in regard to the shape of the Bill.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, in moving his Amendment, he had begun by omitting that portion of it which referred to Part II. of the Schedule; and the right hon. Gentleman thought he heard, as the House was rather in a disturbed state at the moment, that he restricted the proposal to Part I. of the Schedule. He was entirely in accord, as he thought the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was, with the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson). He had expressed his willingness last night to accept the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet, and he had also made one or two suggestions. The first was that the right hon. Baronet should omit reference to the 2nd Part of the Schedule from his Amendment, to which the right hon. Baronet himself now assented. As to leaving out certain words of the Amendment, according to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he (Mr. R. H. Paget) did not himself see that the proposal would be injured thereby. What they desired to get, and what they did get, was a clear statement that there should not be taken into account anything that might be due to the inherent capabilities of the soil. He thought there was a great deal to be said in favour of having the right hon. Baronet's Amendment in this part of the Bill. If he might venture to say so, there was a certain amount of risk and danger incurred in setting forth, in the first instance, without any kind of limitation whatever, principles so broad that they might seem to mean more than was intended. To his mind it was a very dangerous thing to put in a principle that might contain a great deal, and then, clause by clause, whittle it away until the principle was infringed, not deliberately in a clause set up for that purpose, but incidentally by Schedules and clauses which afterwards might be held to contain mere incidents of detail, having nothing to do with the principle of the Bill. He thought it was of great importance that the principle of the Bill should be fairly set forth in Clause 1, and that it should be subjected to the limitation which the right hon. Gentleman was ready to accept. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dodson) would not insist upon his suggestion that this Amendment should be postponed to Clause 6, instead of being introduced where he (Mr. R. H. Paget) thought it ought to be introduced. He would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment he had put on the Paper, in order that that of the right hon. Baronet might become the substantive one.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he now begged to move the Amendment standing in his name, but modified in accordance with the suggestions of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dodson). He would move it in this shape—

"Provided, That, in estimating the value of any improvements in Part I. of the Schedule hereto, there shall not be taken into account anything that may be due to the inherent capabilities of the soil."

He should like to say, however, that, in making the alteration proposed, he should hold himself free, as the right hon. Gentleman stated that the Government held themselves free, with regard to any action that might be necessary at a future stage of the Bill. He was unable, last night, to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), because it seemed to him that a limitation, such as he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had proposed in this Proviso, would be fairer to all parties than that proposed by the hon. Member for Hertford. But, if Her Majesty's Government should feel it their duty to ask the House to reconsider, at a later stage, the view which the Committee expressed last night, he was bound to say he thought there would be something required in the Bill in the nature of a limit to the discretion of the valuer beyond the words "inherent capabilities of the soil." Seeing that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford stood in the Bill, he was content to move the words he had read. As to Clause 6, he would say that if it were a mere matter of drafting he should at once agree to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson); but he could not look upon it as a matter of drafting. He thought that whatever limitation the Committee agreed to should be placed in this most important 1st clause. Therefore, without further preface, he would move his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, at end of Clause, add—"Provided, That, in estimating the value of any improvements in Part I. of the Schedule hereto, there shall not be taken into account anything that may be due to the inherent capabilities of the soil."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he had given Notice of an intention to move the omission of the words after the word "soil;" but he was glad the action of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) rendered that unnecessary. He thought it a right and just improvement to the clause. He was of opinion that a provision of this sort ought to be inserted, and he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) regarding the Amendment which the Committee adopted last night; but, at the same time, he thought that this proposal might very properly find a place in the 1st clause of the Bill.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he wished to point out, before they passed the Amendment, that if it were passed, it would preclude the tenant from getting any compensation whatever, except for something he added to the soil. Let them take drainage, for instance. In a case of that kind, the tenant did not add anything to the soil. The whole improvement, whatever increase of crops might be brought about, in a case of that kind would be due to the inherent capabilities of the soil. It was the same with reclamation of land. The value of the land was there; but, in its original state, before the reclamation, the value could not be availed of—the land was not available for the growing of crops. What the tenant did, in reclaiming land, was to render available the inherent qualities of the soil. If they adopted this Proviso, it would preclude the tenant from getting compensation for anything whatever, except what he added to the soil in the form of buildings and the like. The Committee ought to consider what would be the real effect of the proposal; because the whole of the improvements which the tenant might make in improved cultivation and reclamation of the soil and drainage, was simply to make available the inherent capabilities of the soil; and, if they put in this limitation, the tenant, for works of this kind, would not be entitled to any compensation—all he would be entitled to would be compensation for what he had added to the soil in the shape of buildings, manures, and such like.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he had listened attentively to what the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had said, and it was evident that he was going far beyond what the Bill intended. What the hon. Member wished to put before the Committee was that the tenant should be compensated for all the inherent qualities of the land which he might bring out. That was what the hon. Member placed before the Committee—that the landlord should not have any of those inherent qualities which absolutely and entirely belonged to him. The tenant recouped himself, year by year, by the improvements he had made, by extracting from the soil those properties which were in it. The tenant got all that was due to him, and when he left his farm he would be entitled to all beneficial interest he had in it, in regard to buildings and those fertilizers which might still remain in the soil, and which would be a benefit to an incoming tenant. They could not be too particular in laying this down; because they must remember—and he wished to point this out especially to the Committee—that the hon. Member who had just sat down had not disguised, for one moment, that he was anxious in this matter to place England in exactly the same position as Ireland had been placed in. They could not too clearly declare on every occasion — and he thought the Committee had yesterday declared in the most emphatic manner—that this country ought not to be placed in the same position as Ireland in regard to these matters. By the first two Divisions taken yesterday, the Committee showed that it was determined that, in this country, freedom of contract should still be maintained—though they were going to limit it to a certain extent, which he was very sorry for. In England, the landlord's interest and the tenant's interest were identical; and the Committee had been able, under the most pressing circumstances, to maintain that interest which some hon. Gentlemen opposite were so anxious to destroy.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he was not one of those who wished to introduce Irish principles into this country; he only wished to see justice done between man and man. It seemed to him that this Amendment would give the tenant nothing. Whatever improvement he made must be owing to the inherent qualities of the soil. If he limed or drained the land, and made improvements that he wished to reap the benefit from, or receive compensation for, they would arise out of the inherent qualities of the soil. If this Amendment were accepted by the Government as it stood, and there was nothing to qualify it, the result would be that many valuators would say—"What you have done is owing to the inherent qualities of the soil, and you are entitled to nothing." The Amendment was attended with these dangers, and he very much regretted that the Government had so hastily accepted it. He apprehended that the object of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) was, to entitle a tenant to compensation beyond what fairly recouped him for his outlay. That was a fair matter for consideration; but if they applied the minimum, they ought also to apply the maximum; and if the tenant was to be invited during his tenancy to lay out money for improvements, such as liming and manuring, he ought not to have his chance of obtaining compensation for those improvements thrown away as it would be by the seasons, supposing the lime did not take the effect it might do, or the manure was washed away; unless something were put into the measure to protect him. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said he would consider the Amendment agreed to last night; and he (Sir Edward Colebrooke) would ask him whether he could not consider also the advisability of amending the clause by the insertion of a maximum, as well as a minimum? If he (Sir Edward Colebrooke) were to make an agreement with his tenant, he should decide upon a provision that would show clearly that the tenant would be entitled to compensation, if he spent money fairly and reasonably on improvements, for what was destroyed by the effect of bad seasons. On the other hand, he thought there were occasions when the valuator might run up a claim for compensation in these matters unreasonably; and if the Government would consider a maximum as well as a minimum, fair justice might be done.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he desired to point out other objections to this Proviso. He believed it to be utterly unnecessary, seeing that it applied to improvements only where the consent of the landlord was necessary. Surely one door had been sufficiently barred against the tenant, without closing the other; and he thought that the adoption of freedom of contract might be allowed to come into play. He entirely agreed with the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) with regard to freedom of contract in this matter. Surely it was a sufficient guarantee to the landowner that these improvements could only be effected with his consent; and, seeing that the tenant was compelled to come to the landlord before he could effect these improvements, freedom of contract should be allowed to come into play. He hoped the Government would reconsider the acceptance of this Proviso, seeing that it was utterly unnecessary.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that, if the Amendment were accepted by the Government, with a view of in any way re-opening the question decided last night by the Committee, he confessed that he, for one, should be compelled to oppose it. He would ask the permission of the Committee, when the Question was put that Clause 1 stand part of the Bill, to make one or two observations in reply to the opening statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in which he would be able to show that the right hon. Gentleman took an entirely erroneous view of the serious effects of the Amendment adopted last night. As to the clause, and quite independent of the re-opening of the question settled last night—though he had no intention of opposing it—he did not see any great object to be gained by it. It related really to improvements specified in the 1st Schedule of the Bill; and, as far as they were concerned, he should say he thought the landlord had ample protection at present, from the fact that the improvements could only be made with his consent.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this Amendment only carried out the intention and object of the clause. He thought hon. Members behind him did not remember that they had already given the tenant the value of his improvements. In doing that they did not intend to give to the tenant anything resulting from the inherent qualities of the soil. They had separated these two things distinctly by this Amendment.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, it was rather difficult to follow the arguments used in connection with this Amendment. At one time they were told that they had nothing to do with Ireland, and then, at another time, that statement was contradicted. To his mind the acceptation of this Amendment would really vitiate all they had done yesterday.

Mr. BORLASE said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster not to stop at the word "soil" in this Amendment. It appeared to him that these other words—

> "Or to any cause other than the skill and expenditure of the tenant in making the improvement,"

gave them back what they had lost by the unfortunate Amendment which, owing to some accident, had been passed last night. He would venture to appeal to the Committee to allow the words to remain.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he wished to point out that there was an essential difference between the inherent capabilities of the soil and the inherent qualities of the soil. Take the case of waste land, for instance. It might be worth only 1*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre, as it was; but a tenant, to improve it, might give more than that for it, because, after he had reclaimed it, there might be a certain margin of profit beyond interest on outlay to be derived from the outlay. He did not think the tenant would be entitled to the inherent value of the soil; but that was a very different thing from the inherent capabilities of the soil. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had entirely misrepresented the decision of the Irish Judges. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) could quite understand why they had said that the tenant was not entitled to the inherent qualities of the soil; but that, as he had said, was very different from the inherent capabilities of the soil; and, if this Amendment were adopted, the tenant would not be entitled to compensation for improvements in Part I. They were going to declare, in the first part of the clause, that the tenant was to be entitled to compensation for the value of his improvements; but that was to be superseded by this Proviso—that he should not be compensated for his improvements so far as they were due to the inherent capabilities of the soil. The two provisions would be at variance with each other.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND said, he was sorry to take up the time of the Committee even for five minutes; but he thought they were going too hastily into this matter. He hoped, last night, that they would not be able to settle this matter between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning, and he had certainly left the House then, believing that a little more time would be given to it. He respected the ability of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and gave him credit for having paid great attention to this matter; but he could not listen to his speeches without feeling that they were getting into an ambiguity between value and cost, and this matter was one which he thought required clearing up. The difficulty was to be seen in the matter they were now dealing with. They were giving the farmer nothing; but it was quite true that if their words were not carefully framed, they would run a great risk of robbing the landlords to a very great extent. An hon. Member had given an instance of the possibility of £1,000 spent on drainage, increasing the value of the land to £3,000; and he (Sir Thomas Acland) had had some experience in that matter. It was quite possible that, under peculiar circumstances—and he did not wish to go into details as to the case—the unclogging of a few hundreds of acres of land, at a cost of £1,000, might have, prospectively, the effect of raising the value of the land £1 or £2 an acre, which, being capitalized, might come to £1,000 or £2,000. All he would venture to urge was, that the Government should take time to obtain advice on this matter as to the wording of the clause, and not too hastily accept the words of the right hon. Baronet opposite

(Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). They should discard the capabilities of the soil entirely from their consideration, and it was open to argument that there would be nothing left for the farmer. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) would excuse him (Sir Thomas Acland) for what he was about to say; but he had watched the hon. Member and his Friends very closely for the last seven years, and he had come to the conclusion that the tendency of their action was to put an end for ever to that which had been the great foundation of the prosperity of English agriculture—namely, the system under which fair-minded landlords with intelligent agents had pursued, for a century at least, the policy of engaging good tenants, treating them liberally, and letting them make a fair and remunerative profit on their farms, with the expectation that, 20 years afterwards, the land would be worth more money. The tendency of the policy adopted by the hon. Member and his Friends was to put an end to the idea that, when a farmer had thoroughly recouped himself for his outlay, he and his landlord might cry quits. It had been said over and over again by the mouthpiece of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire and his Friends, that no honest man could deny that, when a farmer had spent money on the landlord's property, he had made a speculation to which he was entitled to the full benefit; and that, although he was entitled to that full value, he had been repaid over and over again. That was the principle that he (Sir Thomas Acland) did not want to drift into, from any hasty arrangement that might be made between the two Front Benches, without due consideration. He was equally anxious that these words, "cutting off the whole of the capabilities of the soil," should not deprive the tenant farmers of a reasonable repayment and profitable remuneration for their skill and industry. He trusted he would not be considered presumptuous in having made these few observations.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, there was one point referred to by the hon. Baronet who had just sat down (Sir Thomas Acland) which he might be permitted to take exception to. The hon. Baronet had dealt with the question as though it were one between landlord and tenant; and he (Mr. J. Lowther) ventured to say that, in 19 cases out of 20, that was not so at all. It was a question between the outgoing and incoming tenants; and what he would ask the hon. Baronet and the Committee to consider was this —what conceivable justice could there be in making an incoming tenant pay the outgoing for an addition to the value of the holding that was inherent in the capacity and capabilities of the soil? The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), in the mistake he fell into in regard to the inclusion of drainage in his remarks, was led into a kind of argument which he (Mr. J. Lowther) thought fairly placed before the Committee the objects at which he aimed. The hon. Gentleman seemed to think it quite reasonable that the tenant, who reclaimed a large amount of land by a comparatively small outlay, should, on quitting his holding, be entitled to be recouped not only the amount actually expended, but something in the way of profit. His argument was, that such a tenant should be entitled to claim from the incoming tenant a profit to which properly he had no claim whatever. He (Mr. J. Lowther) did not say that the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Thomas Acland) said that; but that was the line of argument of the hon. Member for Forfarshire. The hon. Member, and, to some extent, the hon. Baronet also, had contended that, if the words of this Amendment were introduced, the tenant, on quitting his holding, would not be entitled to any compensation whatever; but the hon. Member had omitted to read the wording of the clause. The hon. Member could not suppose that any valuer appointed under this Bill would so far neglect his duty and the dictates of plain common sense, as to ignore the very definite terms of the clause. What he (Mr. J. Lowther) did protest against was this — the matter being simply considered as one between landlord and tenant; whereas it was really a proposal that the incoming tenant, who, no doubt, in the valuation of his farm, had regard to the condition in which he found it, should be fined a sum of money on entering his holding, at the time when every farthing of capital he could command was urgently needed for the development of the farm and the cultivation of the soil, by way of bonus to the outgoing tenant, who had no claim whatever to it, or to anything except so far as he had spent money upon the land.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE said, he should like to get the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General as to the real meaning of the Amendment inserted in the clause last night. He did not wish to be pertinacious about it; but he did not think he had received a satisfactory answer yet. He had believed that the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had simply intended to confine his remarks to Part III. of the Schedule. The words of the Amendment were—

> "Provided always, That in respect of those improvements for which the consent of the landlord is not required, the amount of the compensation shall in no case exceed the amount of outlay incurred by the tenant."

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he wished to ask whether the hon. Baronet (Sir Joseph Pease) was in Order in discussing an Amendment adopted and settled last night?

The CHAIRMAN: I have not been able yet to see anything out of Order in the hon. Baronet's remarks. He seems to be seeking an explanation by putting his question.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE said, the observations he was making were bearing upon the Question before the Committee. It seemed to him, when that Amendment was on the Paper, that the consent of the landlord was not required. He had compared the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) with the 3rd Part of the Schedule, and it was plain that drainage was not a matter that required the landlord's consent, but came under a separate heading in the Schedule, as an improvement in respect of which notice to the landlord was required. All depended upon whether drainage was contained in the Amendment or not. He hoped it was; but it seemed to him that the point would be a very nice one, indeed, as a point of law. He thought that, if the words of the Amendment which were taken from the heading of the 3rd Part were not in quotation marks, there might be something said about it.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE said, that if it was the intention of the Committee to re-open the matter settled last night, he thought this Amendment ought to be insisted upon; but if, on the other hand, the Government accepted that Amendment as a compromise—and it seemed to him to be a very fair compromise, and one they ought to accept without any further difficulty—the matter might be allowed to drop. He wished to point out that, if the Amendment confined the compensation to the actual outlay, it would be a reversal of the decision arrived at last night. He, therefore, thought it was a most important Amendment. If, however, the Amendment had not been carried last night, he did not think this would have been of importance.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, that the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Acland) had made a very unfair comment upon the line of conduct he (Mr. James Howard) had pursued during the last few years; but he did not think the hon. Baronet had any right to dictate to him the course he should pursue upon a great public question. The hon. Baronet had intimated that his (Mr. James Howard's) line of action tended to interfere with that good feeling which had existed between landlord and tenant in this country for so long. Well, he (Mr. James Howard) must protest that the only object he had had in view had been to prevent injustice being rendered possible any further in this country between landlords and tenants; and he trusted, by legislation, that they would be able to develop a better feeling than had existed hitherto between landlord and tenant. The hon. Baronet said he had watched his (Mr. James Howard's) course for a number of years. He had no objection to his course being watched for any number of years. He might retaliate by saying that he also had watched the course of the hon. Baronet for 40 years past, and his opinion was that the hon. Baronet had been reactionary. In 1847 the hon. Baronet was a party to the Bill of Mr. Pusey—his name was on that Bill. [*Cries of* "Question!"] Hon. Members cried "Question!" but he thought he had a perfect right to reply to a man who had made an attack upon him. What he said was, that, since 1847, the action of the hon. Baronet had been reactionary. In the Bill of Mr. Pusey, the hon. Baronet was content to leave the compensation of tenants to impartial referees; but what was the case on the hon. Baronet's own estate? He would tell the Committee. He had never before made public this fact, and never should have done so, had it not been for the attack which had been made upon him by the hon. Baronet. Some 10 years ago, one of the hon. Baronet's tenants sent him (Mr. James Howard) a copy of a lease which the hon. Baronet wanted him to sign. [*Cries of* "Question!"] He must repeat that the hon. Baronet had made an attack upon him, and that he had a perfect right to reply. This lease which was sent to him contained a clause for compensation for unexhausted improvements to the tenant; but the hon. Baronet had inserted a proviso, to the effect that he himself should appoint the sole referee to determine the amount of compensation to be given. The tenant sent this lease to him (Mr. James Howard) to ask his opinion whether he should sign it, and he sent it back to the man, telling him never to sign such an arbitrary document as that.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he very much regretted that matters of personal difference had been introduced into the debate. He would not go into them himself, and would only say, in reference to them, that he thought the reputation of the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Acland) was very well able to take care of itself. But an observation had been made in which both the hon. Member for Bedfordshire and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had concurred, and that conjunction was rare, and, being rare, was rather formidable. What they said was, that this Amendment was unnecessary, because the consent of the landlord would practically govern all these improvements. What he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was anxious to do was to enable this Bill to work if it could; and what he was convinced of was this—that it would be difficult enough for the 1st Part of the Schedule to work under any circumstances, for he did not believe the tenantry of England were likely, so long as the English land system endured, to desire to make these permanent improvements. But if the Committee wished to deter landlords from giving their consent to the making of these permanent improvements by tenants, they could not do better than leave it open to the valuer to give to the tenant compensation for that which really belonged to the landlord. Therefore, he was anxious to limit the action of the valuers in this matter, as the Government themselves desired, and to show, in the four corners of the Bill, that the valuers were not to take this course. The landlord, if he gave his consent to permanent improvements being made, would not then be under any fear that he would be deprived of any property which belonged to him; and with that view he had proposed this Amendment. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Forfarshire, if he thought that by moving this Amendment he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was depriving the Bill of any value to the tenant, he would not persist in it for a moment. He was convinced that the words, as they stood in the clause, were quite sufficient to give the tenant the full value of everything he had done, so far as he was entitled to it; but he believed the Amendment was necessary in order to prevent the tenant from getting, from a mistaken valuer, that which did not belong to him.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, that, looking at the language of the Amendment to which the Committee assented last night, he thought it did cover both the 2nd and 3rd Parts of the Schedule; and, under the 2nd Part of the Schedule, the consent of the landlord was not required. The landlord would have the option of doing the work himself, and if he did not do it the tenant would be able to do it.

MR. DODSON said, he would appeal to the Committee whether there was really any advantage now to be gained in continuing this discussion? It appeared to him that hon. Members were agreed upon this point on all sides. No one wanted to deprive the tenant of that which was justly his improvement; and, on the other hand, no one wanted to give him that which fairly belonged to the landlord. Contradictory objections had been taken to the words proposed; some hon. Members apprehending that the effect of them would be to deprive the tenant of the value of his improvement; but, on the other hand, other hon. Members feared that they would give him that which was really and truly the property of the landlord. Well, he (Mr. Dodson) himself was inclined to think that the words were not exposed to either of these dangers; but, as the Committee was agreed on the principle of the thing, he thought that, instead of continuing the discussion now, they should agree to accept the words of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), on the understanding that the Government would carefully consider the words; and, if they thought that anything was necessary to make the intention on both sides in regard to them clearer, they would, at a later stage, endeavour to find words for that purpose.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of theBill."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he was not going to delay the Committee more than a minute or two; but he desired to make an observation with regard to the opening statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson). He (Mr. Chaplin) could not think there was any great difference of opinion between them, and when the right hon. Gentleman had said just now that the Amendment which was adopted last night was a most unfortunate one, and was adopted in great haste, and without due deliberation, he must have forgotten that, with the exception that the Amendment did not apply to the improvements in the 1st Part of the Schedule, it was, practically, to all intents and purposes, the same that was moved by the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) as early as half-past 8 o'clock in the evening. It was erroneous to say that the decision was arrived at hastily and without due consideration. Neither could he agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the Amendment adopted by the Committee last evening made a serious inroad into the Bill. The fact was, that the Bill, as it stood last night, and the sympathies of Members of the Government, were not altogether consistent. As he had endeavoured to point out, the Amendment merely carried into effect that which was distinctly stated over and over again by right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Bench. What they had stated to the Committee was this — that, in their opinion, the compensation to tenants, as a general rule, was not in any instance to exceed the outlay. It was true they had stated that, in exceptional cases, such things might occur; but they limited their exception to particular items; one being the laying down of land in permanent pasture; and the other relating to orchards. If that were so, surely the Committee had adopted a proper course in making the presumption of law this—that the compensation was not to exceed the outlay. If it were necessary to provide for the few particular cases referred to, it was open to the Government, at any later period of the Bill, to make an exception in their favour. Then the effect of the speeches of the Government would have been, literally, carried out; and, so far as he could see, no serious inroad would have been made into the Bill. He might mention, as to this particular subject, some information which was brought very distinctly under his notice. When hon. Members sitting below the Gangway on the opposite side of the House said that an Amendment of this nature was opposed to the wishes of the farmers of England, and that its effect would be considered monstrous and unjust, he should like to state to the Committee a fact that had come under his personal observation. Shortly after the Bill was introduced, it was his good fortune to attend a meeting of tenant farmers—one of the largest meetings of tenant farmers ever held in the city of Lincoln—for the purpose of hearing the views of the farmers on the point whether the compensation was to exceed the outlay. The whole Bill was discussed from beginning to end; but he had gone to the meeting for the purpose of hearing their views upon this particular point. The proposal that the compensation should exceed the value appeared to be received with surprise; and the meeting was unanimous that, under no circumstances, should that be the case, and that an Amendment to that effect should be moved.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he would call attention to the standard of value set forth in the clause. At the first appearance, the standard of value seemed to be satisfactory enough; but, on considering it for a moment, it would be seen that the value of an improvement to an incoming tenant depended entirely on the nature of his tenure. Let them take the case of a permanent improvement. That came under this clause, as well as a temporary one. Well, what was the value of a permanent improvement to a tenant who was holding from year to year. It was, of course, one value to him, and another value to a tenant who had a 19 years' lease; and, on this point, there was certainly some omission in the clause. There should be some qualifying words after the words "value to an incoming tenant." Take the case of a building. Was the outgoing tenant to be only compensated for the building to the extent of its value to an incoming tenant, who would only hold for one year? If that were so, that would be a most unsatisfactory arrangement; and he had only to call attention to it, to show that it would work with great unfairness to the outgoing tenant. He was convinced that this clause might be used for the purpose of depriving tenants of their improvements. Under the Bill, the landlord would only have to let his farm to an incoming tenant for one year, and he could stand on the Bill, and say that the improvements were only of the value that they would be to such incoming tenant. The value of a drainage improvement, for instance, to an incoming tenant who was only holding for one year would not be so great as it would be to a tenant who was holding for a long period. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) would be able to explain this point, which seemed to him to be, at present, in a very unsatisfactory state.

MR. DUCKHAM said, that before the clause was put, he should like to make a remark or two, in reply to the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). The hon. Member had told the Committee that the Amendment that was passed last night was before the Committee from half-past 8 in the evening till late at night. It was true that it was before the Committee from half-past 8, and that a vote was taken adverse to the Amendment; but, at between 12 and 1 o'clock, another Amendment, to the same effect, was introduced, and a snatched vote was taken after many hon. Members who had voted against the principle had left the House. He did think it was a matter for the consideration of the Committee that the interests of both landlord and tenant should be guarded in whatever way was best; but he thought also that it would not do for this House to pass a Bill which would play at "heads I win, tails you lose." If no alteration were made in the Amendment by the Government, it was pretty clear that the tenant farmer would not be recouped for any outlay he might, unfortunately, have made. The improvement might not be considered of great advantage to the property; but, on the other hand, the tenant would not be paid anything more than actual costs out of pocket. Surely, if they gave the value of the outlay for an unfortunate expenditure, they ought to take into consideration the benefit that the land would derive from a fortunate expenditure. He hoped the Committee would pause before accepting the clause.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that, as to the Amendment he had proposed last night, the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Duckham) had declared it had been sprung upon the Committee, and that a snatched Division had been taken upon it. ["Hear, hear!"] Well, he apprehended that hon. Gentlemen who cheered that could not have been present during the discussion. The substance of the Amendment adopted was first proposed at a very early stage in the discussion by his hon. Friend opposite the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey). He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had afterwards risen, in the discussion on the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote), and suggested the Amendment, which he afterwards moved, as a compromise which the Committee would do well to adopt. He stated at the time that he would move that Amendment if the proposal of the hon. and gallant Gentleman were not carried. Well, at the earliest stage he could, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had moved his Amendment; and, so far from the Division taken upon it being a snatched Division, if he recollected rightly, the Amendment was discussed in a House of very little under 300 Members. [An hon. MEMBER: 275.] Yes; 275 Members; and it was therefore perfectly absurd to call it a snatched Division. If they were to go into the question as to whether the Division was the legitimate expression of the opinion of the Committee or not, he would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that if it had not been for the accident of the Agricultural Society's meeting at York taking place this week, and to other circumstances with which he did not wish to trouble the Committee, he believed that not only would his Amendment have been carried, but also the Amendment proposed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote). He would strongly recommend hon. Gentlemen opposite not to state that the House of Commons had been tricked, or had fallen accidentally into the decision at which they had arrived upon his Amendment. He was the more surprised at that accusation coming from the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Duckham), because, if he remembered rightly, the hon. Member had risen to say that his (Mr. A. J. Balfour's) object would be carried out by an Amendment which the hon. Member himself had on the Paper to the 6th clause. Therefore, from whoever the statement came, it appeared to him that it came with less grace from the hon. Member than from anybody else.

Mr. DUCKHAM said, in reply to the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), that he wished to state that it was true he said the hon. Member's view would be carried out on Clause 6, and would be represented by the Amendment which he (Mr. Duckham) had on the Paper. He was quite aware of what he had said; but that Amendment of his did not apply to Part II. of the Schedule of the Bill—it merely applied to feeding stuffs.

Mr. HENEAGE said, that his hon. Friend the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey) had referred only to the 3rd Part of the Schedule, and a great many hon. Members had left the House when the Division was taken on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), under the impression that the Government might, perhaps, be willing to adopt the suggestion of the hon. Member for South Northumberland; and, to a certain extent, therefore, the Division was a snatch one. The hon. Member for Hertford himself, in introducing his Amendment, had stated—whether accidentally or not he (Mr. Heneage) could not say—that the words would apply to the 3rd Part of the Schedule, and had never said one word about its applying to the others.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member (Mr. Heneage) was quite mistaken as to what he (Mr. Balfour) had said.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he objected to these recriminations, and denied that the Division was a snatch one. It had come on at "a reasonable hour," in the view of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself, as it came on between half-past 12 and 1 o'clock. It was inaccurate, therefore, to talk about it having been a snatch Division.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) could not have had any intention of conveying an invidious meaning, because he (Mr. Gladstone) was sure that nothing could have been more straightforward than the whole proceeding last night. The idea the hon. Member was justified in conveying was that the Division was one of inferior authority, as expressing the sense of the Committee, because it was undoubtedly true that many hon. Members had left the House under the belief that there was no further question of the character of that they had been discussing previously to be considered. The Government reserved to themselves the right to further consider this subject.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant would depend, to a great extent, on the length of the tenancy to be granted to him. If a tenant took a lease of a farm, say, for seven or 14 years, the value of many of the improvements would be far greater to him than it would be if he had only entered upon a yearly tenancy; and that was a view the Government would do well to take into their consideration. An Amendment had been given Notice of by the hon. Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham), to the effect that it should be the increased value of the holding, or something like that. As to the Amendment carried last night, it was spoken of as somewhat trivial; but, to his (Mr. James Howard's) mind, it struck at the very principle of the Bill. The principle upon which the Bill was framed was payment by results, and the effect of the Proviso carried last night would be to restore the old system of payment by the unexhausted value of the occupancy. He hoped the Government would seriously consider the question whether, if this Proviso were inserted, it was worth while to go on with the Bill. For his own part, if he had anything to do with it, he would throw up the measure, and leave the responsibility of its failure with the Tory Party. The Government had brought forward a very moderate measure—a measure much too moderate in the opinion of a great many hon. Members—and yet, forsooth, the Tory Party, who pretended to be entirely satisfied, sought on the very first clause to strike at the very root and principle of the Bill. ["No, no!"] The hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) said "No, no!" but they on that side of the House said "Yes, yes!" The Proviso was reactionary. He could corroborate what had fallen from the Prime Minister that many hon. Members left the House last night from that (the Ministerial) side of the House under the impression that this question was settled as to principle. More than one hon. Member had appealed to him (Mr. James Howard) whether they might not then leave.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, he did not wish to detain the Committee for more than a moment, as he felt the quicker they got on with the Bill the better; but he really could not listen to what had fallen from the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. James Howard) without saying a word. The hon. Member seemed to him to be like a spoilt child, and to be anxious to spill the whole of the cup of tea, because he could not have his own way with it. He (Colonel Kingscote) had moved his Amendment yesterday at half-past 8 o'clock. Shortly afterwards the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey) had asked him if he could not accept what was very much of the character of the Amendment afterwards moved and carried by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). He (Colonel Kingscote) had risen several times to catch the Chairman's eye, to say that he would accept the Amendment. If he had had an opportunity, he would have incorporated the words in his Amendment before the Question was put to the vote, because he thought the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had quite understood his argument as regarded the proposal.

MR. DODSON said, he hoped the Committee would now be allowed to close the discussion upon this clause, and proceed with the consideration of the remaining provisions of the Bill. They had had some interesting confessions from his hon. Friend the Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard), who appeared to have been following some bad advice. He would not, however, notice them further; but he had one word to say in reference to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), in regard to the meaning of the words "value of improvements" to an incoming tenant. The Government believed that the words they had provided amply secured to the outgoing tenant the full value of his improvements, and that no consideration could enter into the question as to whether an incoming tenant was a tenant from year to year or a tenant upon a lease. The outgoing tenant was, for all purposes, secured the full value of his improvements, and the full measure of the improvements as they stood. As to the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) in regard to the Amendment adopted last night, he (Mr. Dodson) distinctly stated, on introducing the Bill, and he thought again in moving the second reading, that the Government attached great importance to value as the measure of compensation, and they still retained the opinion that value was the most just and equitable mode of assessing compensation under the Bill. Their desire was not necessarily to limit the compensation to the maximum of outlay incurred by the tenant. He would not discuss the matter further, but would only remind the Committee of the importance which the Government attached to that proposition. In reference to what was said to have fallen from his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works last night, what he (Mr. Dodson) believed to have been stated by his right hon. Friend was not that compensation ought not to exceed the outlay, but that there were not many cases in which compensation would exceed the outlay. That was a totally different matter.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he wished to explain. He did not know that he had attributed to the right hon. Gentleman the statement that compensation ought to exceed the outlay. If he had done so, he would acknowledge that he had made a mistake. What he intended to convey was that, judging from the speeches which had been made on the Front Bench, the Committee were justified in forming a conclusion that that was the view of the Government.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, he wanted to say one word, in reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), as to the consensus of opinion on the part of the tenant farmers in limiting the compensation to the actual outlay. That opinion might be universal, when made in public, with the landlords present; but he possessed a certain number of friends who were tenant farmers, and he had received numerous letters from them, from which he found that not one of them attached much, if any, value to this clause, even as it originally stood. What value it now possessed, as amended, he would leave to hon. Members to consider. For his own part, he would join with the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) in asking the Government if they did not think it worth while to withdraw the Bill altogether, because, as far as the tenant farmers of England were generally concerned, it had become a mockery and delusion to them. He believed there was not one in a dozen of tenant farmers who would benefit by the Bill. It might, however, be wise to pass it, from this point of view, that the passing of the Bill, with this clause in it, would be the signal for the commencement of an agitation on the part of the tenant farmers of England to secure their rights. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Well, time would show whether that was the case or not. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] Hon. Members were impatient; but he had no desire to speak long. He could fully understand that they failed to appreciate the point of his remarks. The Bill, as it now stood, with this clause in it, would be of no use to the tenant, unless he happened to be a tenant who was relinquishing business and giving up farming altogether. So far as the 1st and most important part of the Schedule was concerned, nothing was altered at all. The tenant and the landlord would be precisely in the same position they were in before, perfectly free to make contracts between themselves; but with regard to the 2nd and 3rd part of the Schedule, what would be the effect of the clause? He would put a case. Suppose a tenant farmer were to lay out £1,000, although it was not very likely that many tenant farmers would lay out £1,000 just now; but supposing a tenant farmer did so, and by that means made the letting value of the farm worth £100 a-year more. In that case, the landlord could come down upon the tenant, and demand £100 a-year more rent; and, on the tenant refusing to pay it, he would have to leave the farm and receive his £1,000. Well, he left the farm, and the landlord then got £100 a-year more rent upon an outlay of £1,000. Consequently, instead of there being an inducement to the tenant to improve his farm, the clause rather gave a premium to a certain class of landlords to get rid of their tenants, in order that they might replace them by persons who would pay more rent. How would that principle work if it were applied to the ordinary commercial concerns of life? If a man invested £1,000, he not only wished to secure the money he had laid out, but to secure that which was the object of laying it out—namely, the profit upon the £1,000. But if, after he had made it a profitable investment, another person came in, and was able to oust him, by paying the £1,000 he had laid out, how much capital would be in the future invested on such conditions? If the investor lost all, very well; he would bear the loss himself; but if he made a profit, then someone else was to get the benefit of his investment. Therefore, as far as this clause afforded an inducement to the tenant to invest extra capital upon the land, it would act in a directly opposite way. He thought, notwithstanding all the solemn platitudes which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had favoured them with, in respect of the tenant farmers' interests in the Bill, there were no grounds whatever for the conclusions of the right hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) took it that, the object of the Bill was to benefit the tenant farmers of England generally; and he would ask the Prime Minister and the Government, after their condemnation of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, what was the meaning of the great promises they had made to the tenant farmers? Did they intend to persevere with the measure, which not even the occupants of the Front Bench could make appear in the eyes of the tenant farmers to be anything more than a mere sham and a make-believe? He would conclude, as he had begun, by saying that the only tenant who would be benefited by the Bill would be the tenant who was relinquishing farming; and, in that case, he would get something which he would not get as the law now stood.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he intended to oppose the insertion of the clause, and he would state, very briefly, the reasons which induced him to do so. Looking at the Bill, as it would be read by valuers, he did not think the explanations of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster were satisfactory. In the next place, the clause altogether was of a very unsatisfactory nature. He was quite willing to admit that the Bill had been received with a certain amount of favour by the tenant farmers, not so much for what it was, as for what it might be made; but as far as the discussion of the Bill had gone, instead of the character of the measure improving, it had been made worse. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, who were called the "farmers friends," instead of doing anything for the benefit of the farmers, had studiously set themselves to work to minimize the small concessions which had been made by the Government. He had no doubt, from the discussion which had already taken place, that hon. Gentlemen opposite grudged the little the Government proposed to give, and what they did propose to give was exceedingly little indeed. He did not think that the clause would do anything whatever to settle the question. It would not work at all satisfactorily, either for the landlord or for the tenant. The great object of the Bill was to stimulate and improve the cultivation of the soil, and this clause would entirely fail to produce that effect. Speaking for himself, he should desire to accept the clause as a settlement of the question; but, as he had said, it would do nothing whatever to settle it. It simply showed the tenant farmers that they had as little to expect from a Liberal Government as from their Tory Predecessors. He was sorry that it was so; but he considered it his duty, representing to some extent tenant farmers, to point this out to the House, so that it might not be said hereafter that they had passed a Bill, the provisions of which were accepted without remonstrance from any section of the House. He should certainly divide against the clause, on the ground that it was altogether unsatisfactory to the tenant farmers of England, and that it would fail to attain the objects which the Government professed to have in view. In point of fact, it would only tend further to unsettle the relations between landlord and tenant, without doing anything whatever towards effecting a permanent settlement.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he wished to ask for some explanation from the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. Dodson). He did not intend to be a farmer's friend in the sense of hon. Gentlemen opposite, because there was nothing Communistic in his principles. He had, himself, moved for a Committee on this subject in 1848, and he had not only carried the Committee, but he had moved the Chairman of it into the Chair. He did not think that the present measure deserved the reflections which had been cast upon it by the Friends of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but he wanted to know what they were to understand in regard to the duties of the arbitrators? Were the arbitrators to take into consideration the state of the farm, when the outgoing tenant entered upon the tenancy; or were they to take into consideration any abatement of rent, made in order that the landlord might participate in the improvements, because, in his own case, he (Mr. Newdegate) was at present taking no rent. He was giving up the rent, in order that he might have his share in the value of the improvements.

MR. BORLASE said, he would venture to make an appeal to the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) not to persevere with his idea of dividing the House in favour of the rejection of the clause. In making this appeal, he (Mr. Borlase) would point out that the Government, from the very beginning, had been actuated by good intentions. He could only repeat what he had said at the outset, that he did not think the Bill would satisfy the tenant farmers of England fully, because it would not give them full and absolute security; but it would give them some security, and it would make their position better. Although this clause had been mutilated, no doubt the farmers would readily recognize the quarter of the House from which that mutilation had come. It was the same quarter from which it had so often come before; and Her Majesty's Government, while doubtless regretting the decision arrived at last night, were, in his opinion, in no way responsible for it. He could not support the hon. Member for Forfarshire, and he trusted that the hon. Member would not persist in his opposition to the clause.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:— Ayes 241; Noes 19: Majority 222.—(Div. List, No. 211.)

As to Improvements executed before the Commencement of Act.

Clause 2 (Restriction as to improvements before Act).

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he had an Amendment upon the Paper to move, which was of considerable importance, and on which a number of other Amendments depended. It was one which, he thought, ought to receive the careful consideration of the Committee. The Prime Minister, in speaking of this measure, always spoke of it as a Tenants' Compensation Bill; and nobody present during the Sitting that day would be of opinion that undue consideration was being displayed for the interest of the tenants. The impression out-of-doors would be that the Committee, as far as they had hitherto gone, had been somewhat severe upon the tenant. The main object of the Bill was to enable the tenant to obtain compensation for his improvements; and the object of this Amendment was to include the case of the occupying tenant. Some hon. Members called him a "sitting tenant;" but he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) preferred to speak of him as the "occupying tenant," and the Amendment would include improvements executed under Part I. and Part II. of the Schedule during the period of occupation, and would make such improvements come within the purview of the Bill. As the clause at present stood, it was applicable only to improvements executed under Part III. of the Schedule, and any improvements which the occupying tenant performed under Part I. and Part II. of the Schedule would not come under the operation of the Bill. This would inflict upon the tenant a very considerable hardship; and he thought that it would inflict upon the landlord also a very considerable inconvenience. In the case of the tenant the hardship would be this—that when the Bill became law it would be the habit of the landlord or his agent to inform the tenant that he must have strict reference to the law of the land, and to nothing else. In other cases there would be this inconvenience—that when the quitting tenant came up for compensation there would be some improvements that would have been executed before the passing of the Act, and that would involve in the case of every claim arising under the Act considerable inconvenience. The Committee would observe that, in subsequent Amendments which he had placed upon the Paper, he had limited the proposal very strictly. He proposed, in such of the cases as came under Part I. and Part II. of the Schedule, the latter part referring only to drainage, that the improvements executed before the passing of the Act should only come under the operation of the Act where the tenant was in possession of the written consent of the landlord. That, he thought, was important, and would give a limitation, which he hoped would recommend itself to the Committee. He might also observe that the limitation which had been introduced that day by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) in Clause 1 had an important bearing on the Amendment now before the Committee, because it limited distinctly the claim the tenant would have in case of a written agreement with the landlord. Supposing a tenant was now in possession of a letter from his landlord informing him that he might execute improvements under Part I. or Part II. of the Schedule. But for the Amendment of the hon. Baronet there might be a question raised whether he should also have the value of any improvement arising from the inherent qualities of the soil; but the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman precluded that possibility, and was an argument in favour of the Amendment which he (Mr. Arnold) now proposed. There were other consequential Amendments; but he would propose, in the first instance, in the first line of the clause, to leave out the word "not."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 16, to leave out the word "not."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'not' stand part of the Clause."

MR. PUGH said, he wished to make a practical suggestion to Her Majesty's Government before they proceeded with this clause, and it was that they should withdraw it altogether. There were already 20 Amendments down upon the Paper in regard to it. He failed to see what could be the object of the clause. There was a provision in the 3rd clause of the Bill, in regard to the improvements mentioned in the 1st Part of the Schedule, that no compensation could be made for them, unless the landlord had given his consent to the improvements being made in writing. Then, also, with regard to the 2nd Part of the Schedule, which referred to drainage only, it was also provided that compensation should not be given to the tenant, unless he had, within three months of beginning to execute the improvement, given to the landlord notice in writing of his intention to do so. The Government were willing that the tenant, under the Bill, should receive compensation for all improvements which came within the 3rd Part of the Schedule, supposing that he was not already entitled, under any contract of custom, or under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, to compensation in respect to such improvements. Then, in the 26th clause, it was provided that the compensation under the Act should be exclusive compensation, and that the tenant should not be entitled to claim compensation, by custom or otherwise, than in the manner authorized by the Act. He, therefore, put it to Her Majesty's Government, whether it would not be much better to withdraw the clause, so as to get rid in one sweep of 20 Amendments, and be able to go on with the remaining provisions of the Bill? He was perfectly satisfied that the Bill could not be satisfactory, unless it could be materially altered in regard to the 1st clause, especially after the Amendment carried last night.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that, in his opinion, there was great force in what had fallen from the hon. Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. Pugh). The clause, as it stood, would only apply to improvements comprised in the 3rd Part of the Schedule, made before the commencement of the Act, and not already covered by contract, or custom, or by the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. Therefore, it would apply to comparatively few cases; and yet, for the sake of these few cases, which, after all, would be out of date within a very few years from the present time, they were to adopt the very dangerous principle of retrospective legislation. He would put it to the Government if it was really worth while to insist upon the clause; and whether the benefit to the tenant would at all compensate for the objections to the principle he had named?

MR. DUCKHAM said, he shared, to some extent, the opinion which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), and the object of the hon. Gentleman's Amendment would be clearly seen in some further Amendments of which he (Mr. Duckham) had given Notice. He felt that there were a large number of tenant farmers in the Kingdom, who would look with a great amount of disfavour upon any provisions which forbade them from obtaining retrospective compensation, both for ordinary, as well as for permanent improvements. He certainly thought that men who had gone on from year to year improving their holdings should be encouraged in their efforts rather than disheartened. He was personally acquainted with many cruel cases, where men had laid out their capital in permanent improvements, and done a great deal to increase the value of the property of which they had been the tenants, yet, as soon as they were removed by death, their wives and families had been turned adrift, because they had no political standing in the country. It was highly important to make the operation of the clause retrospective, and therefore he should support the Amendment.

Mr. DODSON said, he could not agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. Pugh) in regarding this clause as an unimportant one. It would affect a large number of tenants who were not secured either by the Agricultural Holdings Act, or in any other way. It must also be considered in respect of tenants who were not secured as to improvements, who might have to leave their holdings during the next two or three years, before they had time to renew existing contracts. They had effected improvements during their occupancy, and it was right that they should be compensated for them. There was also the case of leases, the holders of which would not be entitled to compensation, unless this clause were inserted. Therefore, it was an extremely important clause in that point of view. In regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), he observed that it strictly limited the clause to cases where the landlord had given his consent in writing; but there might be cases in which the landlord's consent in writing had not been given to past improvements, although there was an understanding as to payment. He was, therefore, unable to see the meaning of the Amendment. Without some reservation, it would be very unjust; because they were going to require the landlord's consent in the future, and, therefore, *à fortiori*, in the past. But if there had been a written consent on the part of the landlord, there must have been some agreement as to payment.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he hoped the Government would not withdraw the clause. He could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) had, to some extent, misinterpreted it. The effect of the clause appeared to him to be to place some restriction on the compensation to be given for improvements made before the passing of the Bill; because, were it not for the clause, all improvements made before the passing of the Bill would be compensated for. There was some considerable interference by the Bill as it stood already with existing contracts; but that interference was limited solely to improvements under the 3rd Part of the Schedule. He was ready to accept the interference with contracts, as far as it went; but he should be sorry to see it go further. He thought, if the Bill gave no compensation for improvements under the 3rd head of the Schedule, in all existing arrangements, it would be, to a great extent, unsatisfactory to the farmers, and would fail to settle the question. He was, therefore, prepared to accept the interference as far as it went, but no further.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he quite agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) that, if this clause was not amended, it would be received with considerable disfavour by the tenant farmers. A large number of the tenants had expected that the Government measure would give them compensation for their improvements. Many farmers had expended large sums of money upon improvements, and they were in hopes that any measure introduced by the Government would give them the fair value of such improvements in the shape of compensation. The right to obtain compensation for improvements was one of the main principles of the Bill; and, on that ground, the measure itself had been accepted with favour by the farmers, not because it was what it was, but on account of what it might be made. If these Amendments were not accepted, it would shut out a very large number of farmers from compensation. He should like to hear an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. Dodson) as to what difference there was in the principle of compensation for improvements under the 3rd Part of the Schedule, and for improvements under the 1st and 2nd Parts? His own opinion was that the principle was the same in both cases, and he failed to see why it should not be applied by the Government to both cases alike. Part III. of the Schedule, according to the representation of the right hon. Gentleman, required the incoming tenant to pay the outgoing tenant for improvements effected in the holding without the consent of the landlord; but improvements under the 1st and 2nd Parts of the Schedule required the consent of the landlord, because the right hon. Gentleman said they imposed a burden upon the landlord. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) did not see that they imposed any burden whatever upon the landlord. The question before the Committee was not whether the landlord should be entitled to confiscate, without compensation, the increased value of the land due to the tenant's improvements in the past. He defied any hon. Member to say that that would not be the effect of the clause as it stood. The Bill provided, in the 1st clause, that the tenant should receive compensation only for the increased value of the land due to his improvements. The question arose, whether the tenant, having made improvements in the past, without any compulsion upon him to do so, and without any agreement with his landlord, would get the fair value of such improvements, or whether the improvements themselves were to be confiscated by the landlord without awarding to the tenant any compensation whatever? That was the real question raised by his hon. Friend—namely, whether the tenant, having erected, for instance, a building on his holding, which was likely to be of considerable value to his successor, the landlord was to be at liberty to confiscate that building, and compel the tenant to leave the holding without receiving any compensation whatever for it; or whether the tenant was to be entitled to the fair value of the improvement he had effected? He thought that was a very important question, and he hoped the Government would give some explanation why they did not deal with Parts I. and II. of the Schedule, in the same way as they proposed to deal with Part III. Certainly, if no satisfactory explanation were given, he hoped his hon. Friend would take a Division, and he should be happy to support him as a protest against the confiscation by the landlord of the permanent improvements effected by the tenant.

MR. DODSON said, he would at once give an answer to the question of the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), as to the reason why a distinction was made in regard to the improvements in the 1st and 2nd Parts of the Schedule and those which came under the 3rd Part. But although he could give the hon. Member an answer, whether that answer would be one which was satisfactory to the hon. Member was more than he could undertake to say. He could only hope that it would be; but before explaining the distinction, he would point out to the hon. Member that the particular items included in the Schedule were still open to discussion, when they reached the Schedule. The object aimed at in making a distinction between the 3rd and the other Parts of the Schedule was that the improvements contained in the 1st and 2nd Parts of the Schedule were of a nature which would affect substantially the character of the holding; and the Government thought that a person who was the occupier of the holding for a short time should not be at liberty to execute works which might entirely alter the character of the holding, without having, in the first instance, received the consent of the owner for doing so. That was the reason why, as to works executed in the future, the consent of the owner to their execution was required. If they were executed by the tenant, without the consent of the owner, they would be executed at the tenant's own risk. He now came to this particular clause, which provided that in the case of improvements before the Act compensation should not be payable, except where the tenant had, before the commencement of the Act, made an improvement mentioned in the 3rd Part of the Schedule, and was not entitled under any contract or custom, or under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, to compensation. The 3rd Part of the Schedule applied to acts of what might be called high husbandry—improvements which might have been executed without the landlord's consent, and without coming under any existing contract or custom of the country. Improvements under the 1st and 2nd Parts of the Schedule were excepted from the clause, for the reason that, in regard to those improvements, they were of a character to require that the consent of the owner should have been previously given.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the Amendment before the Committee was proposed, in order that the clause should refer to improvements under all the three heads.

MR. DODSON said, the improvements included under the 1st Part of the Schedule were improvements of a permanent character; and, in that case, the consent of the landlord in writing was required. They were improvements altogether of a better class. The 2nd Part of the Schedule had reference only to drainage; and, in that case, the Bill required that notice should be given to the owner, in order that he might have the option, before any great and important work of drainage was carried out, of taking the duty upon himself, instead of leaving it to the tenant. Therefore, if there was any notice or arrangement as to drainage or improvements which came under the 1st Part of the Schedule, or any existing contract between the owner and tenant, it must be presumed that it would include also an agreement as to payment; and therefore improvements under both of these Parts had been exempted from the operation of the clause, which was intended only for improvements in husbandry.

COLONEL RUGGLES-BRISE said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. Pugh), and also with the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), that this clause might be very well omitted. It only asserted the principle that the tenant should not be entitled to compensation for improvements executed before the commencement of the Act, unless he was entitled under any contract, or custom, or under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. He maintained that every tenancy in England at the present moment was either under contract, or custom, or under the Agricultural Holdings Act. What, then, remained to which the clause could be applied? The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) said there were numerous tenancies to which the clause would apply in his own part of the country. Assuredly, if there were verbal arrangements, those verbal arrangements would not upset the Agricultural Holdings Act, and therefore he imagined it would be found that all these tenancies were really under the Agricultural Holdings Act. If the clause meant special arrangements made under the Agricultural Holdings Act, then he could understand it. He knew that many landlords had contracted themselves out of the Agricultural Holdings Act; but he was one of those who had never done so. He considered it unwise to do so. But if he had contracted himself out of the Act he should consider it very hard that this clause should come in now, and say that all he had done for the last five or six years should be set aside. He was of opinion, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would inform him whether he was right or wrong, that the clause would only apply to those holdings in regard to which the landlord had made arrangements to contract himself out of the Agricultural Holdings Act. If that was so, he could understand the question; because, in that case, there would be a principle involved in it. Otherwise, he thought the clause was altogether unnecessary.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, what he gathered from the clause was that it proposed to apply to improvements in regard to which there was no arrangement or custom in the country applicable, or which did not come under the Agricultural Holdings Act, where improvements had been effected which were not provided for in any other way, the tenant might ask for compensation under the present Bill.

MR. PUGH said, he did not wish that there should be any doubt as to his views. He was far from desiring to deprive the tenant of the power of getting any compensation he might be entitled to under the clause. All he said was, that the tenant would get exactly the same compensation without the clause at all. If he was entitled to anything by custom, or by agreement, or under the Agricultural Holdings Act, provision was made for compensating him under other clauses of the Bill. The Government said that if a tenant did not get compensation in any of those ways for improvements which came under the 3rd Part of the Schedule, he would be entitled to have it under this clause; but he thought that case was provided for by the 1st clause, which ran as follows:—

> "Subject as in this Act mentioned, where a tenant has made on his holding an improvement comprised in the Schedule hereto, he shall, on and after the commencement of this Act, be entitled on quitting his holding at the termination of a tenancy to obtain from the landlord as compensation under this Act for such improvement such sum as fairly represents the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant."

He thought that clause made full provision for every case in which the tenant did not get compensation otherwise, and he could not see the use of going into the 20 Amendments which stood upon the Paper. The Bill began with a clause limiting the rights of the tenant, and it ended with a clause giving him rights under certain circumstances, and he maintained that nobody could show a case to which the Bill would not apply.

MR. DODSON, in answer to the assertion which had just been made by the hon. Member for Cardiganshire (Mr. Pugh), begged to say that the Government did attach importance to this 2nd clause, for the reasons he had already stated. No doubt, it was perfectly true, as the hon. Member said, that the 1st clause enacted that where a tenant had made any improvement upon his holding he should have a general right to compensation. The words of the clause were—

> "Subject as in this Act mentioned, where a tenant has made on his holding any improvement comprised in the Schedule hereto, he shall, on and after the commencement of this Act, be entitled," &c.

But an Act of Parliament was generally held to date from the time of its commencement; and, unless the Committee accepted this clause, the 1st clause would be ambiguous, and would give rise to disputes as to the intentions of Parliament. It might bear the construction the hon. Member had placed upon it; but that construction would be left in doubt.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD would like to say a word before the Committee went to a Division upon the Amendment, in reference to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre). The right hon. Gentleman had put the matter as he (Mr. Arthur Arnold) proposed it, quite accurately. But he did not propose a mere improvement in the words of the clause so far as the acts of the landlord were concerned. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that in such cases as those which he (Mr. Arnold) contemplated there was generally, if not always, an agreement. Now, they did not sit in that House to make laws for good men, but to make laws for bad men. They were legislating for cases which he hoped would be quite exceptional in regard to the English, Irish, or Scotch landlords; but it was their duty to prevent the possibility of a repudiation by the landlord of any understanding which might be regarded as a common understanding between landlord and tenant. A tenant might ask his landlord if he might do this, that, or the other—whether he might lay down a pasture, or cut down a hedge, or fill up a ditch, and the landlord might give him a written consent; but there might be no provision in that consent for compensation, and there were hundreds and thousands of improvements made by tenants that were not included in any agricultural custom of the country. Therefore, the agricultural custom of the country did not apply to all cases. He thought the objections of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster might be met by a subsequent Amendment to provide that the improvements should relate to the same kind of husbandry as that which had hitherto been practised upon the holding.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that, in his opinion, the remarks of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) contradicted themselves. The hon. Member talked of inflicting injustice on tenants, and in the following sentence said he was happy to think that there were very few landlords who would inflict any injustice at all.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was certain that the expression thousands of improvements made by tenants had escaped the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) accidentally. The hon. Member had mentioned certain cases, such as that of a tenant grubbing a hedge, or filling a ditch; but the hon. Member seemed to forget that the land which the tenant obtained from such operations was not charged for by the landlord as a rule, but went into the farm. In regard to other improvements, he would appeal to the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) to corroborate what he was about to say. The tenant went to the landlord and said, for instance—"I am anxious to lay down a portion of land in permanent pasture; but it is not worth my while unless I get some assistance from you." What was the assistance generally given? It was that the landlord found the seed, and the tenant found the labour; and he thought it would be found in most of these cases that equivalent value was given by the landlord to that which was given by the tenant. He should like to know whether some words could not be introduced into the Bill limiting the length of time in regard to which the retrospective action of the measure was to hold good? In the Bill at present there was nothing of the kind, except in the case of the landlord, who, by Clause 6, would be unable to obtain compensation for waste by the tenant, or a breach by the tenant committed or permitted in relation to a matter of husbandry for more than four years before the termination of the tenancy. After the passing of Clause 2 the tenant might say that he had done certain things in regard to the land, and he might make a claim upon the landlord for compensation, although the whole value of his improvements might be already exhausted. Therefore, when they were bringing up a clause which proposed something altogether new in the legislation of the country, because retrospective clauses or allowances had not been generally proposed or accepted by the House, he certainly thought that some time ought to be fixed as a limit to the period during which the improvements had been made.

COLONEL RUGGLES-BRISE said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had not condescended to answer the question he (Colonel Ruggles-Brise) had put to him. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had, however, answered it in part when he said that hundreds and thousands of cases occurred of improvements made by the tenant in which there was no custom whatever. Now, he (Colonel Ruggles-Brise) was not aware that there were many instances in the country where there was not a custom of some kind or other in force. As far as his own knowledge went, he knew of no district in which there was not some kind of agricultural custom or other; and, that being so, would the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster tell him that the clause was to apply only to districts where there was no custom, or where the landlord had contracted himself out of the Agricultural Holdings Act?

MR. DODSON said, he was afraid he could add nothing by way of explanation to the hon. and gallant Member opposite, beyond referring him to the words of the section itself—namely, where—

> "He is not entitled under any contract, or custom, or under the Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875, to compensation in respect of such improvements, then, on quitting his holding at the termination of the tenancy, &c."

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had appealed to him upon a practical point; but the hon. and gallant Baronet had really raised two points, in regard to which he had certainly not displayed a very considerable knowledge of the subject. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not say that offensively, because universal knowledge did not fall to the lot of any man. The hon. and gallant Baronet said that if a tenant grubbed up a hedge, and thus recovered land, there was no extra charge of rent made for that land. The hon. and gallant Baronet did not seem to be aware of the fact that the fences were invariably measured in a farmer's land; and, therefore, the rent the tenant was paying would cover all the fences before they were grubbed up. The hon. and gallant Baronet did not know, but he (Mr. James Howard) did, that the grubbing up of fences was generally a most expensive and a most unremunerative operation as far as the tenant was concerned. When a question of compensation was raised the valuer would take all the circumstances of the case into consideration. The clause now under consideration recognized the right of the tenant to be paid for improvements after the Bill came into operation; but they excluded him from getting compensation for improvements of a permanent character. Permanent improvements were of a very durable nature, and would enhance the value of the estate to the owner of it long after they were effected. Therefore, he did not see any reason why the clause should exclude improvements under the 1st and 2nd Parts of the Schedule.

MR. ALBERT GREY said, it seemed to him that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) was a fair and reasonable one. Wherever a tenant had obtained the written consent of the landlord to execute certain improvements, but there was no agreement to secure compensation, he ought to be able to obtain compensation under the present Bill; and he was, therefore, in favour of giving the tenant, where there was no agreement, a fair amount of compensation under the Act. At the same time, he was in favour of providing that, where the tenant had made a strict agreement with his landlord as to the manner in which compensation should be awarded, that then the compensation should be paid in accordance with the agreement. He understood the object of the hon. Member for Salford was to apply the Amendment only to the case of tenants who had made improvements for which they had received the express written consent of the landlord, but who had neglected to make any agreement to secure the manner in which the compensation was to be paid.

MR. DUCKHAM said, the hon. and gallant Member for East Essex (Colonel Ruggles-Brise) had told the Committee that in most parts of the country some kind of custom or other prevailed, and that, where compensation was not otherwise secured, it would be secured to the tenant by the custom of the country. Now, he (Mr. Duckham) himself believed that there were many instances in which improvements had been effected by the tenant, under a tacit understanding with his landlord, without being assured that he would be entitled to claim compensation. That was certainly not the rule, however; but it often happened, when the landlord and tenant were looking round a farm, waiting, perhaps, for the agent, that the tenant would suggest certain measures for the improvement of the estate, and would then proceed, in consequence of what occurred in the conversation, to carry out such improvements entirely under a verbal agreement. That was often the case as far as his experience went. It was quite the exception, and not the rule, for the tenant to ask the landlord to retire into the house, so that he might obtain a written authority for carrying out improvements which both the landlord and the tenant agreed would be of considerable advantage to the estate. He hoped the Government would consider the equity of extending the provisions of the Bill to all improvements which might have been effected by the tenant since the passing of the Agricultural Holdings Act. It was well known that many families were turned out of their holdings for very trifling causes. It was only yesterday that he saw, in an agricultural paper, a reference to the case of a large number of tenants in an important agricultural county who had got at variance with their landlords in consequence of the Hares and Rabbits Bill. These were no imaginary cases whatever, and he hoped the equity of the matter would be considered by Her Majesty's Government.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to say that the Government excluded improvements under Parts I. and II. of the Schedule from the operation of the clause, because they might alter the character of the holding; but he (Sir Alexander Gordon) wished to point out that there might be many cases in which they would not alter the character of the holding; and he did not see why, in such instances, the tenant should not get compensation for them. So far as altering the character of the holding went, drainage works would not have that effect. If such works were done they must improve the estate. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that the arbitrators would only decide whether or not the outlay of the tenant had tended to improve the holding. He should certainly vote for the Amendment if it went to a Division.

MR. HENEAGE said, he wished to know if it was not intended by the Act of 1875 to entitle the tenant to compensation for improvements, unless the landlord, by an honest agreement with the tenant, had contracted himself out of the Act? No doubt the Agricultural Holdings Act did not say so in so many words; but that evidently was the spirit and intention of the Act, and he did not think that any landlord who had not made a fair and honest agreement with the tenant would be much to be pitied. The clause, as it stood, simply referred to improvements which came under the 3rd Part of the Schedule; and the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) was intended to include the improvements which came under the other two Parts of the Schedule. He (Mr. Heneage) ventured to think that the Amendment adopted by the Chamber of Agriculture was much better than the Amendment of the hon. Member for Salford, and he would like to read it to the House. It was somewhat similar to the Amendment proposed to be moved later on by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell)—namely, after the words entitling the tenant to compensation, who was not entitled by contract or custom, or under the Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875, in respect of improvements, to insert the words—

> "Or when a tenant has executed an improvement mentioned in the 1st Part of this Schedule within ten years previous to the commencement of the Act, and he is not entitled under any contract or custom, or under 'the Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875,' to compensation in respect of such improvements; and the landlord has within one year after the commencement of the Act consented in writing to the making of such improvement."

He regarded that as a very fair Amendment towards the landlord, who must within one year have consented in writing to the improvement being made for which compensation was claimed. He intended to vote, however, for the Amendment now before the Committee as a protest against the clause, although he did not think that it was the best Amendment that could be suggested.

MR. DODSON said, the Amendment suggested by the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) appeared to be, as far as he had been able to catch it, a similar Amendment to that which had been placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), except that the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire limited the improvement to the laying down of permanent pasture in the 1st Part of the Schedule. He thought the Amendment was well worthy of consideration, and it would receive careful consideration at the hands of the Government.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 206; Noes 72: Majority 134. — (Div. List, No. 212.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR, in moving, as an Amendment, to insert after the word "tenant," in line 18, the words "not holding under a lease," said, the Amendment was not on the Paper; but it was of so simple a character, and raised a question of such vital importance, that the Committee would pardon its not so appearing. If his Amendment were adopted, the clause would then read—

> "Compensation under this Act shall not be payable in respect of improvements executed before the commencement of this Act, with this exception, that where a tenant, not holding under a lease, has before the commencement of this Act made an improvement," &c. &c.

The result of the Amendment would be that no tenant holding under a lease would be able to claim compensation for improvements made before the passing of this Act. He admitted that the effect of the Amendment would not be very great, and he put it before the Committee not so much as a question between landlord and tenant, but more as a question of principle. He did not think the Committee sufficiently realized that they were at this moment engaged upon a Bill which deliberately broke through agreements made between persons who were perfectly competent to make agreements between each other. Let them take the case of a North-country farmer, who made an agreement with his landlord for 19 years. In that agreement all the conditions under which his farm was to be cultivated were carefully gone over between him and his landlord; and, therefore, it seemed a great violation of ordinary principles of legislation that the House should say—"Though you have made that agreement with your landlord for 19 years with every legal formality, nevertheless, in addition to that agreement, your landlord shall be obliged to give you something which you would not have been entitled to under the lease." Now, he put this Amendment before the Committee, as he had already said, as a question of principle, and he hoped the Government would consent to introduce the words he proposed.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 18, to insert, after the word "tenant," the words "not holding under a lease."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DODSON said, he thought it better to rise at once, without a minute's delay, and state that the Government could not accept this Amendment. He entirely failed to see the difference in principle between a lease and a shorter tenancy; indeed, in law, there was no difference between them. A year-to-year tenancy was really a lease. Now, as to the injustice which the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) spoke of, if the lease or agreement, be it for a long or a short time, provided compensation for any of the scheduled improvements, that compensation would prevail. It was only in cases where there was no compensation provided that a tenant would be able to claim compensation for the first class of improvements under this Act. The Act only dealt with cases where no compensation was provided; and the case of compensation, by way of reduced rents, was dealt with in Section 6.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he must appeal to his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) not to press this Amendment. He did not think that it would even carry out the intentions of his hon. Friend. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) took it, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) had said, that a lease would mean a year-to-year tenancy, as well as an agreement for 19 years, or any other term of years. If his hon. Friend wished to raise a question as to the difference between a man holding from year to year, and a man who had a long lease, it would be well he should do so in another part of the Bill.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he objected altogether to the principle of the Amendment; a tenant from year to year had, perhaps, in reality, the longest form of lease he could possibly have.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that perhaps he might be able to explain to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) what was the distinction between a lease for a term of years which he contemplated, and a tenancy from year to year. Everybody who knew the system of English tenancies from year to year knew that such tenancies were liable to go on from father to son, that there was no reconsideration of the whole circumstances of the holding at stated times, as there generally was in the cases of leases. In the case of a lease, a landlord arranged with his tenant as to what was to be done, and what consideration had to be paid for it. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had said that a tenancy from year to year was a lease just as much as a 19 years' lease. Whatever it might be in law, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was certain that no one in the House would believe that, in equity, the thing stood on the same footing. When a man entered into a 19 years' lease, he knew perfectly well that he was making a specific contract of a most binding character; and he did not see what contracts were to be considered binding, if these were to be broken through. He was recommended by his right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) to withdraw his Amendment. As, however, he had put it before the Committee as a matter of principle, while he felt bound not to put the Committee to the trouble of a Division, he must allow it to be negatived.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), who had moved the Amendment, had referred to the 19 year leases, and to the practice in Scotland. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) understood that one of the great objects of the Bill was to remove one of the grievances under 19 year leases. It was hoped that this proposal of the Government would induce a tenant to farm well up to the end of his lease, so that this would be an advantage to the landlord. The proposal of the hon. Member opposite, however, would do away with that slight inducement to better farming. His only object in rising was to state that this was the real meaning of the proposal just submitted to them. It would be a very unfortunate thing if the Amendment were accepted.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. CARTWRIGHT, in moving, as an Amendment, to leave out, in page 1, line 19, the word "third," and insert "second," said, the Amendment had reference to the Schedules; and the reason which induced him to propose it was that the clause, as now drafted, was not in unison or harmony with the spirit of the Bill. One of the great advantages of the Bill was that it had been drawn on simple lines. The measure, however, recognized the fact that in our agricultural system there were two interests which were distinct, though not conflicting—the interest of the landlord, as permanent owner of the soil, and the interest of the tenant, who was the cultivator in the development of the soil. All the improvements in the 1st Part of the Schedule were improvements which had always been considered at least to be within the province of the landlord as the permanent owner of the soil. The 3rd Part of the Schedule, however, related to operations necessary for the proper cultivation of the soil—operations which fell within the province of the cultivator. Now, the 2nd Part of the Schedule related to drainage, which was considered very necessary work, but in respect of which notice to the landlord was required to be given; in fact, it could not be carried out in defiance of the will of the landlord. It seemed to him (Mr. Cartwright), when he listened to the speech of his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), on the second reading of the Bill, that he attempted to justify that part of the Schedule by words the nature of which he really was not able to understand, because the right hon. Gentleman said that in anything calculated to alter the character of the holding the landlord ought to have a voice. He (Mr. Cartwright) did not hesitate to say that anyone who had a practical knowledge of farming must see that drainage was one of those operations which were calculated to affect the character of the holding to a very large extent. But when one talked of what work was necessary for the proper development of the holding, and said there was no difference between drainage and any other works comprised in the 1st Part of the Schedule, he was unable to see any distinction. He had placed his Amendment on the Paper with the view of bringing drainage within the province of the landlord; and he trusted that the Amendment would be favourably received by the Government.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, leave out "third," and insert "second."—(*Mr. Cartwright.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'third' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODSON said, that until his hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) had made his speech, he (Mr. Dodson) confessed he had not understood the object or intention of the Amendment on the Paper. He now learned that the hon. Gentleman's object in leaving out "third," in order to insert "second," was to get rid of the second class of improvements, and put drainage into the first class, leaving the third class of improvements to be called the second class. Now, drainage, and the provisions made with regard to drainage, were very legitimate subjects for discussion; and he did not doubt that when they came to the 4th clause, which referred to drainage, they would have full discussion upon it. It seemed to him, however, that it was exceedingly inconvenient to raise a discussion upon drainage upon such an Amendment as the present. The merits of the question which his hon. Friend wished to submit to the Committee would not be in any way prejudiced by allowing this clause to pass with the word "third" in it, because, of course, any alteration of the kind could be made on Report if thought necessary. He, therefore, appealed to his hon. Friend, in the interest of the convenience of the Committee, and in the interest of the important discussion which he (Mr. Cartwright) himself wished to raise, to consent to withdraw this Amendment, and defer the discussion until they reached the clause dealing with the point.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) could not do better than accept the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson). He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) quite understood the object of the hon. Member was to raise the question of requiring the previous consent of the landlord to drainage. The great majority of the Select Committee of last year entirely agreed in the view the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire had expressed. But, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had told them the question would not be prejudiced if the word "third" were left in the clause, he would advise his hon. Friend to consent to take the discussion subsequently.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said, he should be glad to withdraw his Amendment, and to raise the point hereafter. He only raised it now because he thought it would simplify the discussion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Staveley Hill, in whose name the next Amendment stood on the Paper; but the hon. and learned Gentleman was absent.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, that when the Chairman called upon him a short time ago to move an Amendment which stood in his name, he waived his right to do so, hoping to be able to support the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for West Staffordshire (Mr. Staveley Hill). As, however, the hon. and learned Gentleman was not now in his place, he (Mr. James Howard) begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name —namely, in page 1, line 19, to leave out "third part of the." This 2nd clause recognized the justice of the claim of the tenant to compensation for improvements in the 1st Part of the Schedule, previous to the passing of this Act. He believed that was a just recognition; and it would be equally just if a tenant had a claim to compensation for durable and permanent improvements—improvements which he (Mr. Howard) explained a short time ago. He had heard no argument adduced why a tenant who had effected durable and permanent improvements should not have an equal claim to compensation as he had for those of a more temporary character. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Staveley Hill).

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 19, to leave out the words "third part of the."—(*Mr. James Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'third part of the' stand part of the Clause."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that, if this Amendment were accepted, the effect would be that compensation would be given in respect of improvements of the first and second class, even though the consent of the landlord had not been previously given. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had moved that compensation should be given for such improvements where, before the passing of this Act, they had been done with the consent of the landlord. The Committee negatived that Amendment, and he presumed that they would scarcely assent to a very much wider proposition such as was now proposed. The question really had been already decided.

MR. PUGH said, the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) must have forgotten the last words of the clause—namely, "as if this Act had been in force at the time of the execution of such improvements." It appeared to him (Mr. Pugh) that, if this Amendment were accepted, every protection would be afforded by Clauses 3 and 4. The consent of the landlord was required in regard to the improvements in the 1st Part of the Schedule, and notice was to be given to the landlord with regard to improvements in the 2nd Part of the Schedule. As a matter of fact, this Amendment would affect very few cases indeed. It seemed to him that the clause would really only prevent a man getting compensation under the 1st Part of the Schedule in very exceptional cases, and in cases where he (Mr. Pugh) was quite sure no Member of the Committee on this or that side of the House would wish to bar his right. Suppose a tenant wrote to him for leave, and he had replied—"Do it, by all means; and when I come down we will consider what is to be done." A tenant would thus have his consent; but he would not be able to enforce it against him. It was only cases of that kind which it was desired to meet.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) doubted whether the words proposed would have the effect intended.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that, if the clause remained as it now stood, an improving tenant would be in a worse position after the Act was passed than he was in before; because the Committee was putting into the mouth of the landlord an argument against considering an equitable claim for compensation. If a tenant had improved his holding, and made an appeal to his landlord to give him compensation, his landlord would point to this clause in the Act, and say—"Under such circumstances, Parliament has said you must not be compensated." He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) did not think the Government wished to leave the tenant in a worse position than he was in at the present time; but, certainly, if the clause were passed in its present shape, such would be the effect. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had failed to give any explanation why the tenant should be compensated for improvements under the 3rd Part of the Schedule and not under the 1st and 2nd Part. The only explanation which occurred to him (Mr. J. W. Barclay) was that the compensation payable under the 1st and 2nd Parts of the

Schedule would have to come out of the landlord's pocket. A landlord would get ample compensation under the terms of the Bill in the increased value of the holding, and the increased rent he would get for it from a new tenant. It was manifest that some hon. Members were very willing to give compensation to the tenant; but it was not to be at the expense of the landlord. And it was clear that, under the Bill, the determination of hon. Members was that tenant farmers who improved should get no compensation out of the property of the landlord. If this clause stood in its present shape, a landlord would be able to confiscate a tenant's improvements without giving him the slightest compensation.

MR. DODSON said, he differed from the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) as to the interpretation he had put upon this Bill. The hon. Gentleman had said that the Committee were willing to give compensation so long as it did not come out of the landlords' pockets. He (Mr. Dodson) did not think it was necessary to answer such an argument. He would, however, say that the hon. Gentleman altogether failed in his argument. It was merely a question of arrangement whether the incoming tenant paid instead of the landlord—the landlord it was who would always be liable.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that the improvements in the 3rd Part of the Schedule were most difficult to prove; indeed, so difficult of proof were they, that many agriculturists were of opinion that this clause would be quite unworkable.

MR. JAMES HOWARD contended that by his Amendment the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) sought to change the negative position of the clause into the positive. He (Mr. Howard) did not care to argue the legal aspects of the question, because he knew he would be greatly outdistanced; but he contended that the Government had not answered his contention. They had acknowledged that the claim of a tenant for compensation in respect of the third class of improvements was just; but they had not given the Committee any reason why a claim for compensation was not even more just as to the first and second class of improvements. He pressed the Government to give some explanation upon the point. If they failed to do so, the Committee were right in concluding that they had none to offer.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 231; Noes 61: Majority 170.—(Div. List, No. 213.)

MR. PELL said, he did not desire to move his Amendment precisely in the terms in which it was printed. It was a very simple, though a very important alteration he desired to make. He wished to move his Amendment with the omission of the words "by laying down of permanent pasture;" and to alter the word "from," after "one year," to "after." His Amendment would then read thus—

> "Or when a tenant has executed an improvement mentioned in the first part of this Schedule within ten years previous to the commencement of the Act, and he is not entitled under any contract or custom, or under 'The Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875,' to compensation in respect of such improvement, and the landlord has within one year after the commencement of the Act consented in writing to the making of such improvement."

The effect of his Amendment would be this—that wherever a tenant had executed an improvement to be found in the 1st Part of the Schedule, and the landlord himself was of opinion that it was an improvement to his property, the landlord should be able to place the tenant, who had executed such improvement before the commencement of the Act, precisely in the same position as if the improvement had been made immediately after the passing of the Act. There was nothing in the Amendment which interfered with the will of the landlord to refuse his consent, and thereby to cheat an improving tenant out of the operation of the Act. There might be a good many things done which the landlord might not regard as an improvement to his property. On the other hand, there might be a variety of acts done which many landlords would be glad to accept as improvements, and secure to the tenants compensation for them. But beyond that, there were many acts done by tenants which were improving acts, but the full benefit of which was not reached until some years had passed from the time when the improvement was commenced.

Now, the improvement which he had specially in his mind was that of laying down permanent pasture. It was well known that if land had been laid down in permanent pasture a fair return was got for one or two years, but in three, or four, or five years, the land ran back again, and it was really only in the sixth, or seventh, or eighth years that the improvement began to manifest itself. What was true with respect to permanent pastures was also true in regard to fruit trees, and the making of gardens. In the county in which he had a little property, an arrangement had been made with the people holding gardens, to the effect that they should pay a reduced rent in respect to particular improvements; for instance, that for the first few years they should pay, say, £3, and that, in course of time, when the improvement had reached its height, the rent should be raised to £8. What happened in the case of permanent pasture also happened in the case of fences. The landlord really did not get the full benefit of such an improvement until the fence had grown, and was sufficiently strong to take care of itself. The first few years after the planting of a fence were expensive years to a tenant or to a landlord, because the fences required so much tending. In the case of the reclamation of waste land, an improvement was really not felt until some years after it had been commenced. Let them consider for a moment the position of a tenant who had made one of these improvements —who had laid down permanent pastures, or planted a garden—in 1883, and who did the same thing next year with the consent of his landlord, and after this Act was passed. Let them consider the extraordinary position in which such a man would be placed unless his (Mr. Pell's) Amendment were accepted. The landlord admitted, under both circumstances, that the act of a tenant was an improvement to his property; and he was willing, by giving his consent to the tenant, to execute the improvement to enable the tenant to secure to himself the reward of his improvements; but, unless this Amendment or something similar to it were accepted, the landlord would only be able to bring the Act into operation with respect to improvements made immediately after the passing of the Act, although his consent might have been given to the improvements made before the passing of the Act. Before he (Mr. Pell) sat down, he wanted to remove from the minds of his hon. Friends sitting around him the idea that there was anything in this Amendment which interfered with existing agreements. That would be the last thing in the world which he would desire. If a landlord thought that a tenant ought to have made such improvements without any compensation, or if he thought that an improvement was no improvement, or if he did not, for some reason or other, wish to charge an improvement upon an estate, what he (Mr. Pell) was anxious to do was to enable a landlord to deal equitably with his tenant. He thought he might appeal to his fox-hunting friends with regard to permanent pasturage. A great deal of land had been laid down to grass of late, owing to the character of the seasons. Men, in the Midland counties especially, felt they could not go on any longer growing wheat and corn, and they had made up their minds that it would be wiser, whether they were paid for it or not, to lay the land down to grass; and they had always felt that, before they left their farms, they would be at perfect liberty to break the land up again. That gave a tenant an inducement to do what was unwise. It was very much better to enable the landlord and tenant to come together and make an arrangement, which most people would admit was of permanent advantage to the land—to enable them to come to an agreement by which this permanent advantage would not be destroyed. He thought he had said all he could in reference to his Amendment, and now he submitted it to the better judgment of the Committee, again insisting that there was nothing in it whatever that interfered with existing contracts, or compelled a landlord to do that which he might not be disposed to do.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 22, after the word "improvement," to insert the words "or when a tenant has executed an improvement mentioned in the first part of this Schedule within ten years previous to the commencement of the Act, and he is not entitled under any contract or custom, or under 'The Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875,' to compensation in respect of such improvement, and the landlord has within one year after the commencement of the Act consented in writing to the making of such improvement."—(*Mr. Pell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. HENEAGE said, he was glad his hon. Friend (Mr. Pell) had altered his Amendment in regard to the 1st Part of the Schedule as to the laying down of permanent pasture. He was sorry, however, he had not made his Amendment apply to the 2nd Part of the Schedule, for he could not see why he had omitted drainage.

Mr. PELL said, he had done so because he was going to move to do away with the 2nd Part of the Schedule.

Mr. HENEAGE said, that that was a prospective Amendment which might not be proposed. He could not understand why the 2nd Part of the Schedule was to be omitted. If there was one improvement more than another that tenants were likely to do, if they thought they might possibly remain, it was to do a little drainage on their own account. Let them imagine the case of a man who died suddenly, and whose farm was obliged to be given up by his family. It was very hard if the man's widow or children would not get compensation for the drainage which he had done with the consent of his landlord. He (Mr. Heneage) could not see why drainage should be put in a different category to the improvements mentioned in the 1st Part of the Schedule; and he would move to amend the Amendment by inserting after the word "first," the words "or second." The Amendment would then read—

> "Or when a tenant has executed an improvement mentioned in the first or second part of this Schedule."

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, after the word "first," to insert the words "or second."—(*Mr. Heneage.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he always listened to what fell from his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) with great deference, because he knew his authority on all agricultural subjects; but he confessed he could not gather from the arguments of the hon. Gentleman any reason for this Amendment excepting the one—namely, to enable a landlord to guard his property. He thought it would be admitted that the effect of the Amendment, in other respects, would be simply *nil.* His hon. Friend had pointed out that he had carefully guarded the rights of the landlord by requiring that the landlord should give his consent. What would happen? A tenant would come to a landlord, after the passing of this Act, and he would say—"I have made this improvement; I have put up this building; I have laid down this land in permanent pasture; I have done this drainage; will you allow me, on quitting my farm, to be compensated for these improvements?" It was purely at the option of the landlord to agree to do this, and he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) asked what was the use of legislation to enable him to do that? A landlord could agree or decline, without any law at all, and the Amendment would have no force whatever, as against those landlords for whom alone legislation was required — namely, the bad landlords. Therefore, what he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) hoped was this — that his hon. Friend would not now press those words, which, it seemed to him, were really illusory, because they did nothing except express a pious opinion that compensation should be given. They were objectionable, as suggesting a retrospective action. It would be better to raise the point in the 8th clause, which related to the power of the landlord to charge improvements. If a landlord chose to give his tenant compensation for any improvement of this kind, so he might do now without the Act coming into operation at all. There should be some provision which would enable him to charge the compensation.

Mr. DODSON said, he thought that in regard to his Amendment the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had been somewhat hardly dealt with by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). It did not appear to him that the words proposed were as illusory as the right hon. Baronet imagined. The Amendment would give power to a landlord to charge the estate for the compensation—[Mr. Pell: Compensation under the Act.] — and that was not altogether illusory with regard to the tenant who was seeking compensation, and would enable or facilitate the consent of the owner. He (Mr. Dodson) would like to hear the matter further discussed, if the hon. Gentleman was inclined to adhere to the Amendment. The right hon. Baronet had suggested that the Amendment would come in more properly in Clause 8; but Clause 8 was only a clause which directed the Court to give power to charge for the compensation the previous clauses of the Bill had sanctioned. This was the time to say whether the compensation in view was one which was to be recognized by the Bill.

MR. CHAPLIN thought the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) must have omitted to observe, what his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) expressly pointed out, that there was one advantage arising from the Amendment — namely, that it would give power to the landlord to charge the estate for the compensation. With the exception of this result it seemed to him (Mr. Chaplin) that his right hon. Friend was strictly right in saying that the words were illusory. The hon. Gentleman himself (Mr. Pell) said that the effect of his Amendment would be to enable a tenant to be put in the same position, if he made an improvement before the passing of the Act, as if he had made it after the passing of the Act. The landlord was able to put a tenant in that position now, so that the sole advantage that would be derived from the Amendment was that which was pointed out by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He (Mr. Chaplin), however, saw no objection whatever to the passing of the Amendment, because he did not think it would do the slightest harm.

MR. PELL said, his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had hardly realized the full bearing of the Amendment. The effect of the Amendment would be, that a tenant having obtained the consent of his landlord to certain improvements made before the Act, might claim compensation under this Act in respect of those improvements. Now, if the right hon. Baronet and his hon. Friend near him (Mr. Chaplin) would look at Clause 7, they would at once see the effect of his Amendment. The effect they would see was that it would bring in all the rules of procedure. The Amendment would get rid of an enormous amount of difficulty with reference to a landlord giving his consent; and it would simplify the whole relations between landlord and tenant in respect of particular improvements. A tenant had power to claim compensation; but, having that power, he might come to an arrangement with his landland if he thought fit, and then all the rules of procedure provided by Clause 7 would be brought into play. He, therefore, could not admit that the words he proposed were illusory.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, that if the object of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) was solely to enable a landlord to charge the estate for compensation for these improvements, he would suggest the alteration of the latter part of the Amendment. It would be absurd to require a landlord, 10 years after the execution of an improvement, to consent to its being made, and he (Mr. James Howard) would suggest to the hon. Member (Mr. Pell) and to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), that the latter part of the Amendment should read—"And the landlord, within one year after the commencement of the Act, consents in writing to compensate his tenant for such improvement."

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, that as the clause stood it could do no harm, but it might do good. They must take care that they did not make a clause compulsory which was now permissive.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he thought the Amendment deserved more consideration than it had received. According to the Bill, as it at present stood, the procedure under Clause 7 was not to come in until there was a difference between the landlord and tenant; and one objection to the Amendment was, that it was entirely permissive. One landlord might give consent; but a neighbouring landlord might not give consent. It would be interpreted in different ways by different men, and the result would be fresh agitation; and, therefore, it would be better to make this power compulsory. The Amendment, as at first given Notice of, was open to objection, for it referred simply to the laying down of permanent pasture. The right hon. Gentleman had said that, at present, permanent pasture was laid down, and it would be an evil to break up the land;

and the present occupier had no inducement to keep it down. But the present occupier had an inducement, for he could go to the landlord and say that, unless the landlord came to reasonable terms with him, he could break up the land at once. All who knew anything about laying down grass knew that, over a certain number of years, such land gradually increased in permanent value; and tenants had of their own free will turned arable land into pasture land. He was satisfied that the Amendment would lead to considerable difficulty, and he hoped it would be withdrawn.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said, he believed that if the Amendment was carried the clause would be a bogus clause, containing no benefit to anybody. The utmost that could be said in favour of the Amendment was that, in some one case or other, it might do a little good. The justification for the Bill was that it was compulsory; but the Amendment was optional, and would render the clause simply sham and humbug.

Mr. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, he could see no objection to the Amendment, except that it appeared to be unnecessary. Suppose a tenant, having made improvements some years ago, went to the landlord and asked him to agree in writing to his coming under the Bill. The landlord would naturally say he did not wish to have anything to do with arbitrators or lawyers, and would suggest that they should settle between themselves how much he owed the tenant, and then they could agree in writing that the improvements should extend over a given number of years, and the tenant be compensated.

Mr. M'LAGAN said, he thought that, by the clause, many a proprietor would be willing to give advantages to a tenant. He did not approve of retrospective legislation, but he was inclined to support the Amendment. As to Clause 7, that would apply as much in this case as in the case of a proprietor, when the Act was passed. All that was wanted was that the consent of the proprietor should be given. The hon. Member for Mid Somerset (Mr. R. H. Paget) had said that the provision would only come into operation until the landlord and tenant differed; but if the landlord died, and any question arose, all that the tenant would need to do would be to produce the written consent, and show that he was entitled to compensation for improvements made before the passing of the Act.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, a good deal had been said as to a great number of cases in which tenants would have laid down improvements; but if landlords were disposed to make such arrangements in future, the clause, as it stood, would be harmless and yet do a little good.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, the whole object of the clause could be effected by a contract between a landlord and tenant; but it was evidently intended that the contract should extend over a certain number of years. The effect of the Amendment would be to fine an estate, and that being beyond the purview of the Bill, he should oppose the Amendment.

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Question put,

"That the words 'or when a tenant has executed an improvement mentioned in the first or second part of this Schedule within ten years previous to the commencement of the Act, and he is not entitled under any contract or custom, or under "The Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875," to compensation in respect of such improvement, and the landlord has within one year after the commencement of the Act consented in writing to the making of such improvement,' be inserted after the word 'improvement.'"

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 244; Noes 74: Majority 170.—(Div. List, No. 214.)

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON moved an Amendment, with the object of preventing a tenant from claiming compensation for boning, liming, or manuring, which he was bound to do under his contract. That was not the intention of the Act, and farmers did not wish to get paid for doing what they had contracted to do.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 25, after "improvement," insert "if it be in excess of that which he was bound to execute in fulfilment of any contract or in accordance with any custom."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. DODSON said, he did not think the Amendment would improve the clause. The matter was provided for by Clause 6.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he was sure it was not intended that a farmer should have compensation for every ton of manure; but if the matter was provided for, he was quite satisfied.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, he thought the point was one of some importance, and that it was not quite covered by Clause 6. All he found in that clause was, that any benefit which the tenant might obtain should be taken into account. That did not seem to cover this point; but the hon. and gallant Member (Sir Alexander Gordon) might raise the matter more effectually by proposing to introduce words in Clause 6 which would carry out his view.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he would adopt that course.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON moved, as an Amendment, to insert words which should exclude compensation for any improvements executed after notice had been given to determine the tenancy. Hitherto, he said, the period of notice was six months, but now that was increased to 12 months; and he thought it more important to have these words in the Act, because it would not be fair, after a tenant had received notice to quit, he should go and purchase manures, and then be able to demand compensation.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 27, after "improvement," add "Provided, That no compensation shall be claimed by a tenant under this Act for any improvement executed after he has received notice from his landlord, or given to his landlord notice of an intention to bring the tenancy to an end, except as regards the consumption of feeding stuffs and holding."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. BIDDELL said, he thought the Amendment would be very useful if limited to Parts I. and II. of the Schedule.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he would suggest that the hon. and gallant Member should except Sub-sections 20 and 21.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he would do that.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he thought that, with the addition, the Amendment would improve the Bill, and might reasonably be introduced.

MR. DODSON said, he thought it would be better to deal with the matter by a general provision later on.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, that if the Government would agree to do that, the whole case would be met. He thought that manure, as well as feeding stuffs, ought to be excluded; but there was another point. The Act of 1875 contained a useful provision, that in the last year of a tenancy, after notice had been given, the expenditure for manures and feeding stuff should not exceed the average of previous years.

MR. DODSON said, the last point would require considerable consideration, and he could not commit himself to it now; but he would endeavour to bring up some general provision.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. PUGH said, he thought the clause answered no good purpose from any point of view, and he should, therefore, support its omission.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, he should support the rejection of the clause if the hon. Member (Mr. Pugh) went to a Division, for the clause seemed to him to contain an objectionable retrospective principle, and, at the same time, was of no value to anyone who wanted to see that principle carried out.

MR. DODSON said, the object of the clause was to give a tenant who was occupying a farm under an existing agreement compensation in cases in which he might not otherwise be entitled to it, either by contract, or custom of the Act of 1875. He hoped the Committee would agree to the clause.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he was sorry to hear that his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) intended to vote against the clause. It seemed to him that the presumption of law laid down by this clause was that old improvements were not to be paid for, with certain exceptions, which were afterwards specified in the Bill. There was a distinct limitation upon the compensation which might be claimed for improvements in the future, and therefore he should support the clause.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he should oppose the clause, because he believed it would be both useless and mischievous. The Government had refused to recognize the necessity of giving security to the sitting tenant, notwithstanding the expression of opinions of hon. Members, and of eminent men outside the House. What had been their conduct in reference to the clause? Several hon. Members had endeavoured to secure to tenants who had made improvements before the passing of the Act compensation; but the Government had not consented to give any reason why that should not be given. It seemed to him that the Government were disposed to yield everything to the landlord party in that House; and he was inclined to throw the whole responsibility upon the Government and leave them to fight the matter out as best they could with the opposite Party. To show how little sympathy they had with tenant farmers, the First Commissioner of Works had said that they rarely made any permanent improvements. Had they not, in Kent, laid out hop gardens and orchards, and in other parts executed drainage works? He had seen a great deal of grass-run laid down by tenant farmers; and he was so dissatisfied with the Government, that he should oppose the clause.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the clause was being opposed from opposite points of view. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) objected to retrospective legislation, and the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) objected to the clause as useless and mischievous. Both these views could not be maintained. Which was the right one? His own impression was, that it was very difficult to see what effect this Amendment would have on the 1st clause. Clause 1 was of immense importance, as limiting the principle of compensation. He must repudiate a want of sympathy with tenant farmers. The Government were now, for the first time, recognizing that there must be compensation for improvements of the third class, and this clause was valuable as defining the compensation for that class of improvements.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY objected to the clause, because it would sanction the confiscation by a landlord of a tenant's improvements. Thus the tenant would be put in a worse position than he was in now; and he should, therefore, vote against the clause.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 268; Noes 32: Majority 236.—(Div. List, No. 215.)

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884, the sum of £15,182,707, be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again upon *Friday*.

MOTION.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACT, 1875 (SUPPORT OF SEWERS) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Brogden, Bill to amend "The Public Health Act, 1875," and to make provision with respect to the support of public sewers and sewage works in mining districts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Brogden, Sir George Elliot, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Salt, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Tomlinson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 267.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 19*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Companies Acts Amendment * (148); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * (149); Companies (Colonial Registers) * (150); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (151); Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (152); Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) * (153); Petroleum * (154).

Second Reading—Poor Relief (Ireland) (140); Merchandise Marks (Channel Islands and the Isle of Man) (143).

Committee—Report—Factories and Workshops Amendment (113); Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) (142).
Third Reading—Turnpike Acts Continuance * (132), and *passed.*

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 113.)

(*The Earl Granville.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that as the second reading of this Bill had been taken at an hour too late to permit of discussion, he hoped their Lordships would allow him, before they went into Committee, to call attention to the character of the measure. The two points to which he wished to direct the notice of their Lordships were—first, the persons to whom the Bill applied; and, secondly, the provisions of the Bill itself. This Bill went beyond the principle hitherto laid down in Acts of this nature. The one great principle of the Factory Acts, with which his noble Friend near him (the Earl of Shaftesbury) had so much to do, was that they gave protection to the weak—that was to say, to women, children, and young persons—and that they did not touch adult male labour in any form. The provisions of this Bill would apply not to women and children only—for they were excluded from the Bill—but to full-grown men and women. This was a new departure in legislation. Instead of being an advance in the right direction it was a retrograde step, for it was opposed to every economic principle, and went back to the time when the State interfered in every relation of life. The provisions of the Bill were practically all contained in the Schedule to the certificate, and were of a very minute character, dealing especially with persons employed at white lead works. Mr. Redgrave, the senior Inspector of Factories, had himself, in his first Report of April, 1882, expressed an opinion adverse to legislation on the subject. The conditions for obtaining a certificate were that the persons employed should have a means of frequently washing their hands and feet with a sufficient supply of hot and cold water, a supply of brushes, boots, gloves, and respirators, and that there should be accessible to all persons employed in the factory a sufficient supply of acidulated drink. He objected to legislation on all these minute points; they might as well introduce a provision requiring that every day or every second every one of the workmen should take a dose of Epsom salts. Was the noble Earl in charge of the Bill sure that these minute conditions were the best that could be laid down? Let them take the provision as to acidulated drink. There was no provision as to what the acidulated drink was to be. It was not said that the drink should not consist of a noxious acid. If the State interfered in the matter at all, it must go further, and say what kind of an acid was to be used. He had accordingly given Notice of his intention to move in Committee that this drink should, under no circumstances, contain sulphuric, hydrochloric, or other mineral acids, but should consist exclusively of a decoction of pure lime or lemon juice, called and known in the trade as lemon squash. If they were going to punish masters who did not provide these appliances for their workmen, there must also be a penalty for the workpeople who neglected to use them, and he had given Notice of an Amendment that every such omission should be punished by a fine not exceeding 20*s.* He was confident that it would be much better if these things were left to the free and independent action of the employers and the employed. He should always be ready to support measures likely to render the lives of the working classes less hard and more healthy. But he believed that the working classes did not need grandmotherly legislation, as they were able, by combining and uniting, to impose their own conditions on their employers. Legislators were too apt to accept the statements of trades unionists, who pretended to speak on behalf of working men generally. He had in his hand a letter from a representative working man, Mr. Bryson, a Northumbrian collier, who, speaking of the proposal made by Mr. Burt and the trades unionists to amend the Employers' Liability Act, said that he objected to the suggested alteration, on the ground of its enervating character, and because it would destroy the self-reliance of the people; and that view was proved to be the view generally entertained by the working classes in the mining districts of Northumberland. He held that the same objection applied to the present Bill; it was calculated to destroy national liberty and self-reliance. The Bill laid down special provisions for white lead manufactories; but were those manufactories the only unhealthy ones in the country? Were not saw grinding and dry metal grinding of all kinds also injurious? If once they should determine to legislate in detail for all cases of that kind, the time of Parliament would be wholly taken up with legislation which might almost be called ridiculous. The Bill proposed to prohibit all bakehouses that were not half above ground. But it did not necessarily follow, because the whole of a building was not above ground, that it was unhealthy. Most of their Lordships' kitchens were below the level of the ground, but they were not on that account unfit to live in. If the Bill were not altered in Committee he should oppose it on the third reading.

Earl GRANVILLE said, that he did not object to hear the noble Earl speaking in defence of liberty and political economy; but he could not help thinking that, in his opposition to the Bill, the noble Earl misapplied those great principles. His noble Friend said that the Factory Acts made the strongest distinction between adult and juvenile labour. He admitted that fact; but he did not see how the present Bill would, in the slightest degree, affect adult labour. In what part of the Bill were any restrictions imposed upon labour of that kind? All that was proposed to be done was to impose certain sanitary conditions, to apply, not only to juvenile workmen, but to adults also, and that was exactly what the Factory and Mining Acts did. Therefore, the great distinction between those Acts and the Bill fell to the ground. The noble Lord wished to leave the matter to employers and employed, because he said they would regulate it in the best possible way. He doubted that. He saw it stated the other day that while the regulations proposed in this Bill were adopted by the best employers, with respect to others the local sanitary officers complained that persons were turned into paupers by this lead-poisoning, and were made paralytic in mind and body, and frequent deaths occurred. He could not conceive that their Lordships would be of opinion that this was an interference with adult labour which ought not to be imposed on employers, or that in an occupation of such a deleterious character regulations should not be made merely for the security of life and health. The rules which the employers were to adopt were to be approved by the Home Office, and anybody disobeying those contained in the 7th clause, 3rd subsection, would be subject to a penalty. There was no question that affected the public health so much as the state of bakeries—it affected not only the working bakers themselves, but also all the produce which they supplied for public use. His noble Friend had stated that his own kitchen was underground, and said he presumed that his (Earl Granville's) kitchen was underground also. It happened that that argument *ad hominem* did not particularly touch him; and if his noble Friend would favour him with a call at No. 18, Carlton House Terrace, he would be happy to show him that his kitchen was above ground. With regard to the Amendment of which his noble Friend had given Notice, he ventured to think that it was unnecessary. His noble Friend would require that the drink should be made merely of certain acidulated ingredients. But the drinks proper in such cases were made of other materials, and an Amendment which would prevent such drinks being given was exactly in the direction of that over-legislation to which the noble Earl himself objected.

Viscount CRANBROOK said, that the main objection which his noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) entertained was as to the Schedule. It was a very extraordinary thing to call on the House of Lords to legislate in that minute way. By the 3rd clause the Secretary of State might, by an Order under his hand, modify any of the regulations, so that their Lordships were asked to give absolute power to the Secretary of State tomorrow to modify that which they might have enacted. With respect to smoke, their Lordships did not lay down the rules by which the nuisance was to be abated, but merely said that the best means were to be adopted. But that their Lordships should lay down those minute rules was a thing which they were not qualified to do.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he rose to make some observations on the very interesting and animated speech of his noble Friend on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss). In the course of that speech his noble Friend referred to the Association of which he was the founder, and almost the head, and which had been started for the purpose of what was called the defence of liberty and property. To the list of the members of that Association he felt, last year, strong temptation to add his name, for he was one of those who thought that there was serious danger of over-minute legislation. He was tempted, therefore, to break a rule he had laid down never to join any political Association whatever, for this reason—that they almost always involved one idea, and that the members were under the constant temptation to ride that idea to death. On that account he had declined to join the Association; and, after the speech which the noble Earl had delivered to-night, he congratulated himself on having so declined. He must say the noble Earl, by the Amendment he intended to propose, was riding his idea to death. The legitimate province of legislation in a country such as ours was a subject to which he had often given attention, to see whether it would be possible to lay down any abstract principle as to what were matters upon which it was wise and proper to legislate. But the truth was, that human affairs were too complicated for the drawing up of any such formula. They must be guided by the circumstances of each particular case; but if there was one matter upon which it was competent and desirable for Parliament to enter upon legislation, it was the life and health of the population. It was a great mistake to liken this Bill to the Factory Acts. What were called Factory Acts were those which regulated and limited the hours of labour; and, with regard to the limitation of hours, Parliament had very wisely confined itself to the case of women and children. But with regard to the health of the country, Parliament had placed upon itself no such limitation. This was a Bill directed to save the life and health of working men, not to limit the hours of labour. Experience had taught us that, in the fierce competition of our social system, the working classes were either unable or unwilling to distinguish between those kinds of labour which were healthy and those which were injurious to health. They would engage, without hesitation, in forms of labour which would bring on them the most fatal and loathsome forms of disease. Competition was so keen that it overcame the desire of life and the fear of death. Let their Lordships look at the legislation for protecting the health of our soldiers and sailors. Let them look at the legislation promoted by Mr. Plimsoll for the purpose of saving life at sea. Why, only a few days ago, he saw in the papers a case which came before the Admiralty Court, and the Judge had said, in summing-up, that that was the third case in a few months in which it had been clearly proved that the total loss of a steamer, with every soul on board, resulted simply from overloading. No legislation could be objected to on the ground that it was for the sake of preserving health and life. He hoped that some of their Lordships had looked at the evidence upon which this Bill was founded. The manufacture of white lead was one of the most dangerous in which working men could be employed. It was most painful to read of the loathsome diseases consequent on working in those factories. With regard to one or two factories in the neighbourhood of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, the medical officer of the infirmary in that quarter spoke of the great number of persons treated in the institution for periods varying from three or four weeks to six months, some of whom would probably remain paupers for life. The form of disease arising from this occupation was extremely painful, and often led to paralysis, especially paralysis of the hand. In another manufactory as many as 48 patients had to be sent to the infirmary in one year; and, of course, the expense of their treatment was thrown on the ratepayers. It being impossible for anyone not to see that this was a case for legislation, the next question was whether the proposed legislation was unreasonable. In his opinion there was nothing unreasonable in it. It stood on all fours not only with the Acts for saving life at sea, but with the Acts for regulating labour in mines. The principle of the Bill simply was that the manufacturers of white lead should afford to the working men and women an opportunity of changing their clothes, and of washing their persons, to get rid of the white lead. The principal point to which the noble Earl pointed his fun and chaff was the provision that acidulated drink should be supplied; but the reason for this provision was that a dilute preparation of sulphuric acid had been found very valuable for counteracting the poisonous effects of inhaling and swallowing the fumes of white lead. It appeared to him that Parliament had as much right to prescribe this precaution as to enforce the practice of vaccination. He hoped, therefore, that the House would go into Committee on the Bill, and would, at least, give itself the opportunity of making any Amendments that might be necessary.

Earl FORTESCUE said, he trusted that no one would think him indifferent to the necessity of sanitary legislation if he pointed out that this was sanitary legislation of an undesirable kind. It was one thing to insist on proper structural arrangements which the workmen themselves could not compel employers to make, and quite another thing to enact such details for men as the use of a particular drink. Nor could this Bill be justly compared with the laws as to vaccination; for while those laws were intended to prevent a national disaster in the shape of an epidemic, this Bill sought only to preserve the health of very few individuals. Minute legislation as to details was objectionable, partly because of its bad moral effect on the workmen, and partly because it tended to obstruct improvements and to stereotype certain processes and remedies, which the march of science and mechanical improvement might leave very far behind. Nearly 40 years ago, being a firm believer in political economy, he had divided the House on those parts of the Factory Bill which interfered with the labour of adult women, on the ground that if once such an interference were allowed it would be impossible to know where to stop. Experience had since fully verified his fears. In the present day the trades unions showed how well the workmen were able to take care of themselves, and how little they needed grandmotherly legislation.

The Earl of SHAFTESBURY said, he held that this was purely a sanitary question. The principal of our factory legislation was to protect health and to defend the weak, and that was the only principle contained in the Bill. It was true enough that workmen could, as a rule, protect themselves and assert their own rights; but the persons mentioned in the Bill were, so to speak, feeble folk, many of them women, who could not combine, and were so few in number that if they struck work to-morrow their places would immediately be filled by others. In all our legislation, even in the factory legislation, Parliament had great regard to considerations affecting life and limb. It had not only limited the hours of labour for women and children, but had also, in the interests of life and limb, and in spite of many opponents, among whom Mr. John Bright had been prominent, undertaken the regulation of many details, such as the sheathing of machinery and the like. The surgeon of the Leeds Hospital stated at that time that they had 600 grave cases a-year of factory accidents to men and women. It was the existence of such facts that made it necessary for the Legislature to protect adults. He had known nothing to which employers of labour offered so much opposition, stating that it was an infringement of their liberty. Parliament had also interfered with the truck system, because wages were paid in horrible substitutes for food, a sample of which in the form of bread, of which three-fourths was clay, was analyzed at his (the Earl of Shaftesbury's) request by Professor Faraday, who desired that a part of it should be preserved in the Royal Institution; and it was, he believed, still there. Parliament had prohibited the employment of women in mines and collieries; and it had subjected to inspection and rules, with the most beneficial consequences, common lodging-houses occupied nightly by 30,000 or 40,000 men and women, who were provided with cubic air space and accomodation which they would not otherwise enjoy. The best part of the Bill was that referring to bakeries, because their insanitary condition was detrimental to the bread which many thousands of people were compelled to buy. If their Lordships would visit some of the horrible dens in which bread was made they would realize how much the health of the people was affected. White lead poisoning carried off numbers in early life, deprived families of parental support, and threw the children on the parish. The whole question was whether the sanitary condition of the people was not a matter of vital importance. As to destroying individuality by legislation, was it not destroyed a great deal more at the present time by conditions against which the employed could not protect themselves? Where men could protect themselves they must be left to do so; but where it was impossible they could do so it was the duty of Parliament to interfere, because the health and industry and independence of the people were at stake.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that as an humble member of the League of which the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss) was at once the head and soul, he had great hopes that the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) would join them, because they were not in any sense a political Society. The objection of the noble Duke to joining the League appeared to him to be this—that it was a League with an idea; would he wish to join a League without an idea?

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, his objection to the League was not that it was a League with an idea, but that it was a League with an idea that was ridden to death.

LORD BRAMWELL observed, that in that case he would invite the noble Duke to join the League in order that he might prevent a bad use being made of a good idea. Another observation he had to make was, that this singular argument was continually pressed—that because you made one exception to a rule, you might make any number of others. That was saying that rules existed for no other purpose than to have exceptions to them. He questioned very much whether the principles of the League applied to the proposed legislation; for he could not help thinking that in the same way that people should not be allowed to conduct themselves in a way to make themselves a nuisance to others, so the public had a right to say they should not ruin their health, and eventually become a burden to the ratepayers. He would only add that he had not understood the objection of the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss) to the Bill to be so much as to its principle as to the minuteness of its details.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that the Factory and Workshops Act of 1878 had been so construed in Scotland, that for the purpose of the employment of half-timers the middle of the day was 1 o'clock. It had been found in many cases that this had led to great inconvenience both to employers and employed, and prevented half-timers from attending afternoon school. He, therefore, proposed to introduce at the proper time an Amendment to meet this point, and he understood that the Home Office did not object to this being done.

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 6 *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Special rules for every white lead factory).

THE EARL OF WEMYSS gave Notice that on the third reading he should move that adult males be exempted from the operation of the 3rd section of the clause.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to,* without amendment.

On Question, That the Report of the Amendments be now received?

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, in reference to the Schedules, that they enabled the Home Secretary in writing under his hand to revoke and alter the rules laid down, which, in fact, enabled him to set aside the provisions of an Act of Parliament. This was a point which should be considered by the Government.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR pointed out that the Act of 1875 gave the same power of revocation and alteration, and no difficulties had been experienced.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he considered that the precedent of the Act of 1875 was not in point, as this Bill affected such a large variety of factories and workshops.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Bill *reported,* without amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.—(No. 142.)

(*The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he would not oppose the Motion; but he looked with great suspicion on this measure and all similar legislation. The wisdom of allowing one part of the United Kingdom to have a system of law peculiar to it was very questionable. Under this Bill, that which would not be an offence in Devonshire would be an offence in Cornwall; and a Cornwall man, by crossing over the border of his own county, would be able to do that which was there prohibited. The Government had rejected a system intended for the prevention of disease in certain towns; yet every place in which the Contagious Diseases Acts had been enforced was still in favour of their continuance. If the Government were going to support the communistic legislation—the system of legislating for small communities—of which this Bill was an example, would they give to the towns to which the Contagious Diseases Acts applied the same power of interference with the principle of individual liberty which they proposed to give to counties by measures such as the present?

LORD ABERDARE observed, that a great number of important legislative experiments had been made in particular boroughs. There were boroughs in which certain acts were punished as offences, though they could be committed with impunity in neighbouring towns. Was it not also the fact that when local Acts were passed the districts to which they applied were placed under a special law? He strongly approved the experiment which the Bill proposed to allow in the county of Cornwall.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he must protest against the Bill for the same reasons as those urged by the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook). He objected to all piecemeal legislation; and, feeling so strongly on the question, he begged to give Notice that he should move the rejection of the Bill on the third reading.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly; Bill *reported*, without amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Friday* the 27*th instant.*

POOR RELIEF (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(NO. 140.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the Bill was for the temporary relief of Unions in certain parts of Ireland which were weighed down with poor rates, and were unable to relieve the destitute poor without some further assistance than they had already obtained. The Bill proposed to relieve them by way of grants and loans, and also to indemnify them as to sums of money which they had already borrowed without legal powers. The sum mentioned in the Bill as the limit was £50,000; but it was not thought that it would be necessary to take anything like that sum. He trusted their Lordships would give the Bill a second reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

MERCHANDISE MARKS (CHANNEL ISLANDS AND ISLE OF MAN) BILL.

(*The Lord Belper.*)

(NO. 143.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD BELPER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to extend to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man the Merchandise Marks Act of 1862, which was intended to prevent the fraudulent marking of merchandise and forged trade-marks. In the places to which the Bill would apply there was at present no law affecting trade-marks and no law requiring their registration. The result was that cases of fraud were of frequent occurrence, and it was hoped that the Bill would put a stop to them. The large manufacturers interested in the question of trade-marks were very anxious that the Bill should pass through both Houses this year. He begged to move that it be now read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Belper.*)

LORD SUDELEY said, that he should make no objection on the part of the Government to the second reading, provided the noble Lord would postpone the Committee on the Bill until the Government should have an opportunity of communicating with the Islands, which would probably be within nine or ten days.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* the 27*th instant.*

LIGHTHOUSES, &c. — COMMISSIONERS OF NORTHERN LIGHTS—THE HEN AND CHICKENS ROCK.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, in rising to call attention to correspondence respecting the buoying of the "Hen and Chickens" rock on the coast of Lewis, said, this matter was certainly not connected with politics, nor with any of those great social questions so often discussed in their Lordships' House; but it was, at the same time, a matter of considerable public importance with reference to the administration of lights and lighthouses. In the discussion which took place about a fortnight or three weeks ago on the mode in which our lighthouses were administered, their Lordships had heard that there was a separate Board for each of the Three Kingdoms—that for Ireland there was a Board which sat in Dublin; for Scotland a Board which sat in Edinburgh; and for the lighthouses of England and the Channel Islands there was the ancient and venerable Corporation of Trinity House. It had so happened that in very early life he became personally acquainted with the operations of the Commissioners of Northern Lights. Three of their principal stations were on his own property, and he was present at the laying of the foundation stone of one of their most magnificent edifices—the great oceanic lighthouse erected by the late Mr. Stephenson, a man whose high character and genius cast a lustre on the Profession to which he belonged. He (the Duke of Argyll) happened to be a Member of the Government of Lord Aberdeen, under which the Merchant Shipping Act was passed. That Act was introduced by his right hon. Friend the late Sir James Graham, then at the head of the Admiralty. One of the clauses of that Bill proposed to subject the operations of the Commissioners of Northern Lights in Scotland and the Irish Board to the judgment and discretion of the Trinity House. As those local bodies had great local knowledge, and had conducted their business to the satisfaction of the shipping interest, he showed something of the Scotch lion, and rather remonstrated with his right hon. Friend; but he was not supported at the time. Sir James Graham, as well as himself, was a Scotchman, and so was Lord Aberdeen, then the Head of the Government. They did not agree with him; besides, the mutterings of the Eastern Question were being heard, and the subject in which he felt interested was treated as a purely local matter. Well, from that time to this he really thought no more of the subject, because nothing had come before him to direct his attention to the working of the system. But, the other day, Her Majesty's ship *Lively,* which was not only commanded by a most distinguished and careful officer, but was under the care of a local pilot, ran full upon a rock in broad daylight in such a manner that she was lost, and a court martial, he was sorry to say, felt obliged to dismiss the distinguished officer from the ship. It occurred to him to inquire whether the rock was buoyed or beaconed, and he found that it was not. If their Lordships would look at the beautiful Admiralty chart, it would be seen that the whole eastern seaboard of Lewis was what sailors called a remarkably clean shore. A 10-fathom line ran close to the coast, and there was a 20-fathom line very near, and often touched it. There was a promontory at right angles to the coast, which had to be turned by ships seeking refuge at the harbour of Stornoway. Just as one came in sight of the harbour there was a most dangerous rock. The water was nine fathoms deep inside of it. It was a considerable distance from the shore, and outside the water was much deeper. At ordinary high tide that rock was entirely concealed. It was one of the most dangerous rocks which existed, and there was a large amount of shipping in the neighbourhood. It turned out to be a fact disclosed in the Correspondence laid on the Table of the House that so long ago as 1869 the Commissioners of Northern Lights had forwarded a distinct recommendation to Trinity House, under the Act of Sir James Graham, that this dangerous rock should be marked with a beacon. This recommendation was vetoed by the Trinity House on the ground that the sailing directions of the Admiralty were sufficient protection. In the case of a ship belonging to the Navy, that might be sufficient; but the number of the Queen's ships which went there was nothing as compared with the number of ships of the Mercantile Marine and the coasting vessels passing down the Minch. The objection of the Trinity House was what he might call a red-tape objection. The Scottish Board was composed, first of all, of the eminent engineers, Messrs. Stevenson, and the Sheriffs of all the maritime counties in Scotland, and of the Provosts of certain towns connected with the merchant shipping. He must say that it was a very strange thing for Trinity House to reject a recommendation of this kind, and it was not a good indication of the working of the system which had put the Scottish Board under a Board sitting in London. Of course, there was an appeal from Trinity House to the Board of Trade. He did not know whether the Northern Lights Commissioners appealed to the Board of Trade to have their recommendation carried into effect. Apparently, the matter had been allowed to drop, because of the decision of the Trinity House. He had the greatest respect for the Trinity House; but their Board ought not, in his opinion, to overrule so competent a body as the Scotch Commissioners of Lights. The West Coast of Scotland was still very imperfectly buoyed, and a dangerous rock, not unlike the "Hen and Chickens," lay just at the entrance to the best harbour in the Isle of Mull, where, by the way, Her Majesty's Squadron was ordered to anchor a short time ago. Another very important harbour on the South-West Coast was not only not buoyed, but was rendered still more dangerous by the fact that two beacons that formerly existed had been allowed to go to ruin. In bringing forward this matter, he blamed no Member of the Government; but he repeated that it was a very serious thing that the recommendations of the Scotch Commissioners should be subject to the veto of the Board of Trade or the Trinity House.

Lord SUDELEY: As regards the particular case of the marking of the "Hen and Chickens" rock, I have to point out, as stated by the noble Duke, that, under the Merchant Shipping Acts passed in 1854, the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses had the right to appeal to the Board of Trade against the decision of the Trinity House, but they did not do so. And no representations on the subject, either from them or from any other quarter, have been received since 1869. As regards the relative claims of the two Boards to the confidence of mariners, it will be remembered that all the working Elder Brethren of the Trinity House are seamen, and that all the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses are *ex officio* members, being composed of the Law Officers, Sheriffs of the seaboard counties, and the Provosts of certain large towns in Scotland. I do not mean in any way to throw any discredit upon the Northern Lights Commissioners; but I only wish to point out, as to the relative merits of the two Boards, that undoubtedly Trinity House are the most practical body. But a curious thing has happened within the last few days. As recently as Tuesday of this week the Board of Trade received a Memorial from the Convention of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland, signed by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh—himself a Lighthouse Commissioner—complaining strongly of the *ex officio* constitution of the Board, and stating that the prevalent feeling in Scotland was in favour of a re-organization of the Scottish Lighthouse Board, and praying Her Majesty's Government, on the earliest opportunity, to take measures so to recast the constitution of the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses as to insure among its members persons having a personal and practical fitness for its duties. This only shows that, at any rate, in Scotland the opinion is different from what the noble Duke has expressed.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, he thought his noble Friend had entirely misunderstood the spirit of the Memorial. Whatever dissatisfaction might exist as to the composition of the Northern Lights Commission, the feeling unquestionably was that the Scotch authority should not be overruled by the Trinity House or the Board of Trade.

In reply to Lord ELLENBOROUGH,

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, that the pilot on board the *Lively* was was one of the best and most experienced pilots in the district.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that, after all, no reason had been given to show why this rock had not been buoyed long ago. It was quite a small rock, being certainly not as broad as the floor of the House, and was surrounded by deep water. The sailing directions of the Admiralty were all very well in fine weather; but in thick weather it was often difficult to verify the buoys, and no soundings revealed the nearness of the danger. Now that one of Her Majesty's ships had been lost, he trusted that something would be done.

LORD WAVENEY said, he considered it time that this dangerous reef should be distinguished from the surrounding sea, and he would recommend the erection of a lighthouse similar to one he had lately seen at Belfast.

PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES.

Resolved, That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider and revise the List of 1801 for the Promulgation of the Statutes, and the Revised List contained in the said Report, should be adopted; and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorised and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public Local and Personal Acts according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List; and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution authorised by the said Revised List from time to time.—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 19*th July*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Timothy Michael Healy, esquire, *for* the County of Monaghan.

SUPPLY [16th July] *Report*—Postponed Resolution £1,556,400, Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval yards at Home and Abroad, *further considered.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee—Resolution* [July 18] *reported*—£15,182,707, Consolidated Fund.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 4)*.

Second Reading—Greenwich Hospital [253].

Committee—Agricultural Holdings (England) [186] [*Third Night*]—R.P.

Third Reading—Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations) [264], *deferred.*

QUESTIONS.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM—EVENING ADMISSION.

MR. DANIEL GRANT asked the Member for the London University, as one of the Trustees of the British Museum, Whether any decision has been taken with respect to lighting the Museum so as to enable it to remain open to the public until 10 o'clock every week day throughout the year, in accordance with the very numerously signed requisition which was forwarded to the Trustees at the close of last Session?

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK: Sir, the Trustees have, on various occasions, given the question of opening the British Museum in the evening their very anxious consideration. The immense value of the collection renders the danger of fire and other risks contingent on opening at night peculiarly serious. Moreover, they have been advised that the use of gas would be very injurious to many parts of the collection. The same objections, however, do not apply, or apply with much less force to the electric light, and, subject of course to security being taken for the safety of the building and its contents, and on satisfactory arrangements being made with reference to electric lighting in the district, the Trustees will be prepared to apply to Government for the funds necessary to enable them to open portions of the Museum in the evening. In doing so, they trust they will be acting in accordance with the wishes of Parliament.

VACCINATION ACTS—THE BRIGHTON BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that the Board of

Guardians at Brighton are, in contravention of the instructions of the Local Government Board, prosecuting persons who refuse to have their children vaccinated, time after time for the same child, and that within the last few days several distraints upon their goods in such cases have taken place; and, whether he proposes to take any steps in the mattter?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, the Board have no information at present as to the facts. They have communicated with the Guardians, and are informed by them that they are unable, at the present moment, to furnish the required information owing to the temporary absence on sick leave of the vaccination officer whose official records are not immediately accessible. The Board have forwarded to the Guardians a copy of the letter, which was addressed to the Guardians of the Evesham Union, setting forth the considerations which ought, in the Board's opinion, to be weighed by the Guardians in determining the question of repeated prosecution under the Vaccination Acts.

PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE INCLOSURE IN REGENT'S PARK.

Mr. DANIEL GRANT asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether any decision has been arrived at with respect to the inclosure in Regent's Park; and, if so, whether he will state the same to the House?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, the subject of the inclosure of Regent's Park, which from a time before the throwing open of the Park has been reserved for the exclusive use of the lessees of the Crown houses in the neighbourhood and others, has occupied my attention for some months past, and I have been very anxious to throw open as much as possible of it to the public, especially as the inclosure cuts off access to the Park by the public for a long distance. The Law Officers to whom the question of right was referred, held that although the lessees had no certain legal rights to its continued reservation, yet that a private owner in the position of the Crown would be acting in bad faith if he were to deprive the lessees of their privilege. In this view, the Government considered that it was a subject for a compromise, and it became my duty to negotiate with the lessees. I am glad to say that I have now come to terms with them which I consider will be very favourable to the public. Under this arrangement nearly half of the inclosure will be thrown into the Park. A new entrance to the Park will be made at Clarence Gate, and a broad strip of ornamental garden will be open to the public from this gate by the side of the lake as far as Hanover Gate. On the other hand, two separate parts of the inclosure will be reserved, as heretofore, for the lessees, and will be secured to them for the remainder of their leases. At the same time, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were instructed to negotiate with the lessees of the villas within the precincts of Regent's Park in respect of certain other plots of land not legally parts of the Park, but the property of the Crown, and let to these villa holders. They have come to an arrangement by which considerable parts of this land, amounting in the whole to 14 acres, and, indeed, so much of it as would not detract from the value of the villas, will be thrown into the Park upon terms that the villa holders will pay the same rent for the residue as they had hitherto paid for the whole, and that they will have these residues secured to them for the remainder of their leases. Under these arrangements more than about 20 acres will be added to Regent's Park, which I need hardly say will be very much to the interest of the public.

Mr. DANIEL GRANT: At the termination of the leases will the existing extra land also be thrown into the Park?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The whole subject will be re-opened at the end of the leases.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPHIC DEPARTMENT)—POSTAL DELIVERY OF TELEGRAMS.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked the Postmaster General, If he will be good enough to consider the advisability of establishing a cheaper rate for telegrams sent from the Country to London (or any other populous place having two or more postal deliveries during the day) subject to the condition that such telegrams shall not be specially delivered, but shall be sent to their address, by the earliest available postal delivery of letters.

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, very careful consideration has been given to the proposal contained in the Question of the hon. Member. The saving in consequence of sending a telegram by post in towns instead of delivering it by messenger would not be more than one penny, and this being the case I do not think it would be desirable to depart from the principle which, in my opinion, is very important, of maintaining uniformity of charge.

PARLIAMENT — PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WEST FRONT OF WESTMINSTER HALL.

MR. H. PAGET asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he is in a position to make any statement to the House with reference to the architectural treatment of the West front of Westminster Hall; whether any plans or elevations have been prepared for this work; and, if so, if he will be good enough to place them in the Library of the House; and, in the event of no plans having been prepared, if he will undertake that no contract shall be signed, or works undertaken, until a reasonable opportunity shall have been afforded to the House of examining and criticizing the proposed plans?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Mr. Pearson, the eminent architect, in whose hands I have placed the restoration of all the west front of Westminster Hall has not as yet made any report upon it. He is engaged upon a careful examination of the building, and an investigation of all the old plans and drawings of the building which can be found. It is nearly certain that a cloister existed along the west side of the Hall and under the flying buttressses, and it may be desirable to replace this. I will undertake, however, that no building of such kind, or any other kind, will be commenced until the plans shall have been laid before the House, and an opportunity given of criticizing them; but this undertaking will not extend to the repair of the buttresses and of the walls of the building for which money has already been voted. This work will probably be begun, I will not say completed, during the Recess.

THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS—COST OF MILITARY OCCUPATION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state approximately the cost to this Country of the Military occupation of Cyprus, the usual per-centage for ineffective charges being added?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the annual charge of the Force occupying Cyprus, including non-effective charge, may be taken as about £51,500. As, however, the Brittsh Army was not increased for the occupation of Cyprus, so, it is probable, that it would not be diminished should the garrison be withdrawn; consequently, the sum stated is rather an item of general military expenditure than a charge peculiarly for Cyprus.

MINES REGULATION ACT, 1872—EXAMINATION OF MINES.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the long interval which in some cases elapses between the examination of the working places in coal mines and the commencement of work by the miner; and, if he can take steps to provide that the examination prescribed by the Mines Regulation Act shall be made at as short an interval as possible before the miner enters his working place?

MR. HIBBERT: Sir, this matter has always been treated by the Inspectors as one of great importance. Recently, in consequence of representations made to the Secretary of State, a Circular has been addressed to them by his order, calling upon them to ascertain and report all those coal mines where a longer interval than two hours is allowed to elapse between the inspection of the working-places and the commencement of work by the miners. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the cases in which this interval is exceeded are otherwise than rare. On receipt of the Reports, the Secretary of State will be in a position to judge what further steps may be required.

JAPAN—IMPORTATION OF DRUGS AND CHEMICALS.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have complained to the Government of Japan of the restrictions imposed on the importation of drugs and chemicals into that Country?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: My Predecessor stated, in reply to a Question by my hon. Friend on the 6th of November last, that Her Majesty's Government were not aware that there had been any interference with the importation of drugs and other chemicals into Japan other than medicinal opium. No cause has arisen for any complaint since the date of that reply.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—ESTATES OF THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the agent of the estate of the Endowed School Commissioners, near Dungannon, served one hundred and forty ejectments for a year's rent on the estate tenants; whether most of these had been obliged to claim the benefit of the Arrears Act; whether the ejectments were served with the knowledge and consent of the Commissioners; whether, on a portion of the tenants effecting a settlement, they were obliged to pay costs; and, whether he will inquire if most of the costs went to the agent, as solicitor; if so, whether he will recommend the Commissioners to remit them; and if he will take the opinion of the Commissioners as to whether it is usual on estates where the agent is not an attorney to serve ejectments for a year's rent?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received a Report from the Commissioners of Endowed Schools, from which it appears that they gave their agent discretion to serve ejectments upon tenants able to pay their rent, but refusing to do so. Acting upon that authority, the agent served 98 ejectments without further communication with the Commissioners. Forty-six of the tenants processed had taken advantage of the Arrears Act. There appears to be no doubt that many well able to pay their rents were deliberately holding back. As a matter of course some costs had to be paid when a settlement was effected; but the tenants appear to have been most leniently dealt with in this respect. The agent is quite willing that another solicitor should be employed in these matters; but this would involve far greater expense to any tenants against whom the Commissioners might find it necessary to take proceedings. It has more than once been suggested to the tenants that another solicitor should be employed, but they have invariably requested that this might not be done. I see no reason why I should make such a communication to the Commissioners as is suggested in the last paragraph.

AFRICA—THE CONGO—NEGOTIATIONS WITH PORTUGAL.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give the House any information as to the negotiations with regard to the Congo?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I am not in a position to make any statement on this subject; but my hon. Friend will understand that there is no intention of withdrawing from the pledges given by the Prime Minister in regard to this subject.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any expression of opinion has been received from the Australian Colonies with respect to the proposed arrangement with M. Lesseps?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the Premier of Queensland, who, with all his virtues, does not seem from our previous experience to have the virtue of knowing how to wait, has telegraphed to the Agent General to the effect that great dissatisfaction is felt at the Government proposal in the matter of the Suez Canal. No other Colony has expressed any opinion in the matter.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask how long the hon. Gentleman considers that the Premier of Queensland should have waited before he telegraphed?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: He should have waited until he received some information as to the details and bearing of the scheme.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Has any information as to the details of the scheme been sent to Her Majesty's Colonies?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; not officially.

BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND) —ADVANCES TO IRISH TENANTS.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What precautions have been taken to secure that loans of money advanced to tenants in Ireland for the improvements of their holdings are applied to the purposes for which they have been lent; whether he is aware that such moneys have in some cases been used for the purchase of cattle; and, whether it is held that the acquisition of stock for a farm is an improvement within the meaning of the Acts authorising advances to tenants?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, very great attention has been paid to the point referred to by the right hon. Gentleman. In the first place, the borrowers have to enter into a bond, with two solvent sureties, for the proper application of the money. Then the loans are advanced in five instalments, and none of these after the first may be paid until the local Inspector certifies that the previous one has been expended in a proper manner, and full value given for its amount. The Board of Works are satisfied that work has in every case been done to the full amount of the money advanced. The suggestion that loans have been used for the purchase of cattle is founded, I believe, on idle gossip. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer the right hon. Gentleman to the last annual Report of the Board of Works, in which considerable space is devoted to this subject.

TURKEY IN ASIA—THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY—NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the vessels of the Euphrates and Tigris Steamship Company have been prevented plying on the Tigris in violation of the Treaty?

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the protest by Her Majesty's Government in consequence of the "Khalifeh" and "Medjidieh" not being permitted by the Turkish Government to land their upward cargo and parcel mails at Bagdad, has produced any result; and, if not, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take other steps for the protection of British and Asiatic trade by way of the Tigris and Euphrates?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I propose, Sir, to answer this Question and that of my hon. Friend the Member for Salford at the same time. It is true, as I stated on Friday last, that the vessels of the Tigris and Euphrates Steamship Company have been prevented plying on the Tigris. Strong representations have been made to the Sublime Porte, and an answer is shortly expected, upon the character of which the further action of Her Majesty's Government must depend.

ACCIDENTS IN MINES—LIFE BRIGADES IN MINING DISTRICTS.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the serious casualties constantly occurring in mines, and of the defective organisation existing for the rescue of sufferers in those disasters, he will give favourable consideration to the plan proposed by Mr. Alan Bagot, in a pamphlet published by him, for the establishment of life brigades in each mining district; and, whether he will, through the mining inspectors, submit Mr. Bagot's scheme to the proprietors of mines, with a view to an examination of its feasibility, and its general adoption if found feasible?

MR. HIBBERT: Sir, the pamphlet apparently referred to by the hon. Member has not been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State; but it was laid before the Royal Commissioners for Accidents in Mines, and they had the further advantage of examining Mr. Bagot personally in reference thereto. The Commissioners have not seen their way, apparently, to make any recommendation in regard to Mr. Bagot's proposals. The system which they viewed with most favour was the establishment of life-saving stations and rescue parties in connection with the Fleuss apparatus; and circulars have been issued by the Inspectors to the various owners throughout the country, commending the subject to their particular notice. Perhaps the hon. Member would like to have a copy of the circular and memorandum referred to?

CORRUPT PRACTICES AT ELECTIONS.

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked Mr. Attorney General, Which are the Statutes at present in force that prohibit or render illegal or penal the conduct, described in the following terms :—

> "If any persons are combined for the purpose of promising, and shall promise, directly or indirectly, any personal or pecuniary advantage to any elector or electors on account of his or their voting, or abstaining from voting, for any designated candidate or candidates; or if any persons are combined to cause any elector or electors reasonably to expect, that he or they will avoid any personal disadvantage on account of his or their voting, or abstaining from voting, for any designated candidate or candidates, such persons so combined and so acting for the said purpose or purposes shall individually be guilty of a corrupt practice, and shall be subject to all penalties relating to such an offence ?"

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) : I am not quite sure that I am able fully to appreciate the motives of the Question of my hon. Friend. I think he will find such offences will be met by the Act 17 & 18 *Vict.* c. 102, sections 73 to 75.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—TRAINING OF MILITIA RECRUITS.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for War, When the Order may be expected directing the training of Militia recruits optionally on enlistment at the brigade centre, or under the old system of preliminary drill at the regimental head quarters ?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON : Sir, the Order will be issued very shortly, and will take effect from the 1st of September.

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—MR. RYAN, SHORTHAND WRITER.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Ryan, the shorthand writer to the Land Commissioners, acting for Mr. Gallagher, who was generally requested by them to have notes taken in appeal and other cases, is in receipt of any salary while discharging these duties; and, if so, from what source such salary is paid ?

Mr. TREVELYAN : Sir, neither Mr. Ryan nor Mr. Gallagher receive any salary for this duty. Payment is made to Mr. Gallagher for each day upon which he, or some one deputed by him, attends to report, and for transcript of notes when required. The payment is made by the Commissioners out of their Parliamentary Vote.

BOARD OF TRADE—COMMITTEE ON LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the President of the Board of Trade, now that the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade on Lighthouse Illuminants has been dissolved, What steps he proposes to take to determine the question as to whether oil, gas, or electricity is the best Lighthouse Illuminant?

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the President of the Board of Trade, now that the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade on Lighthouse Illuminants has been dissolved, What steps he proposes to take to settle the question as to whether gas, oil, or electricity is the best illuminant for lighthouses ?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN : Sir, the best answer will be found in the additional Correspondence on the subject of Lighthouse Illuminants which I have laid upon the Table, and which I hope will be in the hands of Members in a short time. The three lighthouse authorities, in consequence of the retirement from the experiments of the Irish Board, are again apart, and I have no longer any hope of bringing them into unanimous agreement. Under these circumstances the Committee has been dissolved, and the Lighthouse Boards have been informed that they will be left to put forward their own proposals, and the Board of Trade will endeavour to meet their individual wishes, subject, of course, to general considerations of expense and efficiency. If, for their own information, the Trinity House and the Commissioners of Northern Lights, or either of those Boards, should desire to carry out any comparative experiments on the best form of light, &c., the Board of Trade will be prepared to sanction any reasonable expenditure for the purpose, and also for such scientific assistance as the two Boards, or either of them, may desire to obtain ; but the whole responsibility of the choice of scientific advisers and of the course of the experiments will be left to the lighthouse authorities.

TRAMWAY LOANS.

COLONEL **COLTHURST** asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the interest payable on loans already made to Tramways will be reduced in the same way as those to Railways?

MR. **COURTNEY**: Yes, Sir; two tramway loans already made will be treated in the same way as existing railway loans.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE LOWER BANN.

COLONEL **COLTHURST** asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If the Government intend to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission as to the Lower Bann Navigation in that the Board of Navigation Trustees should be abolished, and the works dealt with solely in the interest of the drainage of the country?

MR. **COURTNEY**: Sir, I fully explained the intentions of the Government on this subject in reply to a Question on the 4th instant. But I may point out that the recommendation which my hon. and gallant Friend quotes was conditional on the approval of the counties who contributed to these works. As the Grand Juries of these counties (Antrim and Derry) have so far declined to approve the proposal, the recommendation falls to the ground for the present.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—POLICE HUT AT KILMOORS, CO. CLARE.

MR. **KENNY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that a police hut is about being erected at Kilmoors, near Lisdoonvarna, county Clare; if so, at whose cost; will the police proposed to be stationed there be charged to the locality; and, if he will state what are the reasons which have induced the authorities to take this step?

MR. **TREVELYAN**: Sir, it has been thought desirable to remove a police station from Moanreal to Kilmoors, as it is more required in the latter place. The men are a part of the ordinary county force, and will not be charged to the locality.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE WESTMINSTER WORKHOUSE INQUIRY.

MR. **BIGGAR** asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in the recent official inquiry at the Westminster Workhouse into the conduct of the master, it was elicited that the matron had sent from time to time to the master's office a list of wines and spirits, presumably ordered by the medical officer, but which had never been ordered by him, nor supplied to the sick; whether the master's clerk made entry in the medical officer's portion of the book of such orders; whether this was admitted by him at the close of his evidence at such inquiry; and, whether the Department has come to any decision in consequence of such proceedngs?

MR. **GEORGE RUSSELL**: Sir, according to the evidence at the inquiry the matron gave out to the nurses the stimulants which they stated had been ordered by the medical officer, and a statement of the total quantity so given out by the matron was delivered by her to the master's clerk. There was no direct evidence of any deficiency in the stock of stimulants, or that the stimulants actually issued by the matron had not been supplied to the sick. It appeared that on some occasions, when the master's clerk found that the total supplied by the matron was in excess of the quantity entered in the medical relief book as ordered, entries were made in the medical officer's portion of the medical relief book, sometimes by the master's clerk and sometimes by a pauper inmate who assisted with the books, to cause the quantities to correspond. With the large number of sick in this workhouse errors may have occurred, and entries which would have been correct as to one pauper may have been made against the name of another. It was admitted by the master's clerk that during the 18 months up to Michaelmas, 1882, in about 30 cases, such entries, which related to a few gills each, had been made by the inmate or himself. He alleges that he was not aware at the time the entries were made that the medical officer had not given orders to the nurses in these cases, although there was no entry in the medical officer's portion of the book, the usual practice being that the pauper inmate inserted the medical officer's orders according to lists supplied to him by the nurses, or according to verbal directions from the medical officer. These facts were elicited in connection with an inquiry instituted by the Board into certain complaints preferred against the master of the workhouse. The master's clerk is entirely under the control of the Guardians, and they can therefore dismiss him without any reference to the Board. The Board have communicated to the Guardians the evidence of the witnesses on the subject.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—FISHERY TRESPASS CASE AT GLIN, CO. LIMERICK.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a summons heard before Captain Hatchell, R.M. at the Glin (county Limerick) petty sessions, on July the 12th, as to which a number of fishermen were fined for trespassing on a passage to the beach; whether he is aware that the case made for the fishermen was that they only passed over a fence erected a few years ago by the landlord, to bar a public right of passage to an important salmon fishery, which right of way the fisherman had until then enjoyed, and which was recognized by the Board of Works at the time of the erection of the Fishery Pier in 1876, when the passage was left open; whether the magistrates allowed the landlord to controvert the defendants' case by reference to documentary proof of his title; whether they undertook to decide for themselves the question of title thus raised, and, notwithstanding the protest of the defendants' solicitor, declined to make the fines of an amount that would entitle the defendants to appeal to the Supreme Courts; and, whether magistrates are warranted by Law in ruling summarily an important public dispute as to title?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter), in reply, said, his attention had been drawn to this matter only by the Question of the hon. Member. He would, therefore, ask him to postpone it, though he might say there was nothing to be gained by inquiry. The matter was one over which neither he nor the Government had any control. If the magistrates had done wrong, which he was very far from asserting, the aggrieved person had a legal remedy.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS—COMMUNICATIONS FROM FOREIGN POWERS.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Have the Government received any communications from Foreign Governments upon the subject of the arrangements between Her Majesty's Government and M. de Lesseps?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the only communication received from a foreign Government since the conclusion of the arrangement referred to by my right hon. Friend has been in a note addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by the Turkish Ambassador, in which his Excellency states that he has been instructed to inform Her Majesty's Government that any modification or extension of the privileges granted to M. de Lesseps must receive the sanction of the Sultan before it can be carried out.

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with respect to the Paper Egypt, No. 12, 1883, can the "instructions" alluded to in the first paragraph of that paper be laid before Parliament?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; the preliminary instructions alluded to cannot be presented, because they were mainly verbal. The instructions on which the negotiation was based are set out in the Report of the Suez Canal Director already laid on the Table.

COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL BILL—MR. JUSTICE HAWKINS.

Mr. WARTON asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the observations of Mr. Justice Hawkins, in charging the grand jury at Durham on the 16th instant, to the effect that he regretted that the details of the Criminal Appeal Bill had been kept secret from the judges, and that in his opinion the Bill was uncalled for and unnecessary; whether it is the fact, as stated by that learned judge, that the details of the Bill have been kept secret from Her Majesty's judges; and, if he can state whether any, and, if any, how many, of the twenty-two judges, who under the Bill will be members of the Court of Criminal Appeal, have been made acquainted with and have expressed their approbation of the details of the Bill?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I have seen a newspaper report of a statement by Mr. Justice Hawkins to the effect mentioned in the Question. I trust there has been some misunderstanding of what actually fell from that learned Judge. But, even if he is correctly reported, I think the House will agree with me that I ought to avoid anything in the shape of a retort upon one of Her Majesty's Judges. I must, however, say that if my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport means to suggest that a Bill effecting a legal reform ought not to be introduced into this House by the Government without a copy of it being sent to all the Judges in order that their approval may be obtained before the Bill is proceeded with, I must, in the public interests, entirely dissent from such a view. I must equally dissent from the suggestion of my hon. and learned Friend that, because a Bill is not sent to all the Judges, therefore it is kept secret from them. I have already stated three times in this House that I did send copies of the Criminal Appeal Bill to certain Judges, among others to the Chief Justice, and to my former Answers I must refer the hon. and learned Member for the information he seeks.

MR. WARTON: I wish to explain that the word "secret," which the hon. and learned Gentleman imputes to me, was used by the learned Judge in his complaint of the conduct of the Attorney General.

NAVY—THE "VICTORIA AND ALBERT" YACHT.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, How the officers and the crew of the "Victoria and Albert" Yacht will be employed whilst this vessel is being repaired; and, what it is contemplated to do with the "Enchantress" Yacht when the arrangement is carried out by which the "Osborne" Yacht will be at the disposal of the Lords of the Admiralty?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I had given an undertaking to the House that the repairs of the *Victoria and Albert* should not be commenced until the House had expressed its opinion on the subject. Pending that decision, no special arrangement has been made as to the employment of the officers and crew; but the matter is now under consideration. I may say that the crew, so far as not required for Her Majesty's service in connection with the tenders and boats, are employed on other duties at Portsmouth. The question of allotting the yachts at the disposal of the Admiralty will not arise until the *Victoria and Albert* is again completed for use; but, of course, some new arrangement will have then to be made.

MADAGASCAR—PROTECTION TO LIVES AND PROPERTY OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any additional ships of war have been sent to Madagascar in addition to the "Dryad" and "Dragon," now off Tamatave; whether he will communicate to the House the telegrams received from Madagascar since June 30th; and, what steps are being taken by the Government to protect British subjects and property in Madagascar?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in answer to the hon. Member's first Question, I have to say that no additional ships of war have been sent to Madagascar. In answer to his second Question, the Government do not think it desirable that the telegrams which have been received should be communicated to the House pending the receipt of the despatches now on their way, of which those telegrams are only a summary. A general statement, however, has already been made of the contents of the telegrams. As to the third Question, Commander Johnstone, of the *Dryad*, received the usual instructions regarding the protection of British lives and property, and we have no reason to believe that, in any way, he has failed in his duty.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Can the hon. Member say if any further ships has been sent to the Mauritius?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have answered the Question as it stood on the Paper. If the hon. Gentleman wants any further information, perhaps he will give Notice of it.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked Mr. Attorney General, On what clause or statement in the Suez Canal Concession or Statutes the Government rely, in support of their opinion that the loan of £8,000,000, proposed now to be made to the Suez Canal Company, will rank pari passu with the other and prior obligations of the Company?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Sir, if the hon. Gentleman will refer to the Statutes of the Suez Canal Company, which, as he knows, are dated January 5, 1856, he will find that by Article 62, paragraph 2, all loans of the Company rank for payment next after the working expenses of the Company; and I presume that the proposed loan will rank with all other loans.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the £4,000,000 expended in 1875 by Lord Beaconsfield in buying the Khedive's shares receive five per cent. from the Egyptian Government, as against the three and a quarter per cent. at which the £4,000,000 was obtained by the British Government; whether the shares thus purchased are now worth more than double the £4,000,000 given for them; whether, in 1894, the shares thus bought by Lord Beaconsfield will participate equally with the other shares in the full profits of the Company, and whether, in 37 years from the date of purchase, the whole principal sum of £4,000,000 will be recouped by the difference between the three and a quarter per cent. paid and the five per cent. received; whether, under the new proposal, the £8,000,000 to be advanced by the British Government is to receive any share in the profits of the Canal; and, whether it is proposed to increase the number of English Directors on the Suez Canal Board?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, the Questions of the hon. Gentleman are really an argument; but I will, out of courtesy to him, reply to them as to matters of fact. The Answer to the first Question is that the shares carry 5 per cent, paid by the Egyptian Government, until 1894, and that the money required to purchase them was raised at 3½ per cent. The Answer to the second Question is, that no shares with the coupons cut off are quoted, and the hon. Member has the same facilities that I have for estimating what their value would be were they in the market. The Answer to the third Question is, that the difference between 5 and 3½ per cent interest will recoup the principal in 36 years—that is, in 29 years from the present time. The Answer to the fourth Question is, that by lending £8,000,000 at 3¼ per cent interest instead of leaving that amount to be borrowed by the Company in the market, we shall improve the dividend on the share capital, and, as we hold four-ninths of that capital, carrying dividends from 1894, we shall in this respect be gainers. Our commerce will also gain by the more rapid reduction of the transit dues, following the improved dividend. In reply to the last Question, I have to say that it is not part of the provisional agreement that the number of the English Directors should be increased.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in view of the fact that the English Directors of the Suez Canal Company will, by the new agreement, continue to be in a minority on the Board of that Company, what provision, if any, has been made for preventing the finances of the Company being so manipulated as to keep the profits below twenty-one per cent., and thereby avoid the remission, provided for in paragraph 3 of the agreement, of half the pilotage dues, which press so heavily on British trade, such trade being about eighty per cent. of the whole of the trade passing through the Canal?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that inasmuch as the shareholders, the founders, the holders of the 15 per cent profits purchased from the Egyptian Government, the Directors, and the *employés* are all interested in the dividends being as high as possible; and inasmuch as the accounts are yearly audited by auditors appointed by the shareholders, and are from day to day under the eye of the resident English Director in Paris, I am satisfied that there is ample security against the fraud which the hon. Member anticipates.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: Might I be allowed to explain that I did not intend to attribute fraud. What I wished to convey was, that as the English are mainly interested in the reduction of the pilotage, and the French are mainly interested in the profits, I wish to know what safeguards there are in the agreement to prevent putting, for instance, to the capital account expenses incurred on machinery, so as to enable the Company to keep the profits just below the 21 per cent required for the reduction of the pilotage dues?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Sir, my Answer really met that inquiry. I said that everybody concerned was interested in as high a dividend being paid as possible, and there were other safeguards which I mentioned. On the other point raised by the hon. Member, I would remind him that there was a famous case a good many years ago in which a Scotch Company declared dividends below what were earned, and that was proved, and the Directors were convicted of fraud, and very severely punished.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: May I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether there is any clause in this agreement by which the pilotage, having been once reduced, can be again augmented?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): No, Sir; the clause as to increases of rate refers to the transit charge.

Mr. GIBSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What was the date of the opinion of the Law Officers with reference to the alleged exclusive rights of M. de Lesseps and the Suez Canal Company, or either of them, by virtue of the concessions under which the Canal was made?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): In answer to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I have to say that I understand it to be a general rule, and one which, for many reasons, must be acted upon, not to make public any information respecting the advice given by the Law Officers of the Crown to the Government. If once the door is opened so as to admit inquiry as to the Law Officers' opinion, even to the extent of giving the date now sought for, I think that oftentimes such great inconvenience would arise that I must ask to be excused from answering the Question.

Mr. GIBSON: I am well aware of the rules respecting the opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown. I have not asked for that opinion, though the Prime Minister rested his case upon it to a large extent; but I have a right to ask—and I shall ask again to-morrow—whether the date of the opinion was antecedent to the instructions given by the Secretary of State to the British Directors of the Suez Canal, or after they had entered on the inquiries, or after they had closed them?

ROYAL HOSPITALS AT CHELSEA AND KILMAINHAM — REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Colonel NORTH asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the Evidence taken before the Committee to inquire into the Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham has not been printed with the Report, and when it will be forthcoming?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, the evidence in question is voluminous, and extremely technical. As the Committee, in their Report, go fully into the facts brought out in the evidence, I considered that the public interest in the evidence would probably be insufficient to justify the cost of printing and distributing it to Members.

THE SUNDERLAND CALAMITY—THE HOME OFFICE INQUIRY.

Mr. STOREY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will lay upon the Table the Report of the honourable and learned Member for Cambridge, who attended, as assessor representing the Home Office, the inquiry into the recent disaster at Sunderland?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir.

ARMY ESTIMATES—WARLIKE STORES.

Mr. EARP asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether it may be understood from paragraph 63 of the Second Report of the Public Accounts Committee, that a Stock Valuation Account of Warlike Stores, giving detail of those condemned, broken up, or sold, and the amount realised by their sale, as well as their value when new, will in future be laid before the House with the Army Estimates; and, whether he will state the value of warlike stores issued annually on payment according to the rates in the "Priced Vocabulary;" and what is the annual amount derived from per-centages charged to purchasers upon the Vocabulary rates?

MR. BRAND: Sir, the question of the preparation of a stock valuation account is a very difficult one, and is now under the consideration of a small Committee at the War Office. If and when completed the valuation account will be laid before Parliament, either with the Estimates, or as a separate Return. The value of warlike stores issued on repayment according to the rates in the priced vocabulary, including percentages, appears annually in the Army Appropriation Account.

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Tramways (Ireland) Bill will be printed?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, this Bill is not yet settled. Various points connected with it are under the consideration of different Departments; but I fear I cannot say when they will be settled.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE SHANNON.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the sluices in the Shannon are now in a fit state to deal with the summer floods?

MR. COURTNEY: I have every reason to believe that the Shannon sluices are now ready for the floods whenever they may come; but the hon. and gallant Member has not given sufficient Notice to enable me to obtain from Dublin an explicit assurance to this effect.

ECCLESIASTICAL GRANTS — THE CHURCH AT HONG KONG—THE GRANT IN AID.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that the Naval and Military Forces of the Crown at Hong Kong have hitherto been accustomed to avail themselves of the ministrations of the Church of England there in buildings which have been provided by individual members of the community in consideration of the Grant made for the maintenance of public worship; and, whether, having regard to these facts, and to the necessity of making some provision for the spiritual wants of the Garrison, and, further, to the strong feeling which has been expressed in a petition presented to the Governor, and signed by many persons of all classes and creeds at Hong Kong against the withdrawal of the Grant, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to reconsider their proposal for its withdrawal?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the buildings referred to were only partially provided by private efforts. The Colonial Government contributed no less than two-thirds of the estimated cost. The question which had to be decided in 1881 was a choice between concurrent endowment and disendowment, as the Roman Catholics, who are in a majority among the Christians at Hong Kong, started the subject, and complained of the inequality of their treatment. After carefully perusing the representations of the petitioners referred to, the Secretary of State does not feel justified in reversing the decision arrived at and announced by his Predecessor two years ago.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, after the withdrawal of the Government Grant in aid of Church services in Hong Kong, the Military authorities will have further claim to the use of the Cathedral for church parades; and, if not, whether due provision has been made for the holding of garrison Protestant Church services elsewhere?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the cathedral is vested in trustees. In the Army Estimates £510 is provided for the pay of officiating clergy, and $500 is annually contributed to the expenses of the building. We have every reason to believe that in the future, as in the past, the building will be open to the troops; but the amount of military contribution may, perhaps, when the time arrives, have to be further considered.

MALTA—CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, seeing there is now no Legislative Council in Malta by whom the new constituency can be divided into constituencies, the Secretary of State has sent any instructions to the Governor to make such a division, or if it is necessary that the new election should take place under the old system?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the only instructions sent on the subject are in paragraph 8 of Lord Derby's despatch of the 8th of March, which has been laid before Parliament. In this despatch the Secretary of State states that Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to recommend Her Majesty to assent to an ordinance establishing suitable arrangements for the division of the Island into constituencies which could not legally be effected by the Letters Patent. The first election of the new Legislative Council must necessarily, therefore, be under the old system.

ARMY—COURTS MARTIAL.

Mr. CALLAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact, as stated in "Reynolds' Newspaper,"—

> "That out of 90,000 officers and men 8,319 Courts Martial were held," that "the sum total of the Courts Martial and minor punishments number 139,753, or an average of an offence and a-half to every man in the service," and that "the Footguards offences outnumber those of the rest of the Army;"

and, if so, whether he will suggest to the Commander in Chief the desirability of marking his disapproval by removing the Footguards from London, and replacing them by some well-conducted Regiment of the Line?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, if non-commissioned officers and men be substituted for officers and men in the second line of the Question, the figures quoted in its first paragraph are correct. As regards the second paragraph, the offences in the Foot Guards do not out-number or nearly approach those of the rest of the Army. The courts martial in the Foot Guards were only 57 per 1,000, against 94 per 1,000 for the rest of the Army at home; but with reference to minor punishments for trivial offences, the rate in the Foot Guards exceeded considerably that for the other corps. This is probably due to the different character of service in the Metropolis, which involves many temptations, to which other corps are not subjected.

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE.

Mr. RICHARD POWER asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact, as stated in the press, that the tender of the Dublin Steam Packet Company, for the conveyance of the mails between Holyhead and Kingstown, has been accepted by the Treasury; whether the tenders of the London and North Western Company are identical with those formerly accepted by the Treasury and abandoned; and, whether he will state the period for which the tender of the Dublin Steam Packet Company has been accepted, and say when full particulars will be laid before Parliament?

Mr. FAWCETT: No decision, Sir, has yet been arrived at. I can only repeat the assurance I have already given, that as soon as a decision has been come to there shall be no delay in laying it before the House.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

Mr. VILLIERS STUART asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the words of the Concession from Said Pacha to M. Lesseps, made on the 30th November 1854, are—

> "Nous avons donné a notre ami M. Ferdinand de Lesseps pouvoir exclusif a l'effet de constituer et diriger une Compagnie Universelle pour le percement de l'Isthme de Suez, l'exploitation d'un passage propre a la grande navigation," &c.;

and, whether he understood the Law officers of the Crown to convey anything more than that, in their opinion, an exclusive privilege had been conferred on Monsieur Ferdinand de Lesseps, for the term of his natural life, to form and to preside over a Company for the above purposes?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In answer to the Question of my hon. Friend, I have to state that the privileges referred to in the Question do not, according to our view, determine with the life of M. de Lesseps, but pass to the Company formed by him.

Mr. RITCHIE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table the instructions given by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the British Suez Canal Directors referred to in the first paragraph of their report; if he will inform the House whether the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, on the question of the exclusive concession to M. de Lesseps, was asked for and obtained prior or subsequent to the conversations between the British Directors and the President and Vice President of the Suez Canal Company, which, in the second paragraph of their report, the British Directors state resulted in so near an approximation between the views of Her Majesty's Government and those of the President and Vice President of the Suez Canal Company; and, if he could state what were the points of difference which the British Directors, in the fourth paragraph of their report, state remained to be removed at the time of the visit of the Messrs. de Lesseps to London?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, to answer the first part of the Question would require a comparison of dates, and I am afraid that I am not able at the moment to do that. I understood that the Question was practically answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but if I am mistaken I will put myself in a position to answer hereafter. With regard to the last part of the Question, in respect to the points of difference which the British Directors, in the 4th part of their Report, stated remained to be removed at the time of the visit of M. de Lesseps, I do not think it would be possible to give those details. But my right hon. Friend would be able to answer that Question with more authority than I could. I do not think it would be possible to give the details of a long and complicated communication in answer to a Question, although the substance of them might be brought out in debate.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he would repeat the last part of the Question tomorrow.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked, Whether Her Majesty's Government would lay upon the Table a Memorandum containing the reasons which induced Her Majesty's Government to come to the conclusion that M. de Lesseps and his Company had an exclusive concession?

Mr. GLADSTONE: It appears to me that to do that would be virtually to produce the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown. We are prepared to defend that opinion if need be; but we cannot produce it.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: In most Blue Books despatches sent to the British Ambassadors embody the opinions of the Law Officers, though they were not given as such. I would ask whether Her Majesty's Government refuse to give the House the reasons why they came to the conclusion to which I refer?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We shall not refuse to give to the House any reasons; but this is a Question of a somewhat novel kind, and I am not prepared at a moment's notice to establish a precedent for the production of an official document.

Mr. RITCHIE wished to know whether the Prime Minister saw the same objection to laying before the House the case which was submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown?

Mr. GLADSTONE: That is a course which, as far as I understand, would be still more unsatisfactory.

Mr. BOURKE: I beg to ask whether any Protocols of these conversations and negotiations with M. de Lesseps and his son have been kept; and, if so, whether, as we have been informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Instructions were verbal, those Protocols will be presented to the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; there are no Protocols, no records of those conversations, which were conducted in the usual manner, and not in the form usual in the case of an International Congress.

Mr. BOURKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether anything has passed, during the recent negotiations, as to who is to be the successor to M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, as President of the Suez Canal Company?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, nothing has passed during the recent negotiations as to the question who is to be the successor of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps as President of the Canal Company.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can now name a day for submitting the provisional agreement with the Suez Canal Company to the judgment of the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman is not unreasonably desirous to put an end to the suspense of the House upon a question of much public interest at the present moment, and we join with him in that feeling; but, at the same time, as to practically giving effect to his desire, we must have regard to the state of Business and the engagements under which we lie. I mean, with regard to the passing of the two Tenants' Compensation Bills through the stage of Committee in this House. Forming the best judgment we can as to the progress of these Bills, we do not think that they will extend beyond a certain number of days—not a very large number—but I think I had better not define more precisely, for fear that any date which I might name as the extreme limit should be taken for granted as the earliest possible day for finishing the discussion on these Bills. I think, however, that I can meet the substance of the right hon. Gentleman's Question by saying that I will state definitively on Monday the course which the Government propose to pursue with respect to the provisional agreement which has been entered into with M. de Lesseps. As, perhaps, this declaration, taken alone, may not be sufficient, and as there is an apprehension in some quarters, at any rate, that the House may be asked to consider this question at too late a period of the Session, I shall likewise give this assurance to the House—that in no case will we submit the proposition later than some day before the expiration of the present month.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, before the Heads of the Agreement referring to the second Suez Canal were signed, any communication was made to M. de Lesseps on behalf of Her Majesty's Government to the effect that it admitted his claim to the exclusive right of cutting a second Canal through the Isthmus of Suez, and whether, in fact, the negotiations with M. de Lesseps were throughout conducted on that basis?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is a Question, Sir, with regard to which, I think, an explanation has been already given in "another place," but I will repeat it. No communications in the nature of information or engagement was made to M. de Lesseps in regard to his exclusive rights of cutting a second Canal. The description given by myself in this House, was given entirely as a matter of explanation to the House with respect to the opinions which we entertain, and the basis, therefore, on which we proceeded in the carrying on of the negotiations which we have had in hand. I may say, of course, that that was drawn from us by the strong objections taken to the plan, which plan was a plan essentially dependent upon the view which we had taken with regard to the privileges of M. de Lesseps.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is true, as stated in the "Times" of June 5th, that Mr. Plunkett, the Secretary of the British Embassy in Paris, attended the annual meeting of the Suez Canal Company on the 4th June "as representative of the English Government;" and, if so, what was the object of his so attending, and what instructions were given to him?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, with respect to this Question I have made inquiry in the proper quarters, and in substance I believe I may say that Mr. Plunkett did so attend, and that he so attended under the arrangement made by the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues. Consequently, the right hon. Gentleman should be quite as well able to answer this Question as I am. There is nothing unusual, therefore, in the attendance. The question of the right of the country to be represented and to vote at the meetings was raised under the late Government at the time, or about the time, of the purchase of the shares in the Suez Canal, and an arrangement was made in 1877 whereby Her Majesty's Government are entitled, as shareholders, to the right of deliberation and vote, and, according to custom, they have been represented by the Secretaries of Embassy at Paris on the occasion of the general meeting.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Were there any instructions?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not aware of any special instructions. I feel confident that there were none; but, of course, that can be ascertained.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked whether, as there was no register of shareholders of the Suez Canal Company, and the information as to the domicile of shareholders could, therefore, not be obtained from that source, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to obtain a copy of the list of the shareholders whose shares were deposited at the office of the Company prior to the last general meeting?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): If the right hon. Gentleman gives me Notice of the exact information he requires I will see whether I can get it.

CHAMBERS OF AGRICULTURE AND FARMERS' CLUBS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND)—DEPUTATION TO THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

MR. HENEAGE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the reply of the President of the Council to the deputations from the English and Scotch Chambers of Agriculture and Farmers' Clubs on the 8th of May, namely, that—

> "The statements and views of that weighty and representative assembly strongly deserved the attention and consideration not only of the department over which he had the honour to preside, but of Her Majesty's Government as a whole;"

whether the practical statements and facts adduced by Mr. Clare Read and other speakers have ever been considered by the whole Cabinet or by the Committee of Agriculture; and, whether the Vice President of the Council is a member of either of these important Committees of Her Majesty's Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: What I have to say is, that the representations to which reference is made have been carefully considered by the Department responsible for agricultural affairs. With regard to the latter portion of the Question, my hon. Friend is not aware, perhaps, of the distinction, but there is no Vice President of the Privy Council. There is a Vice President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education; he has nothing to do, in virtue of his office, with general Council business; but, incidentally, he has rendered very valuable services to the Veterinary Department of the Office.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

MR. LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, seeing the unsettled questions of importance yet to be dealt with by the Government on the Report stages of the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Government will fix an early day for taking that stage, so as to ensure the consideration of such questions by a fairly full House?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, this was a Question of some interest to the House, as it had reference to Public Business, and was a revival of the Question, in substance, which was previously put to him with regard to the precedence between the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Tenant's Compensation Bills. The Corrupt Practices Bill presenting so heavy a *pièce de resistance*, they felt it necessary to get through the difficult stage of the Bill, but the Question now was somewhat altered; and as it had been represented that the House of Lords, whose convenience ought to be considered, had a great interest in the Compensation Bills, whereas that was not the case with regard to the Corrupt Practices Bill, therefore, though he was desirous they should have the Report of the Corrupt Practices Bill considered by an adequately full House, he should not, at the present moment, bind the Government to take the Report upon the Bill before the Report on the Tenants' Compensation Bills. His impression, as at present advised, was that it might be the better course to take the Report on the Tenants' Compensation Bills before the Report on the Corrupt Practices Bill.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS inquired whether the Attorney General would place the proposed Amendments to the Corrupt Practices Bill on the Table of the House?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I am engaged on them now, and they shall be in the hands of Members as soon as possible.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—PROBATE DIVORCE, AND ADMIRALTY DIVISION.

MR. INDERWICK asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the eighth section of "The Judicature Act, 1875," which provides that a judge of the Probate and Admiralty Division may be sent on circuit "so far as the state of business in the said division will admit;" whether any and what steps were taken to ascertain the state of business in that division before Mr. Justice Butt, one of the

Judges of the said Division, was sent on circuit; whether before the said judge commenced his circuit the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice were informed that the pressure of work in the Admiralty Division during the whole of the year had been steady and continuous, and that there were enough Admiralty actions then ready for trial to keep one judge continuously employed till the Long Vacation; whether the postponing of decisions as to the succession to real and personal estate and of Admiralty causes does not necessarily lead to great inconvenience of suitors, and to an enormous increase in the cost of litigation, by the continuation of receiverships and temporary administration, and by the detention of ships and crews; and, whether, if at any future time a judge of the said division is sent on circuit, arrangements will be made by which some other judge of the High Court will be appointed to complete the work left unfinished by the judge of the Probate and Admiralty Division?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I am aware of the inconvenience caused by the absence of Mr. Justice Butt; but I am afraid it is an inconvenience shared by other Divisions of the High Court. The President, however, of the Division is still in town.

MR. INDERWICK said, he would call attention to the subject, and move a Resolution.

SUEZ (SECOND) CANAL—THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT WITH M. DE LESSEPS.

MR. BOURKE: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, with respect to the telegram he has received from Queensland respecting the negotiations with M. de Lesseps, Whether he will lay it on the Table, or whether he can now give to the House its contents?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the telegram was sent to the Agent General, and not to the Government. It is in these terms—

> "Government proposals re Suez Canal received here with intense dissatisfaction. Inform Ministers."

MR. CARBUTT gave Notice he would ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether he would state the number and tonnage of the British ships passing through the Suez Canal in ballast; and, whether the reduction of 2½ francs per ton mentioned in the agreement would apply to ships carrying coal as ballast?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I will try to get the information by Monday.

MR. VILLIERS STUART said, that on going into Committee of Supply he should move—

> "That, having in view the vast interests involved in the Suez Canal scheme, the late period of the Session, and the impossibility of furnishing to Members of this House in time such information as would qualify them to form a mature judgment on the proposed agreement, it is, in the opinion of this House, expedient to postpone its discussion until the reassembling of Parliament, and meanwhile to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire and report upon all the bearings of the question."

MR. LABOUCHERE: With reference to the statement that fell from the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, respecting the despatch which he said had been received from the Turkish Government, I beg to give Notice that I will ask him whether he has any objection to lay on the Table the Firman granted by the Sultan in 1873 to the Khedive, by which the Khedive was empowered to enter into all Commercial Treaties, and assent to all commercial undertakings, without referring them to the approval of the Porte?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I will endeavour to do so to-morrow.

EGYPT—THE CHOLERA.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL inquired, Whether the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could give the House any further information as to the spread of cholera in Cairo; and, whether it is true that all the troops had been removed from the town to the desert?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think, Sir, that Questions as to the troops had better be addressed to the Secretary of State for War. In regard to the first Question, I regret to say that there can be no doubt the last accounts in regard to cholera are not at all of the same character as those that I was able to give on former occasions, when the Returns were undoubtedly comparatively favourable. The last information I have is from Mr. Cookson, of Alexandria. It is dated 19th July, and gives the following Returns:—

"Deaths from cholera, July 18, Damietta, 17; Mansourah, 38; Samannoud, 27; Chobar, 17; nine other villages, 36; Menzaleh, on 15th, 20; Cairo and Ghizeh, for 24 hours ending 8 a.m., on 18th, 65."

That, I am sorry to say, is a terrible increase.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: With regard to the second part of the Question of the noble Lord (Lord Eustace Cecil), I may read to the House a telegram I have received from Egypt in reply to one from the Adjutant General. The telegrams are as follows:—

"From Adjutant General to General Officer Commanding, Cairo, July 16, 1883.—In continuation of mine of 26th June, if cholera reaches Cairo consider the advisability of dispersing troops in the desert along Fresh Water Canal by detachments of quarter or half battalions. Have all your plans ready beforehand for carrying out whatever scheme you may determine upon after consultation with doctors."

"From General Officer Commanding in Egypt, Cairo, to Commander-in-Chief, Horse Guards (received July 17).—Yours 16th. Most undesirable to move troops under canvas until cholera becomes much more serious or until a case occurs among troops. Have all my plans ready; prepared to move under canvas instantly when necessary, first of all to desert near Helouan and Abasseyeh, and afterwards into more scattered camps along Sweet Water Canal. Doctors entirely concur."

There is another telegram, which runs as follows:—

"From General Officer Commanding, Cairo, July 18, 1883, to War Secretary (received July 18).—Health of troops Cairo very good; no special disease. At Alexandria not so satisfactory. Cornwall Regiment 15 per cent sick, chiefly fevers. Percentage of sick whole command 8, of which one-fourth venereal."

PRIVILEGE.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—BRADLAUGH *v.* GOSSET.

COMMUNICATION TO THE HOUSE.

MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House that the Serjeant-at-Arms attending the House had a Communication to make to the House:—

Whereupon the SERJEANT-AT-ARMS came to the Bar, and informed the House that he had received a Copy of a Writ of Summons in an Action brought against him by Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, and then he delivered in the Copy of the Writ and other Documents relating thereto, which were read at the Table as follows:—

20, *Circus Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.*
10 *July*, 1883.

R. A. Gosset, Esq.,
Serjeant-at-Arms,
House of Commons.

Sir,

Referring to the order served yesterday at my lodgings, that you should exclude me from the House until I should engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House, I beg to state that I have not, on any occasion since my election on the 2*nd March* 1882, *in any way, or at any time, disturbed, or attempted to disturb, the proceedings of the House; nor have I any intention of disturbing its proceedings. I have claimed, and do claim, to take my seat according to law, and am, and always have been, ready to do all things the law requires, to enable me to take my seat pursuant to my return, as one of the Members to serve in the present Parliament, for the Borough of Northampton. If you interpret the order to mean that you would use actual force to prevent me from entering the House, for the purpose of taking my seat, I will at once take proceedings to endeavor to obtain an injunction, from the High Court of Justice, to restrain you from committiag such a breach of the peace.*

I write this because I desire to avoid the disgraceful scandal of another personal struggle, and because the ambiguous wording of the order you have served upon me leaves room for misapprehension, and I beg, therefore, distinctly to inform you that I engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House, but propose to present myself, pursuant to statute, and in exact accordance with the standing orders under that statute, for the purpose of taking my seat at the time and in manner therein prescribed.

Yours mo. obedy.
C. BRADLAUGH.

To Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., Esq.
July 11, 1883.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 10*th inst., I beg to inform you that it will be my duty, in obedience to the Order of the House, to exclude you from the House, until otherwise instructed by the House, or the Speaker.*

Yr. obedt. Servt.,
R. A. GOSSET,
Serjt.-at-Arms.

Messrs. Lewis and Lewis,
10 & 11 Ely Place, Holborn, London, E.C.
17th July, 1883.

Captain R. A. Gosset,
Serjeant-at-Arms,
House of Commons.

Dear Sir,

You are probably aware that we have been acting as Solicitors for Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P. throughout the various proceedings in which he has been both Plaintiff and Defendant, in connection with his Election as Member for Northampton, and we are now instructed by Mr. Bradlaugh to commence an Action against you, with a view of applying to the High Court of Justice for an Injunction to restrain you from using force to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh entering the House of Commons, for the purpose of taking his Seat, in accordance with the Law.

We are aware of the Order of the House, under which we assume you claim to act, and we may therefore be permitted to explain that the object of the Action is to test the legality, in the High Court of Justice, of that Order.

We also wish to say that, in taking these proceedings, we desire to observe the utmost respect to the House, and to yourself, and that we shall be happy, in any way, to consult your convenience.

Our object in addressing you is to ask you to refer us to the Solicitor who will accept service of the proceedings issued by the Court, so as to avoid any unpleasantness to yourself personally, and we shall therefore be glad to know whether we shall forward the proceedings to the Solicitor to the Treasury, who appeared and defended, on behalf of the Deputy Serjeant at Arms, the proceedings which were instituted against him last year, or hand the same personally to you.

We shall be pleased to receive your answer by 2 o'clock to-morrow.

We have the honor to be, Dear Sir,
Yours obediently and faithfully,
LEWIS AND LEWIS.

17th July, 1883.

Gentlemen,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date.

Your obedient Servant,
(Signed) R. A. GOSSET,
Serjeant-at-Arms.

Messrs. Lewis and Lewis.
10 & 11, Ely Place, Holborn, London, E.C.
18th July, 1883.

Captn. R. A. Gosset,
Serjeant-at-Arms,
House of Commons.

Dear Sir,

We have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. acknowledging the receipt of our letter of the same date.

We wish, however, to point out that you have not replied to our request, to refer us to your Solicitor, who will accept service of process on your behalf. Our object in asking this question was, that the utmost respect might be paid to you, and that we should not be forced to serve process personally upon you, which we should be compelled most reluctantly to do, in pursuance of our duty.

May we ask you kindly to furnish us with the name of your Solicitor, as requested in our former letter.

We are, Dear Sir,
Yours obediently and faithfully,
LEWIS AND LEWIS.

1883.—B.—No. 3931.

In the High Court of Justice.
Queen's Bench Division.
Between Charles Bradlaugh, Plaintiff,
Writ of Summons. and
Captain R. A. Gosset, Defendant.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, To Captain R. A. Gosset, of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex. We command you, That within Eight Days after the Service of this Writ on you, inclusive of the day of such Service, you cause an Appearance to be entered for you in an Action at the Suit of Charles Bradlaugh. And take notice that in default of your so doing the Plaintiff may proceed therein, and Judgment may be given in your absence.

Witness, Roundell, Earl of Selborne, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the 19th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

N.B.—This Writ is to be served within Twelve Calendar Months from the date thereof, or, if renewed, within Six Calendar Months from the date of the last renewal, including the day of such date, and not afterwards.

Appearance is to be entered at the Central Office, Royal Courts of Justice, London.

The Plaintiff claims an Injunction.

This Writ was issued by Messrs. Lewis and Lewis, of Nos. 10 and 11, Ely Place, Holborn, in the County of Middlesex, Solicitors for the said Plaintiff, who resides at 20, Circus Road, Saint John's Wood, in the County of Middlesex.

The address for Service is Nos. 10 and 11, Ely Place, Holborn, London, aforesaid.

This Writ was served by me at
on the Defendant
on the day of 188
Indorsed the day of 188

[*Indorse.*]

1883.—B.—No.

In the High Court of Justice.
Queen's Bench Division.

Bradlaugh v. Gosset.—Writ of Summons.

Ordered, That the said Communication be taken into Consideration, To-morrow, at Two of the Clock.—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—∞o∞—

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS (ENGLAND) BILL.—[Bill 186.]

(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Solicitor General*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 18*th July.*]

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART I.

Improvements.

As to Improvements executed before the Commencement of Act.

Clause 3 (Consent of landlord as to improvements in first Part of the Schedule).

Mr. BORLASE, in rising to move, in page 2, line 3, to leave out the words "improvement mentioned in the first Part of the Schedule hereto, and," and insert "erection or enlargement of buildings, and to making or improving roads or bridges," said, the object of the Amendment was to remove from the 1st Part of the Schedule all the improvements with the exception of the two named in the Amendment, with a view of placing them in the 2nd Part of the Schedule—that part in which notice alone to the landlord was required. The Committee would see that the 1st Part of the Schedule was entirely in favour of the landlord. It required the landlord's consent to have been given to all the improvements effected under it; and the list contained no less than 12 kinds of improvements, including the erection or enlargement of buildings, laying down permanent pasture, making or improving roads or bridges, making fences or gardens, planting hops or orchards, and reclaiming waste land. The 2nd Part of the Schedule required notice to be given by the tenant to the landlord, and it contained only one kind of improvement, although that was a very important one—namely, drainage. An hon. Member had given Notice of his intention to move that drainage should be taken from the 2nd Part of the Schedule and inserted in the 3rd; but his (Mr. Borlase's) contention was, that the improvements which made up the 1st Part of the Schedule ought to be taken from that Part and inserted in the 2nd. The principle on which he advocated this change was, that the fullest scope ought to be given to the tenant for the exercise of his judgment in dealing with the raw material which was under his hands. Should that judgment prove faulty, who could be so great a loser as himself? He thought, if the Amendment were carried, there should be inserted in the Bill a very strong clause to guard the landlord against the deterioration of his property. On the contrary, should the judgment of the tenant not prove faulty, and the end justified the course he had pursued in making the improvements, who ultimately would be so great a gainer as the landlord himself? He knew very well what the answer would be. The Committee would be told how very long a time it took to bring permanent pasture into being, and how long it took to render orchards, hop gardens, and similar improvements productive. His answer in that case would be, who was the greatest loser in consequence? It was not the landlord, because, during the whole of the time, he was receiving his rent; but it was the tenant, who, during that time, would have been obliged to deprive himself of the remuneration resulting from the improved cultivation of these particular parts of the soil which he was farming. He would say no more in regard to that part of the question; but he would go on to some of the other items included in the 1st Part of the Schedule—namely, the making of water meadows, or works of irrigation, and the improving and making of watercourses, ponds, wells, or reservoirs, or works for the supply of water for agricultural or domestic purposes. He could only repeat what he had said on the second reading of the Bill that he could not see on what principle, if drainage was placed among these improvements to which only notice was required, works of irrigation which were correlative and the converse of drainage, should not be placed under the same head. He knew the answer would be that it was owing to the fact that great expense might be incurred in structural works. But then, again, in proportion to the outlay the tenant was willing to incur would be the enterprize he would have to undertake; and, therefore, in his (Mr. Borlase's) opinion, the more satisfactory the results would be that would be gained in end. There was one other part of the Schedule to which he also wished to call attention—namely, the reclaiming of waste land. There were very few tenants who would be found ready or willing to reclaim waste land; but, at the same time, he thought they ought to have the fullest scope for the exercise of their judgment in so doing. There might be a part of the farm maintained for the purposes of sport. He thought that if the landlord wished to retain land for the purposes of sport, he ought to keep it in his own occupation, and not to make it part of the farm out of which another man had to derive his profit. The issue raised by the Amendment was distinctly an issue between the landlord and tenant; and, more than that, it was distinctly an issue between the question whether they should offer every inducement in their power to tenant farmers to improve their land, or whether they should allow things to remain exactly in the condition in which they were. He would conclude by quoting the opinion of one whose name would always be listened to with respect in that House—namely, Mr. John Stuart Mill. [Mr. WARTON: No, no!] Except, perhaps, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport. He would ask the landed proprietors in that House to remember—

> "That they are the only class who have a claim to a share in the distribution of produce through the ownership of something which neither they nor anyone else have produced;"

and, remembering that, he would ask them whether they ought not to give the fullest margin which it was in their power to give for the exercise of the free and unrestricted judgment of the producer? He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name upon the Paper.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 2, lines 3 and 4, leave out "improvement mentioned in the first part of the Schedule hereto," and insert "erection or enlargement of buildings, and to making or improving roads or bridges."—(*Mr. Borlase.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Amendment of the hon. Member proposed to transfer at once all the items from the first part of the Schedule and insert them in the second, except two which related to the erection or improvement of buildings, and to making or improving roads or bridges. In making this proposition he thought the hon. Member was somewhat anticipating the discussion which would occur later on when the Committee reached the Schedule. The effect of the proposition appeared to be to transfer from the domain of the landlord certain improvements which were in the nature of permanent improvements, and to hand them over to the tenant. If the Amendment were passed it would be no longer possible for the landlord to make an agreement to impose any restriction whatever with respect to the improvement of his estate, and the farm would pass completely and solely under the control of the tenant. This was one of a series of Amendments the hon. Member had placed on the Paper, which would convert the Bill from a Compensation Bill into a Land Tenure Bill. He thought it was hardly necessary that he should enter at length into the subject; but he should like to illustrate it by the particular case mentioned by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) the other night. The hon. Member spoke of a matter which he said he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) knew nothing about, although he resided in the county of Kent—namely, the cultivation of hops. He believed the hon. Member was right in saying that there was a condition in every lease or tenancy that the tenant should only cultivate a certain proportion of hops. The reason of this was that it had been found by experience that after a good hop season the tenant felt inclined to enter more largely into the cultivation of hops, and to devote a much larger portion of the land to that species of cultivation than was considered expedient in the interest of good farming. Therefore, it had been found desirable to restrict the amount of cultivation which the tenant should undertake; but if the present Amendment were passed it would at once upset the control of the landlord over the matter, and the tenant would be able to devote as much of the farm as he thought proper to the cultivation of hops, without its being possible for the landlord to make any restriction as to the quantity. The same argument might be applied to other matters. But, as he had already said, the Amendment anticipated certain questions, which would be more properly discussed when they came to the Schedule. When they reached the Schedule it would be for the Committee to consider what improvements would be properly included in the first and second parts of it; but it was inconsistent with the general object of the Bill to discuss these matters now.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he hoped that his hon. Friend would not press the Amendment, especially as the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had given him an opportunity of bringing it forward upon the Schedule; and if it were insisted upon it would certainly give the tenant an unfair advantage, especially in regard to the reclamation of land. For instance, the tenant might reclaim land which was being preserved for antiquarian purposes.

Mr. BORLASE said, that, after the remarks of the Chief Commissioner of Works, he would withdraw the Amendment until they came to the Schedule.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he wished to correct a remark which had fallen from the Chief Commissioner of Works. He had not said yesterday that the Chief Commissioner of Works knew nothing of hop cultivation or of the county of Kent. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the tenant farmers of the Kingdom were not in the habit of making permanent improvements; and he had reminded the right hon. Gentleman that he lived in the midst of a hop district where most of the permanent improvements were made by the tenants.

In regard to the Amendment, he thought the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase) would act wisely in postponing it until the Schedule came on for consideration.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. STAVELEY HILL, in moving to amend the clause by leaving out the words "in writing," in line 5, said, in a very few words he could explain the object of the Amendment. He thought that there might be a consent between the landlord and tenant which a Court or arbitrator would hold to be good, without its necessarily being required to be in writing. He was quite sure that the Committee would not wish the landlord and tenant to be treated, in regard to contracts or agreements, upon any worse terms than those which existed between strangers. As between strangers, every contract was good without being in writing unless it came within the Statute of Frauds. Now, the Statute of Frauds was an old Statute, which had existed for the last 100 years with regard to all contracts; and he ventured to think that they should not, as between landlord and tenant, extend the requirements of that Statute. What should be required, even without the agreement being in writing as between landlord and tenant, was that fair compensation should be given for improvements of this nature. He was quite sure he would have the Solicitor General with him when he said that, under the Statute of Frauds, a claim could be made for money paid when the act done was within the knowledge of the person who shared in the advantage, although he might not have given his consent in writing. For instance, where goods to the amount of £10 were supplied by a vendor to a purchaser, the purchaser would not be liable unless part of the goods were received by him; but if money had been paid by the purchaser, or any part of the goods had been received by him, then, without any contract in writing, there was liability upon the part of the purchaser, or rather of the contractor, to pay the person with whom he had contracted. He ventured to think that it was exactly the same case between the landlord and tenant in regard to improvements made upon the landlord's property. There would have been work done by the tenant with the knowledge of the landlord. That work would have been done if the whole of his Amendment was carried out with the consent and knowledge of the landlord; and he failed to see why that which would be a binding contract between two strangers should cease to be a contract because it was between a landlord and tenant. While he said that there should be no requirement for a contract to be in writing, he proposed to add at the end of the clause words which he thought would prevent any possibility of a claim being made upon the landlord which the landlord would not in effect have ratified. He had inserted a Proviso at the end of the clause which was really part of the Amendment, to require that in order to entitle the tenant to compensation he must show, to the satisfaction of the Court or arbitrator, "that such improvement was in fact made with the assent thereto, or approval of, the landlord." What was the position the tenant was in? He might have spoken to his landlord, and there were very many estates on which the work would not be done in that absolute close business way in which it would be done on large estates. For instance, an application was made by the tenant to the landlord that certain works should be allowed to be done. The landlord gave no written consent; but he stood by and saw the work being done. He thereby consented to it and approved of it. And now let him show the hardship there would be in pinning the tenant to the requirement that the consent of the landlord should be in writing. The tenant and the landlord agreed that certain works should be done. No writing passed; but the tenant knew perfectly well that the landlord would compensate him for that work. Unfortunately, before the tenant had been compensated for the work so done the landlord died. Everybody about knew that the landlord had recognized the claim, and would have compensated the tenant. He (Mr. Staveley Hill) was speaking now of an instance that was absolutely within his own knowledge. The landlord died, and the tenant made his claim upon the executors. The executors were quite willing to pay it; but they found that they could not do so because there was no contract in writing. That would be the case here. Under ordinary circumstances between two contracting parties no such difficulty would have occurred; but the man who had performed the work would go to the executors and say—"This contract was entered into, and you know very well that I can prove that it was." The executors would at once recognize the claim, and it would be paid. Then, why should they put the tenant and the contractor upon a different footing? He contended that they ought not to put a tenant on a worse footing than any other contracting party; but if they passed the clause as it stood they would compel the executor of the landlord, or any other person representing him in his absence, to say—"We cannot recognize that claim, although we know the work was done and the claim fully admitted; and we know, further, that it is a claim that you have a right to make in justice. Nevertheless we cannot recognize it because the Statute says it should be in writing." It was quite certain that it was a claim which any tenant in England would have a right to make; and to require, before the tenant should be able to obtain compensation, that the consent of the landlord should be given in writing would permit many acts of injustice to be done. He begged to move the omission of the words "in writing."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 5, leave out "in writing."—(*Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. GREGORY said, he must oppose the Amendment. He had had some experience in regard to questions which might arise between a landlord and tenant; and it had been his invariable rule never to enter into a bargain without exchanging some writing or other — either a letter or some memorandum of agreement. He thought that nothing would be more detrimental to the interests of both parties than to leave them at liberty to make an open bargain of the kind contemplated. It was a course which could only end in litigation. The contract might extend over a period of 10 or 20 years; and at the end of the tenancy the representative of the landlord would be called upon to recognize it, on the simple assertion of the tenant that the landlord had seen what was going on, and, having consented to it, he was liable to pay compensation. The tenant would say—"Whatever the improvement might have been worth, it was done by me; you raised no objection to it, and I claim compensation." The mere fact of the landlord having seen it would be held to be equivalent to his having given consent to it. He opposed the proposition, because he believed it would tend to make matters much worse than they were now, and he hoped it would not be pressed.

Mr. RAMSAY said, he had listened attentively to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for West Staffordshire (Mr. Staveley Hill). He thought no stronger evidence could be given to the Committee to show the necessity of retaining these words than the very case the hon. and learned Member had put. The hon. and learned Member had adduced an instance of the possibility of the death of the landlord, in which case it would be necessary to go to the executors. But the hon. and learned Gentleman forgot that the tenant was also liable to die, as well as the landlord; and, in that case, a consent in writing would be essential before the tenant's representative could maintain his claim. Therefore, the hon. and learned Gentleman, in making the proposal, was not acting as the friend of the tenant, but of the landlord. The adoption of the Amendment would enable an unjust man to get rid of a claim of which there was no evidence in writing.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he gathered that the hon. and learned Member did not intend his proposal to apply to past improvements. In regard to future improvements, he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) thought it would be very unfortunate for the tenant, who might be drawn into litigation in order to establish his claim. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill whether the word "landlord" included the landlord's agent, and whether an agent consenting to an improvement would bind the landlord? Looking at the definition of the word "landlord" at the end of the Bill, he did not think that the matter was perfectly clear; and he desired that all the clauses of the measure should be perfectly clear, in order that the tenant might know how he was going to be affected.

Mr. DODSON hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite would act in conformity with the wish of the Committee and withdraw the Amendment. In regard to the point which had just been raised by the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), he did not think that any words were necessary in order to give greater security to the tenant; but, if the Committee thought that additional words were necessary, he had no objection, in line 5, after the word "landlord," to insert the words "or his agent."

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, that, if necessary, he would raise the objection on the Definition Clause.

Mr. DODSON said, he was afraid that that might not be so convenient a course. It would be better to deal with the matter in the present clause.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, the right hon. Gentleman had not been able to give him any reason why the landlord and tenant should be placed in any different position from an ordinary contracting party; but as it was evident that the feeling of the Committee was against him he would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 5, after the word "landlord," insert "or his agent duly authorized in that behalf."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was afraid that so wide an Amendment might be open to a dangerous interpretation. Would it include what was ordinarily called in Scotland the factor, or land agent, or some person who had no special authority to act for the landlord, except as regarded the collection of rents? He did not think that a collector of rents would be a fit person to have authority to bind the landlord in the case of improvements.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, the words "by himself or by his agent duly authorized in that behalf" were the ordinary legal words that were adopted in England, at all events.

Mr. HICKS said, he objected to the words being sprung upon the Committee. They ought to know clearly what they were going to consent to. Was every collector of rents to be an agent duly authorized to give this permission, or was he not? If a collector was not, then what document or appointment was to be required in order to make him an agent "duly authorized in that behalf?" It appeared to him that they were laying traps for landlords in every direction, and for the tenants also. He strongly objected to put in the Bill the words "duly authorized in that behalf," unless they explained what they meant by duly authorized. He was satisfied that before the Bill had been long in operation lawsuits would rise at the expiration of every lease. Surely, as the landlord was the person really interested in the land, he should be the person to give his permission, and he only. Nothing could be easier than to go to the landlord. If the agent recommended an improvement, he would surely go at once to the landlord and get his signature to it.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, he hoped that the Committee would assent to the words proposed by the Government. It was desirable to make everything as clear as they could; and the landlord, or the landlord's agent, was a perfectly-understood term.

MR. PEMBERTON also supported the Amendment, and said, that, in addition to the proposed words being the most appropriate that could be used, the Amendment was entirely in favour of the tenant. He would be able to deal either with his landlord's permanent agent, or with any person the landlord might authorize for this particular purpose.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought that the tenant might find that if the landlord employed an agent or a representative connected with some other part of the business of the estate, unless he gave such agent authority under his hand to bind him to an agreement to give compensation to the tenant for improvements, the tenant, after obtaining the agent's authority, and believing it to be the authority of the landlord, might find, after all, when he came to claim compensation, that he had not got the landlord's authority.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he did not think that would be possible.

MR. JAMES HOWARD wished to put a question to the Solicitor General. In the case of a dispute, would it be possible for a landlord to maintain that he had not authorized his agent to agree to the erection of a building, or to any other improvement which came under the words of the Schedule?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, the clause would not mean that a man must be authorized as agent to give consent to every particular transaction. There would be many cases in which the agent would be obviously a general agent. Obviously the agent would be the person to do the work that would ordinarily be done. On the other hand, the landlord might have an agent who was an agent for certain purposes only, and nobody would dream of confounding such an agent with an agent empowered to give a consent of this sort. An agent might simply be a rent collector, and in that case all the details in regard to the management of the property would have to be settled by the landlord. No Court would decide that an agent of that character could have given a consent that would bind the landlord.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked if it would be competent for the landlord, if a case of difficulty arose, to plead that he did not authorize the agent? He gathered from the Solicitor General that the agent might be either a fully-authorized agent, or an agent authorized to collect rents and do certain things. Everyone practically acquainted with the management of estates knew that the agent possessed an almost plenary power, and that no tenant could call in question the act or power of an ordinary agent. It appeared to him (Mr. James Howard) that if they were to insert the words "in that behalf," the landlord, in the case of a dispute arising, might plead that he never authorized the agent to agree to such terms. If there was any doubt on the subject, it would be better to omit the words "in that behalf," and stop short at the words "duly authorized agent."

MR. W. H. JAMES suggested that, instead of inserting the words "in that behalf," the Committee should insert the words "legally authorized agent." In that case every improvement must receive the approval of the landlord, or of an agent who would have power to sanction the improvement. He thought an Amendment to that effect would clear up all doubt. As the matter now stood, it was argued that the words "in that behalf" would impose an obligation to obtain the consent in writing of the landlord or the agent to show that the improvement was duly authorized.

The CHAIRMAN: I may point out to the hon. Member that, before putting the words he suggests, it would be necessary to strike out or to insert other words. As the Amendment now stands, it is to insert, after the words "unless the landlord," the words "or his agent duly authorized in that behalf." The hon. Member proposes to strike out the words "in that behalf," and to insert the words "legally authorized agent," which would not read.

Mr. DODSON said, he thought it was hardly worth while to have a protracted discussion upon the Amendment. He believed that the words "his legally authorized agent," and the words "his agent duly authorized in that behalf," amounted to the same thing; but, personally, he preferred the Amendment as he had proposed it.

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON remarked, that the words "in that behalf" seemed to apply to a single and individual case. He thought the other language would be safer.

Mr. BULWER said, he was astonished to hear a conversation of that character in a place of business like the House of Commons. They all professed to be anxious to get rid of the Bill, and yet they were wasting their time with such discussions as this. Any lawyer in the House, or anyone else, who had any knowledge of business whatever, must know that the introduction of these words was altogether unnecessary. The landlord, as the law stood, was, just as any other person would be, bound by the acts of his agent; but the right hon. Gentleman had good-naturedly consented to the insertion of words which were really unnecessary, and which it was now argued tended to make the matter more obscure. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard), as a man of business, knew very well that if he were unable to write, being ill in bed, and got a friend to sign the hon. Member's name to a promissory note for him, the signature to that note would be held to be his, and that he would be bound by it. It was true that the hon. Member, when he got well, might, as it was insinuated that a landlord might, repudiate the authority of his friend to sign. But as he (Mr. Bulwer) would be sorry to suggest that the hon. Member would do any such thing, so the hon. Member might also give landlords the credit of being not less honest than himself. They were wasting time in discussing questions that were not at all likely to arise.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, the Solicitor General had told the Committee that an agent of a landlord might have the authority to collect rents, and do the general business of the estates, without being authorized to grant tenants compensation for improvements.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he hoped that after what had fallen from several Members of the Committee the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy would reconsider his good nature in agreeing to the insertion of these words in the clause, and would, at all events, wait until the Report to consider whether it was necessary for the purposes of the Bill that they should be inserted. He ventured to think that the Bill, as it stood, carried out all that was actually desired, and the introduction of these words had not only wasted a good deal of the time of the Committee, but had complicated the discussion.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he had risen to make the same remark as the hon. Baronet opposite. The proposal now before the Committee was either a very important one, or it was of no importance at all; and, therefore, the consideration of it had better be deferred until the Report stage of the Bill.

Mr. DODSON said, he was ready to meet the Committee in any way that was possible. He wished to know, therefore, whether it was the pleasure of the Committee that the Amendment should be postponed until the Report? [*Cries of* "Yes!" *and* "No!"]

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he rose for the purpose of making a suggestion. The hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Bulwer) seemed to imagine that he (Mr. J. Howard) had raised this point; but it had been raised long before he touched this question. The words he would suggest were—"Or his reputed agent."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to,* and *ordered* to stand part of the Bill.

Clause 4 (Notice to landlord as to improvement in 2nd Part of Schedule).

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, he wished to suggest a drafting Amendment. The words of the clause were—

> "Compensation under this Act shall not be payable in respect of any improvement mentioned in the second part of the Schedule hereto."

His only object was to simplify the Bill, instead of repeating unnecessary words over and over again. He thought the word "drainage" would meet all that was required.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 13, leave out after "any" to "and," in line 14, and insert "drainage."—(*Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DODSON said, he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not press the Amendment. He thought the words of the clause as they stood were better than they would be if the Amendment were adopted. As it would be necessary to consider the Schedule by-and-bye, if any Amendment were required it could be proposed then.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, he did not attach much importance to the Amendment; and he would, therefore, withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CARTWRIGHT said, he now rose to move an Amendment which he had placed on the Notice Paper yesterday in deference to the view which had been expressed by his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He begged to move that the words "mentioned in the second part of the Schedule hereto, and executed after the commencement of this Act," be omitted. His right hon. Friend proposed yesterday that the same question which was then raised should be postponed until they reached this portion of Clause 4. Since yesterday the Committee had made considerable progress, and they had just passed a clause which required the consent of the landlord in regard to improvements contained in the 1st Part of the Schedule. In regard to the 1st Part of the Schedule, it was held that there was a certain class of improvements which fell rightly and legitimately within the province of the landlord; and the object of the Amendment was to include within that part of the Schedule all works in connection with drainage. In his opinion, the 2nd Part of the Schedule was an anomalous one. It seemed to him that there was no work which more properly fell within the province of the landlord to carry out than drainage; and he thought he would be able to show in a few words that the Amendment ought to recommend itself, not only to landlords, but to tenants. Anyone who had anything to do with drainage would be aware that works of that kind could not only be misapplied, but that they were a matter which required the exercise of a very delicate judgment. Drainage was a matter which distinctly came under the words used by his right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works, when his right hon. Friend said that there was a certain class of work which might deteriorate the character of the holding. Not only might the drainage affect the character of the holding, but it might affect very materially something else in which the landlord had certainly a deep interest—namely, the character of the estate altogether. That being so, he could perceive no work in respect to which it was more essential that the judgment and desire of the landlord should have the chief voice. The hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Borlase), in speaking a short time ago on the 3rd clause, drew attention to the fact that works of irrigation were included in that clause; and the argument of the hon. Member was that irrigation works should be brought under the clause dealing with the 2nd Part of the Schedule. His (Mr. Cartwright's) argument was that, as the Committee had passed the 1st Part of the Schedule, it stood to reason that the 2nd Part, relating not to works of irrigation, but to drainage, should be brought within the same category of improvements. What were the terms of this anomalous part of the Schedule? They were these—that in default of an agreement with the landlord, or from an unwillingness on the part of the landlord to execute the improvement himself, and charging the tenant interest upon the outlay incurred, the work could be done by the tenant after giving notice to the landlord of his intention to do so. If the landlord, who ought, as he contended, to have a primary voice in the matter, differed from the tenant as to the propriety of executing the work, all that the tenant had to do was to give the landlord notice that he intended to execute the works; and, after having done so, he would be at full liberty to carry them out. He thought that was a very hard provision as far as the landlord was concerned. There was another point to which he desired to call attention. Since he had first put the Amendment down upon the Paper, an Amendment had been carried by his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), which affected all the operations which could be carried out against the will, and without the consent, of the landlord. They had heard from the Solicitor General that it would also affect drainage works; and if the tenant carried out drainage works, the compensation, as it now stood under the Amendment of his hon. Friend, could only be paid to the tenant in regard to his outlay, and not in regard to the results of that outlay. It was, therefore, of importance, not only to the landlord, but also to the tenant, that a complete understanding should be come to in regard to the present clause. It certainly stood at present in a most anomalous position. It was admitted that drainage was a work in which the landlord had a great interest, because the tenant could not carry it out without giving notice to the landlord; and yet, on the other hand, after having given notice to the landlord, and the landlord having refused his consent, the tenant was empowered to carry it out in accordance with his own judgment, without any control on the part of the landlord. He begged to submit his Amendment, and he trusted that the Committee would agree to it.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 13, to leave out "mentioned in the second part of the Schedule hereto, and executed after the commencement of this Act."—(*Mr. Cartwright.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir THOMAS ACLAND said, that he felt bound to take upon himself some responsibility for this clause, because hon. Members would remember that in the Bill which he had introduced, and in which the hon. Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham) and the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote), and several other hon. Members had been associated, there was a clause which enabled the tenant to get the drainage done on his farm, if the landlord would not undertake to do it himself, and which provided that the tenant should be compensated for the improvements thus executed. That Bill had been before the House for some time, and he believed there was no provision contained in it which had given so much satisfaction to the tenant and the country generally as that clause. The object of the clause was to enable the tenant to secure that his farm should be properly drained, and that was of the utmost importance wherever it was intended to place sheep upon it. For such a purpose, unless the land was properly drained, it would be worthless. He admitted that the matter was one of great importance to the landlord; and if the landlord desired to look after the drainage himself and pay for it, it was only fair that he should be allowed to do so. He presumed that most landlords would always prefer to do drainage themselves; but if there were landlords who were disinclined to do so, then it was desirable that the tenant should have power to have the land drained on his own responsibility. In regard to the clause itself, he was not prepared to say that the precise form it assumed was the best, or whether the tenant should have the power of executing the work altogether on his own responsibility. The Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) was, however, to strike out drainage works from this part of the Bill. He (Sir Thomas Acland) strongly objected to that proposal, and he hoped that his hon. Friend would not press it.

Mr. WARTON said, he wished to point out to the Committee the effect of the Amendment. It seemed to introduce a kind of general provision with regard to all improvements contained in the three Parts of the Schedule. The object of the hon. Member was to treat differently one or more improvements which were contained in the first part of the Schedule. He (Mr. Warton) would submit that the Amendment would not do that. The hon. Member struck out certain words in the first part of the clause; but he left in the words "any improvement," which would have the effect of preventing the hon. Member from carrying out the object he had in view.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that what he understood the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) to mean by his Amendment was really and practically to leave this Clause 4 out of the Bill altogether; and, therefore, the question raised by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) would not arise, because, if this Amendment were carried, the subsequent Amendment of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire would be to leave the clause out as an unnecessary clause, the drainage being transferred from this Part of the Schedule to the 1st Part of the Schedule, in regard to which the consent of the landlord was required. He desired to say one or two words in support of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire. He had not taken much part in the debate hitherto, but he possessed some knowledge of farming, and had a little land on his hands in his part of the country; but he did not know anything which required more care and attention than this particular question of drainage. It was desirable, before they attempted to drain, that they should be thoroughly acquainted with every field and its staple of produce. Nothing would cause more alarm than to allow a tenant, on taking a farm, to compel the landlord, in order that the tenant might carry out some fad of his own, to execute extensive drainage works, which might probably involve an entire change in the characteristic features of that part of the estate. There was another point he would ask the House to consider. Even supposing the drainage to be properly carried out by the tenant, nothing would be easier than to prevent it from having a salutary effect. Suppose, for instance, that the tenant fell out with his landlord and gave a year's notice to quit. Now, the whole of the drainage of the farm would really depend on the maintenance of the out-falls; and if the out-falls were allowed to get out of order, or to become choked up, the drains would burst and become practically useless. But that might not take place all at once; there might be a dry season, and in that case it might not take place during the time that the notice to quit was running, although for the greater portion of the time the whole of the out-falls might be neglected and the drains stopped up. If a heavy fall of rain came, the drains would burst; but if the valuator were brought upon the land to assess the value of the improvement in a dry month, he would defy that valuator to be able to detect where the drainage was defective, and to tell what damage had really been done. The tenant would go out taking with him the full value of the improvement, which in itself would be practically useless either to the landlord or the incoming tenant. He made this statement, because he knew that circumstances of that kind had occurred in his own neighbourhood. He had known tenant farmers to neglect these works. The landlord, however, could not go upon the land and make provision for the proper maintenance of the out-falls so as to preserve the integrity of the drainage, and he had known farmers to receive compensation at the end of their tenancy, and the real condition of the drains not to be found out until some months afterwards. He mentioned this fact as one thing which ought to enter into the consideration of the Committee. He was quite certain that very few farmers at the present day would have sufficient knowledge of the staple of the land, when they took a farm, to be immediately able to decide whether they ought to drain deep or shallow. The landlord, however, or his agent, would know the history of the land and its capabilities. A farmer might come in imagining that drainage would cure all evils, and he would be able to insist, under this part of the Schedule, upon the land being drained according to his ideas. If the landlord was not able to execute the work, then the tenant under the Bill would have the power to do it himself, and the results which he (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had predicted would very often ensue. He did not think that that was the intention of the Government, and he was quite certain that in these days of agriculture no one who knew anything about farming would be likely to resist the tenant in his anxiety to drain, provided that he did it in a proper manner.

SIR HARRY VERNEY said, he entirely agreed with the remarks which had been made that the mode in which the drainage was carried on might materially affect the character of the estate. It was therefore desirable that they should not confer too much power on the tenant in regard to the execution of drainage works against the will and consent of the landlord, who was, in almost all cases, the person most interested, and whose interest was identical with that of the country—namely, that the drainage might be well and permanently done.

Mr. PELL said, if it was intended that the clause should apply to farms held under leases, he was strongly in favour of drainage being made one of those improvements which could not be effected without the landlord's consent.

Mr. DODSON said, he had risen thus early in the discussion of the Amendment, because it would be convenient that there should be a clear view taken of the contents of the clause. The clause, no doubt, would apply to leases equally with year to year agreements, which were, in law, the same as leases; but it would apply not to current, but to future leases. A suggestion had been made as to the importance of the owner having a voice in the execution of drainage, and with that Her Majesty's Government entirely agreed; but as he had explained on the second reading, the reason why drainage was put under the clause was, that it constituted an improvement of very general interest, the execution of which it was desirable to facilitate and promote as much as possible. For that reason they had given the tenant the power to give notice to the landlord that he proposed to drain; but the owner thereupon had the option either of draining the land himself and charging interest upon the outlay to the tenant, or of agreeing with the tenant as to the terms on which the drainage should be carried out. That arrangement left to the owner the fullest liberty of providing in what way the estate should be drained; and it was only in cases in which the landlord refused to act reasonably and consistently in the matter that it was left to the tenant to carry out the work. If the tenant were so foolish as to set about the draining of land, whether it required to be drained or not, and executed in consequence work of little or no utility, he would receive little or no compensation; he carried out the work, therefore, at his own risk. It was in this way that the clause carried out the object of the Bill in reference to this particular improvement of drainage.

Sir JOSEPH BAILEY said, the right hon. Gentleman did not seem to be aware of the fact that there might be cases where the landlord would be injured by the tenant doing the drainage, or by his doing it himself. He knew some property in a Welsh county, the value of which principally arose from its being used for sporting purposes. There were upon it two duck bogs, which enabled the owner to get a high rent for the residence. Now, it would be hard that the owner should be obliged to drain this land when he did not want to drain it, or, as an alternative, keep it in hand when an agricultural tenant was willing to take it in its present condition.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, the hon. Member had certainly put an extreme case, and he would like to know whether there might not be very hard cases on the other side? Was it not one of the objects of this legislation generally that a man should be allowed to improve as much as he could the land; and had they not heard a great deal with regard to the necessity of drainage, and that it should be encouraged in every possible way. Now, it appeared to him that there were many estates on which drainage had not been carried out, on account of the special position of the landowner; either the estates were encumbered or the landlord was crotchetty; and so against the general interest — against the interest of the tenant, and against the ultimate interest of the landlord—the land was not drained at all. He understood that it was to meet the last case that drainage was put into the 2nd Part of the Schedule, not for the sole purpose of allowing the tenants to do the drainage themselves, but in order that they might, in the exceptional case referred to, be enabled to do it. Where compensation was not to be paid until the tenant quitted the holding, he would have to make the first outlay himself, and to bear that pecuniary burden during the remainder of his tenancy. That appeared to him to be a check on the tenant's going in for drainage, that was not likely to be successful, because if the tenant drained foolishly and unwisely, there would be no compensation, and he would have to bear the penalty himself. No doubt hard cases might arise under the clause; but it appeared to him that more injurious cases would arise if it were withdrawn. Under the circumstances, and admitting there was some correctness on the side of hon. Members who objected to the clause, he trusted Her Majesty's Government would stand by the Bill, and allow the clause to remain unaltered.

MR. BIDDELL said, it was alleged that the tenants did not understand drainage; but he would like to know what class of persons understood the subject better than those who had been brought up on clay soils? As a general rule, he was sure that the tenants knew much more about drainage than the landlords. What had happened in his own county? Hundreds of acres in Suffolk had been drained by the landlords on a bad system, which would have to be drained again. He contended that with regard to drainage, no restriction whatever ought to be placed on the tenant, because drainage was most essential on all clay land throughout the Kingdom. He challenged anyone to tell him that the absence of drainage was compatible with good husbandry, and he asserted that the tenant who did not drain his land did not fulfil his covenants. Drainage was as absolutely necessary for fertility as manuring, and yet the clause proposed that the tenant should be obliged to go to the landlord for permission to drain the land. For his own part, he was opposed to the clause, and at the proper time he should be ready to move its omission, with the view of transferring drainage from the 2nd to the 3rd Part of the Schedule. All that was necessary was that the drainage should be done in a workmanlike manner, and then he thought the rest might be safely left to the tenant, who was undoubtedly entitled to compensation. In his own county, and in the county of Essex, it was the custom to pay the tenant for the drainage done by him, and he had never heard that the custom of allowing the tenant to drain had ever been abused in those counties.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON said, there was no clause in the Bill to which the tenant farmers of England attached more importance than that now under consideration. It had been suggested by several hon. Gentlemen that tenants would want to begin draining without having had experience of the soil of their farms; but he would point out that when the landlord was in treaty with the tenant to take the farm he could make an agreement with him as to that matter; while the tenant would have an opportunity, at the same time, of insisting upon drainage being effected if he thought the farm required it; and if he afterwards gave notice in the manner prescribed by the Bill, the landlord could either carry out the drainage himself or make arrangement with the tenant to do it; or if he found that the tenant insisted on drainage of an undesirable character he could give him notice to quit. So that the only cases where the tenant could drain against the wish of the landlord would be where the landlord had made, and would make, no agreement on the subject, and yet where he did not object so much to what the tenant proposed as to prefer to give him notice; and if this power of giving notice would not operate as a protection when tenants were hard to get, he pointed out, on the other hand, that in bad seasons tenants were not very likely to have money to throw away in unprofitable operations; and although he admitted there was always some danger of speculative drainage being undertaken in the case of gentlemen tenants, who had, so to speak, more money than brains, yet he did not think that was a class likely to find undue favour in the eyes of valuers.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he could assure the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell) that he would be the last man in the world to suggest that the tenant farmers in England were not the best authorities on the subject of the drainage of land. But his contention was that some tenants entering upon their tenancy in wet seasons were apt to think that drainage was absolutely necessary for the land. A tenant under that impression, and having no knowledge of the particular class of soil he had to deal with, would go to the landlord, who happened, perhaps, not to be in a position to find the money, and insist upon a system of drainage being carried out that was utterly unsuitable to the surrounding conditions.

Colonel KINGSCOTE said, the arguments of the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell) had reference to clay soils alone. He himself happened to live on a light soil; and with regard to many acres of his own land, in wet seasons friends had often expressed their surprise that the land was not drained; but he always told them to come and see it in a dry season, when they would find that drainage was quite unnecessary. The clause would be hard upon the tenant, because it would assist him in fooling away his money on unnecessary work; and it would be hard upon the landlord that the tenant should be allowed to upset a whole system of drainage that was perfectly suited to the estate, by adding a course here and another there, as his inexperience might suggest. It was all very well to say that the landland could give notice to the tenant to quit; but landlords did not want that alternative, because, when they got a good man, they liked to keep him. He was quite sure that the clause would lead to cases of great hardship both to the landlord and the tenant, if it were passed in such a form as would allow the tenant to do what he thought proper in the matter of drainage.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, there had been, no doubt, a good deal of folly in the minds of some farmers in the country on the subject of drainage which had caused their landlords anxiety and even alarm. With those landlords he entirely sympathized, and he hoped his career in that House would be a sufficient guarantee that he was not wanting in respect to that class when he said that he also recognized the great difficulty of this question. It was evident to him that the Government had bestowed the greatest pains on the consideration of the clause. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had given an intimation to the Committee that he would be prepared to accept an Amendment in the nature of that moved by the hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon), by which general control would be given to the landlord for those improvements of a more durable character, including drainage. He had himself placed a Notice on the Paper of a proposed addition to the clause, which provided that—

> "Except as to feeding stuffs and manures, the tenant shall not be entitled to compensation for an improvement mentioned in the second or third part of the Schedule hereto, where, in the case of a tenancy from year to year, it is executed after the tenant has given or received notice to quit, unless it is executed with the previous consent in writing of the landlord."

To that he proposed to add the words—

> "Or in the case of a lease for a term of years where three-fourths of the term has expired, unless it is executed with the previous consent in writing of the landlord."

It was his intention to support the clause in its present form, reserving to himself the right to take care that, so far as it related to existing leases, it should be amended. The effect of the clause had already been described, and it was scarcely necessary that he should go minutely into that again; but it was briefly this—that, in the first place, notice should be given to the landlord; after that notice was given the two parties might agree as to the terms on which the drainage should be done—that was to say, the landlord might do it himself and charge 5 per cent on the outlay to the tenant, and unless an agreement were arrived at the tenant might do the drainage. It was, therefore, perfectly clear that the tenant, under certain circumstances, might drain the land without the consent of the landlord. Nevertheless, it was his intention to support the clause on the conditions which he had stated to the Committee. No doubt a good many reasons had been given against retaining the clause in its present form. It was true that drainage was an improvement on which large sums of money might be expended; that it was an operation which extended often over a considerable period of time; and that it might be done badly, in the manner described by the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down, "by the tenant fooling away his money." With regard, however, to this last indictment against the clause, he would remind the Committee that the 1st clause of the Bill provided that the tenant should not receive more than the value of the improvement to the incoming tenant; if the work were done badly the value to the incoming tenant would be small, and the tenant would receive a proportionately small compensation. But there were strong reasons in favour of the clause as it stood. Drainage, as a rule, was one of the most necessary operations which a tenant could perform, and it was absolutely necessary that that fundamental condition of successful farming except on dry soils should be fulfilled. If a tenant knew that the land was wet, and that it required draining, he would also know that it was desirable to drain it without loss of time, and to compel him to go to the landlord to get his consent before he put down a few drain pipes in the corner of a field was, in his opinion, an interference with farming to which he, for one, was not prepared to consent. He had always advocated as little interference as possible with tenants in the making of even still more considerable improvements, because he contended that in 99 cases out of 100 they would be done well in the interest of the tenant himself. There might, of course, be extreme cases where the work would be done badly or even foolishly, and then he thought some control should be given more than was contained in the Bill. That control, he believed, would be given in the most fitting manner by the adoption of the Amendment which he had described, and which he understood the Government were willing to accept; because, in extreme cases, it would be impossible for the landlord to protect himself by giving notice to quit. Moreover, when landlords had good tenants on their farms their desire was to keep them, and not get rid of them. For these reasons, and on the conditions stated to the Committee, he was prepared to support the clause as it stood.

Mr. M'LAGAN said, he agreed that there should be a proper control exercised by the landlord in the matter of drainage. The hon. Member who had just spoken had referred to the Amendment standing in his name as giving that control; but he (Mr. M'Lagan) pointed out that it did not provide for control in the sense in which he understood the term. There were several matters which might be undertaken by the tenant that would have the effect of reducing the value of an estate. He would mention the case of a tenant who insisted that the landlord should drain the farm, and who, after six years, went to the landlord and said the drainage was worth nothing to him; at the end of wet seasons it was found to be worse than useless. He did not wish to see the clause struck out of the Bill altogether; but he wished to have a provision that before the operation of drainage was commenced there should be some controlling authority to see whether it would be of advantage to the estate that the drainage should be done. He agreed with the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) in his suggestion that some other improvements should be put into the 2nd Part of the Schedule; and he thought that those improvements should be effected in spite of the landlord—provided there was some controlling authority to see that it would be beneficial to the holding. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had looked at this question as not affecting the landlords, because, as he said, some of them were so cantankerous that they would not allow anything to be done in the way of drainage; but he would point out that the question must be looked at from a different point of view—namely, from that of its being beneficial to the country at large. He thought, as he had before stated, that they should bring in some independent authority in the matter of drainage, such as the Sheriff in Scotland, or an Inspector of the Enclosure Commissioners in England. Without some such controlling authority he believed the clause would be most prejudicial, and he intended to move an Amendment to it, that no compensation should be given to the tenant if it could be proved that the drainage had depreciated the value of the estate in general. He trusted that the Government would encourage the drainage of the land throughout the country, by giving effect to the suggestions of the hon. Members for Forfarshire and Staffordshire.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD said, he should have been glad if the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had given his experience of the custom which prevailed in that county, because then he would have allayed the fears of the landowners in that House as to the abuse of the power of draining on the part of the tenant. For two generations it had been the custom in Lincolnshire for the tenant to drain without the consent of the landlord, and to claim compensation through experienced valuers in that county, and he was sure that the system had been in no case abused. There were other Members for the county of Lincolnshire in that House, and he was sure they would be able to corroborate his statement. The cases described by the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) and the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) he regarded as purely hypothetical. As far as his own experience went, he had never known any such case of money being thrown away by tenants as they had pointed to; on the other hand, he could corroborate what had fallen from the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell), that tenants, as a rule, knew a great deal more about drainage than the landlords, and that, having occupied farms upon clay land for years, they were better judges of what was necessary for their improvement in this respect than professional land agents. He had himself known a great deal of money to have been fooled away by these gentlemen coming down from London, and having the land drained to the depth of four feet, at intervals of 13 yards, in which case it was evident, for all the good it did to the land, that the money might as well have been thrown into the sea; but he never knew farmers make such mistakes; and, therefore, it need not be apprehended that the tenants would rush headlong into drainage works. With regard to out-falls, it was quite open to the landlords to keep the control of this matter in their own hands, and charge the tenant an annual sum for looking after them. He trusted the Government would not accept this Amendment.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought everyone on both sides of the House would see that whatever arrangement was arrived at in this matter some difficulty must arise. It was urged, on one side, that there must be compulsory power given to the tenant to effect drainage, because there were landlords so idiotic that, although their land would be improved, they declined to promote drainage. Those, of course, were rare cases; but he thought it a rarer case still that the tenant coming on to a farm should desire to apply to that farm a system of drainage that was not applicable to it. The landowners wanted security that the drainage, if carried out at all, should be done properly. The hon. Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) had suggested the appointment of some extraneous authority, either the Sheriff of the county or the Enclosure Commissioners, to look after and have control in this matter; but he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) thought the Committee would not agree to that proposal. His own view of a proper arrangement was that the landlord should be able freely to do the work himself if he objected to the mode of drainage which the tenant proposed; but he was not free to do that, because, under the Bill, he could only charge the tenant with 5 per cent for interest on the outlay, which was insufficient to repay him; and, therefore, if he were a poor man he might be obliged to leave the work to the tenant. He thought if they were to enable the landlord to charge such a percentage as that at which he could borrow money from the Enclosure Commissioners there would be no objection to the clause, because there would be no undue pressure placed by it on the landlord, in order to make him drain the land. The effect of the clause, in its present form, would be that a tenant, having entered upon a farm, might go to his landlord and say he wanted the farm drained in a particular manner; the landlord might reply that the mode of drainage proposed by the tenant was a wrong one; but the tenant might insist upon its being done, and the landlord would have to do it, and charge him 5 per cent interest upon the cost. As he had already pointed out, a poor landlord might be prevented from carrying out the drainage, and be obliged to hand it over to the tenant, who carried it out improperly. He thought there would be no difficulty in accepting the clause if the Government adopted the suggestion just made, by which means they would avoid the intervention of the extraneous authority advocated by the hon. Member for Linlithgow.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) had addressed a pointed question to him, asking how it was, in view of a principle which he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had ventured on a former occasion to lay down, he could now support the clause before the Committee? The answer was that he supported the clause because he considered that drainage was not an improvement which altered the character of the holding; it seemed to him that drainage was so essential to good cultivation that it was not an alteration of the character of the holding in the sense in which he understood it.

MR. CARTWRIGHT: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman the difference between drainage and irrigation?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, drainage was practically necessary in almost every case; but irrigation was not. His reasons, therefore, for approving the clause were, in the first place, that drainage was not an improvement which altered the character of the holding; and, secondly, that it was an essential condition of good cultivation over the greater part of the country, although, no doubt, a large extent of land in the country was not under drainage. The hon. Member who had just spoken said that none but idiotic landlords had been neglectful of the drainage necessary on their land. He should be sorry to characterize the large number of landlords who objected to the drainage of their land as idiotic.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I spoke of a landlord as so idiotic as to prevent a tenant draining the land for him.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had understood the hon. Gentleman otherwise. At all events, there was a large extent of land under cultivation which was not properly drained, the drainage of which it was believed would be of great advantage to the country; and it seemed hard, if the landlord were unable or unwilling to carry it out, that the tenant should not be allowed to do so. The object of the clause, then, was to give tenants the opportunity of doing the work themselves where the landlord refused or neglected to do it. It would only be in exceptional cases that the tenants would avail themselves of this liberty. He did not believe that the tenants would be likely to go in for drainage on a very large scale; he thought rather that the effect of the clause would be to compel landlords to enter closely into the consideration of this question, and to undertake the drainage themselves, and that the cases where the tenants themselves did the work would be where parts of the farms had been neglected, or where the system of drainage in existence had proved to be ineffectual. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) had informed the Committee that in one part of Lincolnshire it was the custom for the tenants to drain without the consent of the landlord, and afterwards to claim compensation. As they had never heard that that custom had produced a bad effect, he regarded it as a strong argument in favour of the clause. Again, Mr. Clare Sewell Read had expressed a strong opinion that this power should be given to the tenant in the interest of agriculture. In conclusion, he expressed his belief that the clause would act in the main as a stimulant to the landlords undertaking the drainage, and that the tenants would do no more than supplement the work.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he should support the clause as it stood. He did not believe that the tenant was so anxious to lay out money on drainage unless he was driven to do it by the impossibility of getting the landlord to undertake it. He believed the clause would prove an inducement to the landlord to carry out drainage.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he wished to say one word as to the Lincolnshire custom referred to by the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard), which without some explanation might lead to misunderstanding. It was true that there was a custom under which compensation was given to the tenant for drainage effected without the consent of the landlord; but he would point out to the Committee that that custom was liable to be overridden by agreement, and that it only had the force of law in the absence of an agreement. Certainly in Lincolnshire a large amount of drainage was done under the custom, and he was not aware that anything unsatisfactory had resulted from it.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, this was one of the most important clauses in the Bill, although it was not at all exempt from difficulties. His own experience was that, in many cases, the landlord was too poor to drain, and his experience in that direction was not a small one. He knew a case of an estate in his district, which was likely to be taken over for farming purposes, and which was almost completely under water at that moment, where the farmer was only waiting for this Bill to pass in order to commence draining. The farmer had applied to the landlord to do the work, and he had told him to wait till this Bill passed, and then he would be able to do it himself. The hon. Member for Herefordshire (Sir Joseph Bailey) had suggested that the case might be met by making the tenant specify what he was going to do by way of drainage, so that a record might be kept of it. Now, he had himself placed upon the Paper an Amendment which he believed would carry out the suggestion of the hon. Member for Herefordshire, and which, if it were adopted, he believed would enable the clause to be passed with safety. He desired to see the clause passed in such a form that, while it would facilitate drainage, it would give some security to the landlord that damage should not be done to the estate by the drainage which the tenant was allowed to carry out.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought it would very much facilitate the passing of the clause if his right hon. Friend opposite would give an intimation of those Amendments and securities which he understood him to be prepared to embody in it. There was the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), and the Amendment of the hon. Baronet who had just spoken, both of which deserved the serious consideration of the Government. He believed it would be apparent to anyone who was acquainted with farming operations that to let the tenant of his own will drain the land piecemeal when he did not know how the water was to be got rid of, and where other portions of the estate were drained under a good system, would be mischievous in the extreme. His hon. Friend proposed that there should be some proper specification of the work, and some means of showing to the landlord that the work would be properly done. The great fear in the case of tenants dealing with matters of this kind was that the work would be done badly and imperfectly; and he was sure that, unless some security were given to the landlord in that respect, the effect of the clause would be, in many instances, mischievous. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire had spoken a good deal about the system of drainage in his county; but he would remind the Committee that there the tenant farmers were men of large capital, whereas they had to deal generally with the tenants throughout England, who, as a rule, had little or no capital at all. The remarks of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had a very material bearing upon this clause. The right hon. Gentleman opposite knew very well that the landlord, if he were obliged to borrow money to carry out drainage works, could not possibly obtain it at a rate which would allow him to charge the tenant the 5 per cent set down in the Bill. He would have to go to a Company and get the money wherewith to drain the land; and it was, therefore, in his own interest, as well as of that of the tenant, that he should be able to charge an adequate percentage. For that reason, he asked his right hon. Friend to deal with this question of percentage, and not to abide by the hard-and-fast line laid down in the clause. When landlords drained their own land they did not charge more than 5 or 6 per cent to the tenant; but, in the case of a landlord who had to borrow money for drainage purposes, it was very hard that he should not be allowed to charge the tenant the interest which he himself had to pay. He knew that, under certain circumstances, the tenants could drain, and had drained, remarkably well. On the other hand, he had known cases in which the money spent had been absolutely thrown away, and where the drainage was worth nothing, and when it would require something more than a good valuer to do justice between the landlord and tenant. He believed it was not difficult to find a solution of this small question, because they were anxious to do all that lay in their power in the interest of the tenant and in the interest of agriculture; and, therefore, he hoped his right hon. Friend would be able to give an assurance that security would be taken for the work of drainage being properly carried out.

Mr. DODSON said, it was placing him in rather a difficult position, at the commencement of a discussion upon a clause with respect to which there were a number of Amendments on the Paper, to call upon him to announce specifically what he was prepared to do with regard to the latter part of the clause. He believed that if he were to follow that course he should only be landing himself and the Committee in a series of discussions of considerable length. The Government were not prepared to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright), which, in fact, raised the principle of the Bill. He had stated last night that he should, on Report, endeavour to bring up a clause which would meet the views of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). He could now only repeat that statement, the object of which was to show that it was the desire of the Government to do justice in this matter. With regard to the suggestion that there should be a specification of the manner in which the drainage was to be done, he would like very much to hear that question discussed at the proper time, his impression being that there would be no objection on the part of the Government to such an arrangement. With regard to the rate of interest, when they reached the Amendment dealing with that question he should be glad to hear the reasons in favour of the rate of interest being raised. The Government had inserted 5 per cent in the clause, because they believed it to be the usual rate charged by landlords to their tenants for work of this kind. However, he did not wish to anticipate the discussion on that question, which would come forward in due course. He would simply express the hope that the Committee might be allowed to divide on the Amendment now before them.

Mr. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, he should not have interposed in this discussion had it not been that his attention had been directed by the hon. Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. A. J. Balfour) and the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) to a particular subject connected with the clause, with reference to which he himself had an Amendment on the Paper. He would not, however, import into the present discussion any remarks upon that Amendment. It seemed to him to be most essential that there should be some control on the part of the landlord over the drainage operations of the tenant; and as his Amendment would practically give that control to the landlord, he would say no more than that he should be prepared to support the clause provided that Amendment were accepted.

Mr. PUGH said, he wished to point out a conclusive objection against the Amendment—namely, that if the Committee passed it no tenant would be able to carry a ton of lime upon the farm, or to place upon it any artificial manures, or, indeed, to do anything which would improve the husbandry without giving notice to his landlord that he intended to do so. The Amendment was intended to exclude from the second portion of the clause improvements mentioned in the 2nd Part of the Schedule executed before the commencement of the Act. The result would be this—that compensation under the Act would not be allowed for any improvements of which the tenant had not given notice to his landlord. He was quite sure that that was the clear effect of the Amendment, and he was satisfied that the Committee would not listen to such a proposition for a moment.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE said, it seemed to him that the question now raised affected the whole clause; and, therefore, although he was sorry to interpose, he considered it desirable that he should say a few words upon the matter. He must confess that he did not like the clause as it stood. He thought that the tenant farmers of this country understood how to farm their land very much better than their landlords did. They were far better acquainted with the character of the soil, and the peculiarity of the cultivation of it. Every field might require a different treatment, and he had known many thousands of pounds thrown away, because the landlords did not understand how the farming ought to be carried on. He himself thought that Parliament ought to be very careful indeed before it held out an inducement to landlords to interfere with the proper enterprize of tenants in the cultivation of their farms. At the same time there was another evil. He had known tenants who were charged as much as 7 per cent per acre on the drainage of land for operations which had been entirely thrown away. He, therefore, thought that 5 per cent was a very fair interest to be paid, if the landlord were compelled to advance money to the tenant for drainage, or the erection of extra buildings, or for other purposes. He did not want the tenants to appeal to the landlord, unless it was absolutely necessary, and if they could do the work without the landlord's help. But, at the same time, he did not think that the landlord should be compelled to pay for works that were not only unnecessary, but entirely unproductive, as far as the estate was concerned.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, that after the important speech which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill, he was inclined to take a very different view of the Amendment now before the Committee. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had seen that among the numerous speeches made upon this interesting subject no single Member of the House had supported the clause as it stood. He did not believe that on either side of the House a single speech had been delivered in support of the clause as it stood. There had been several speeches delivered that were distinctly against the principle the clause contained; and there were other hon. Members who were of opinion that, to a certain extent, it attempted alterations. If he understood the hon. Gentleman aright, he had come forward in good faith to explain that he was prepared to propose an Amendment which would go far to meet the objections that were entertained against the clause. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he was prepared to introduce an Amendment to this effect—that after receiving a notice to quit, the tenant who went on with any matter of drainage should forfeit his right to compensation. In other words, that there should be no claim for compensation for drainage, if such work was commenced or undertaken after notice to quit had been received. He wished to know if he rightly apprehended the right hon. Gentleman, because his impression of the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman was that he had accepted in general terms the Amendment suggested by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). He further understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he did not adhere implicitly to the 5 per cent introduced in the Bill.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he hoped that after the discussion which had occurred his hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) would withdraw the Amendment. He thought that his hon. Friend had done great service in raising the discussion; but it was quite evident that the feeling of the House was in favour of the clause remaining as it stood. There was, however, one word which had fallen in regard to the Lincolnshire custom as to drainage, to which he desired to make a reply. He fully concurred in the view which had been expressed that the tenants who drained in accordance with the Lincolnshire custom were far better able to perform their work, and to understand their business, than the London agents of their landlords. He was quite satisfied that very little money would be wasted in unnecessary drainage works; and if at the end of a tenancy it became necessary to make a new agreement, he was perfectly certain that if it required to be drained, one of the conditions of taking it would be that it should be drained under an arrangement with the landlord.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT said, he believed that the position of the matter was very different now from what it was when he first proposed his Amendment. All he had urged was that compensation should not be brought about by the invidious process of giving notice to quit. He now understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy to intimate that he intended to bring in a provision by-and-bye which would extend the scope of the clause; and, under these circumstances, he was quite willing to withdraw the Amendment.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he wished, before the Amendment was withdrawn, to call attention to a point which he regarded as very material—namely, the rate of interest. He regarded advances upon drainage as a kind of terminable annuity; but nobody in his senses would advance 5 per cent on a terminable annuity which was to expire in the course of 14 or 15 years. He understood that the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) was about to withdraw the Amendment, on the understanding that an alteration was to be made in the clause, and that, if necessary, he would bring it up when the clause appeared in a new shape. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had not placed upon the Paper the Amendment he intended to propose as a modification of the clause. Unfortunately, the Committee were in the difficult position of discussing the clause, not as it stood, but with a promised modification of it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Sir ALEXANDER GORDON said, he proposed to move in page 2, line 14, after the word "hereto," to leave out to the end of the clause and insert—

"Unless such improvement shall have been agreed to by the landlord, or sanctioned by the judge of the county court on the report of an arbiter to be named by him, in the manner hereinafter specified (that is to say): A tenant may notify in writing, by a registered letter to his landlord, or to his landlord's agent, that he desired to have executed any of the improvements mentioned in the second part of the Schedule; and, if within three months from the date of such notice the landlord and tenant do not agree on the terms as to compensation or otherwise, on which the improvement is to be executed, or if the landlord fails to comply with an undertaking to execute the improvement himself within a reasonable time, the tenant may apply to the county court for authority to execute the improvement himself. Upon the receipt of such an application the judge of the county court shall name an arbiter to inquire into the merits of the application. The arbiter may call for the production of such documentary or other evidence as he may deem to be necessary, and shall report the result of his inquiry to the judge. If satisfied, after such inquiry, that the proposed improvement is suitable and necessary for conducting the work for which the holding has been let, the judge shall make an award that the tenant is authorized to execute the improvement himself. Such award shall be final, and shall specify—1. The nature and extent of the improvement to be made; 2. The amount to be expended upon it by the tenant; 3. The time within which the work is to be completed."

THE CHAIRMAN: I feel bound to rule that the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) is not in Order, because it, in reality, means the substitution of an entirely new clause.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that his Amendment had now been upon the Paper for some time.

THE CHAIRMAN: No doubt; but I was unable to take notice of it until it was proposed.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, the next Amendment upon the Paper stood in his name; but, seeing that it and other consequential Amendments of which he had given Notice went to the extent of altering the whole clause, he did not propose to move it; but, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would allow him to make one or two observations, in order to explain the point to which the Amendments were directed. The clause, as it stood, allowed drainage to be done in three ways,—first, by an agreement between the landlord and tenant; secondly, by the landlord undertaking to execute the works, and charging the tenant 5 per cent; and, thirdly, by the tenant executing them himself.

THE CHAIRMAN: I feel bound to point out to the hon. Member that if he does not propose to move an Amendment there is no Question before the Committee.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, that under the circumstances he would move the first Amendment of which he had given Notice—namely, to leave out after the word "tenant," to "do," in line 17, and insert "shall give notice to the landlord of his requiring such drainage to be done." He had pointed out that there were three ways of executing these improvements—first, by an agreement between the landlord and tenant; secondly, by the landlord undertaking to execute them, and charging the tenant 5 per cent; and, thirdly, by the tenant executing them himself. He understood that the object of the clause was to require that the drainage, as a general rule, should be done as a matter of agreement between the landlord and tenant, without the interference of any Act of Parliament at all; but his own opinion was that the clause would not, as a rule, apply. The ordinary practice in regard to drainage was that it should be done on an understanding that the landlord should find the pipes and the tenant the labour. That being so, supposing the work had only been done a year previously, at the commencement of the Act, what claim would the tenant have for compensation? In what position would he be if he asked for compensation for the labour he had laid out? He (Mr. Staveley Hill) certainly failed to see under what part of the Act any claim for compensation could be sustained. Then, again, if the landlord was to find the money and to charge the tenant 5 per cent interest upon it, what was to be the position of matters? He thought he was entitled, perhaps more than a good many Members, to speak upon that point, because he was closely connected with the Lands Improvement Company, who had done the greatest part of this particular kind of work throughout the country; and he knew that it was perfectly impossible to do the work without charging a high rate of interest in order to lay the foundation for a sinking fund to pay for the sum laid out. He knew that the whole question had been thoroughly gone into; and, so far as drainage works were concerned, it was impossible to undertake them without charging 6¾ per cent at the very lowest limit. Therefore, if public bodies, acting under Acts of Parliament, were unable to execute these works at a less interest than 6¾ per cent, how could the Committee suppose that they were giving an inducement to landlords to undertake the execution of the work themselves by allowing them a less sum by 1¾ per cent than the lowest rate of interest which was by Act of Parliament imposed? There was a third mode of drainage—namely, by the tenant himself; and the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had stated that the clause would apply to a very small extent indeed in regard to that class of tenants. He fully concurred with the right hon. Gentleman, and would not carry the Amendment further. He submitted that neither of the three schemes he had called attention to would induce the landlord to lay out his money, or the tenant to do the work himself.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 15, leave out after "tenant," to "do," in line 17, and insert "shall give notice to the landlord of his requiring such drainage to be done."—(*Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, that after the explanation he had given of his motives for placing the Amendment upon the Paper, he would not delay the Committee by proceeding with it further; but, by leave of the Committee, he would withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. BIDDELL moved, in line 17, after the word "do," to insert the words "and a specification of such work." The object of the Amendment was to provide that, before the tenant undertook any work in regard to drainage, he should give notice to the landlord, and also provide a specification of the way in which he was going to carry through the work. He thought that such an Amendment would render the clause more complete than it now was; and if the landlord objected to the scheme of the tenant he could refuse his assent. He quite admitted that drainage was an expensive operation, and if the landlord had to pay for it he ought to have every facility for seeing that the work was properly overlooked, and well done. He, therefore, proposed this Amendment, and he could not think that the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would object to it.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 17, after "do," insert "and a specification of such work."—(*Mr. Biddell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. DODSON said, he was quite prepared to agree to the Amendment.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE said, that he also had an Amendment on the Paper which went a little further than that of the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell), and which provided for a plan and inspection during the progress of the work by calling in some man of practical experience in the matter. He thought there was one thing far more necessary than a plan or specification, and that was that there should be a proper inspection of the works, in order to see that they were properly carried out. Drainage was a thing that was conducted below the soil, and was not, therefore, after its completion, open to inspection, which was not the case with regard to the use of manures and other improvements under the 3rd Part of the Schedule. It was, therefore, desirable, when the tenant was undertaking drainage, that the landlord should have the power of inspecting the works as they went on. He thought this Amendment of the clause was required; and if the hon. Member would withdraw his proposition he (Sir Joseph Pease) would move his in its place, which would render it unnecessary to move it as an addition to the proposal of the hon. Member.

Mr. STORER said, he most strongly supported the Amendment of the hon. Baronet, because he thought it was most necessary that there should be some inspection on behalf of the landlord. He had known a great deal of work done by the tenant, and, for that matter, by the landlord, in a most inefficient manner; and if the tenant did not intend to occupy the farm for many years, he might do all the work he undertook to do in a most slovenly manner. In fact, he had known one or two pieces of bad work stop up the whole drainage of a farm; and he was acquainted with more than one instance in which considerable sums of money had been utterly thrown away in draining, solely in consequence of a want of inspection of this kind.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, he objected to going into all this minutiæ. It was not at all necessary, he thought, that the Bill should enter into minute particulars in regard to drainage. He thought it would be fatal to many drainage works that were now undertaken by the tenant. Supposing, for instance, a tenant went to his landlord and asked for sanction for certain drainage works. The landlord would naturally say—"How is it going to be done?" Probably the object of the tenant was to obtain leave to lay down some loose bushes, and to drain in that way; and, as they all knew, that was only a temporary sort of drainage. It might be said that when the tenant came to claim compensation for drainage he would be entitled to all the less; but, nevertheless, the sum he would claim would be very little less, because there would have been the same labour utilized in laying down bushes as would have been necessary in the case of drainage with tiles. Under these circumstances, he strongly objected to going into these minute details.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY thought there could be no objection to the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell), which simply provided that the tenant should be called upon to give a specification as to what he intended to do and as to how it was to be done. In regard to inspection, he thought they might safely entrust the tenant himself. The tenant was going to spend his own money upon the work, and he was going to take the risk of receiving compensation. Of course, the compensation would be according to the result of the work; and it was quite a mistake to suppose that drainage would not speak for itself as well as any other class of improvement. It was very immaterial whether it was carried out by bushes or pipes, because it was quite evident that the valuator, when the tenant claimed compensation, would assess the value according to the improvement made on the land when the valuation came to be made. Let the landlords appoint good and competent valuators on their behalf, and they would then be able to fix the full value of the drainage, and to understand how it was working by a simple inspection of the farm. There was, therefore, no advantage whatever to be gained by adding the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease). He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) admitted that the landlord ought to have a clear and distinct idea of the drainage which was going to be carried out, and it should then rest with the landlord, whether he would do it himself or allow it to be done by the tenant. If the tenant did it at his own cost, he did not see why there should be a plan and inspection, because he would carry the work out properly for his own sake, especially as the compensation would depend upon the state of the land when the valuation came to be made.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he was afraid he was in a minority in the view he entertained of this question; but he was certainly sorry that the Government had accepted the Amendment, when he saw the practical effect which would attend the working of it. He would take the case of a small tenant who wanted a small drain. He was a working man thoroughly competent to make the drain himself, and to do the work in an admirable manner. At the same time, he would be altogether unable to produce a specification. The labour of producing a specification would be a much more difficult task to him than the construction of the drain itself; and the result would be that, rather than send in a specification, he would lose sight of the drain altogether.

MR. HENEAGE said, he thought that the Amendment came in in the wrong place. The only case in which they would require a specification would be where the tenant was going to do the work himself. There was no reason whatever why they should put a small tenant to the trouble of making a specification before he had got the consent of the landlord, who might be willing to do the work himself, or to do it jointly with the tenant, which, in his (Mr. Heneage's) opinion, was the best way to do it. He thought that any such Amendment as that of the hon. Baronet, if adopted at all, would be better inserted as a Proviso at the end of the clause to make provision for the tenant being able to do the work where the landlord refused to do it, either jointly with the tenant or alone.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, that, as far as the landlord was concerned, the Amendment was perfectly worthless, because the landlord would have no power of doing the work until he was set in motion by the tenant.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE remarked, that his Amendment was not yet before the Committee.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, his remarks would apply to the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell) as well as to that of the hon. Baronet. It seemed to him that the Amendment would have the effect of overloading the Bill with details, without producing any advantage whatever. He, therefore, agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) that the Amendment ought not to be accepted.

Mr. PUGH said, he also objected to the Amendment. He thought the objection which had been raised by the hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) was quite sufficient to prevent the Committee from inserting it in this part of the clause; but he objected to it, and also most strongly to the other Amendment suggested by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease), for this reason—that as regarded the tenants of Wales it would absolutely prohibit them from undertaking drainage works. There were many tenant farmers there who were able to cut a thoroughly good drain, but who would not be able to draw up a specification; and if they called upon the tenant to employ an engineer to make a specification for them they would open the door to a large amount of unnecessary expense. By that means the tenant's expenditure would be very rapidly run up; and he was quite sure, if a clause of this kind were introduced, it would have the effect of prohibiting the tenant from embarking in improvements of this nature. At present they were able to make their drainage works with freedom, and to exercise a sound discretion in regard to the manner in which they conducted their drainage. He believed they would find their hands tied in future if anything in the nature of the present Amendment were adopted. Therefore, he should oppose it.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he was glad that the Government had accepted the Amendment, and for this reason—that with regard to a specification it was not necessary that it should be of a very minute character, nor was the tenant very likely to make such a specification. His hon. Friend the Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) asked, what was the use of the specification? Now that the landlord was bound to allow the drainage to be undertaken, there would be great advantage in having a specification at the outset, because then it would be known what the precise nature of the works was to be, and thus disputes would be avoided. The landlord would be able to see what was going to be done; and, in many cases, agreements would be made between the landlord and tenant, so that the whole matter would be arranged satisfactorily. There would be much more chance of an agreement being made if some specification were required than if there was not; and he, therefore, cordially supported the Amendment.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, the specification would be simply a statement on the part of the tenant that he intended to construct a certain number of drains a certain number of feet apart, and that he intended to lay them down with tiles or other materials. He thought the landlord was clearly entitled to have a specification, and he ought to have it at the very first stage of the transaction.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he thought that possibly, while accepting the Amendment, the right hon. Gentleman would not object to add something from the Amendment of the hon. Baronet, because the word "specification" was a technicality, and might become dangerous unless dealt with by technical persons. Some such words as "statement in writing" of the manner in which the work was to be done would be an improvement; but, at all events, if there was to be a specification, there must be a longer time than one month allowed. If there were a proposal to spend £10,000 the specification would be a considerable matter. A landlord could hardly say "Yes" or "No" in a month, for he could not get the work surveyed in that time.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE said, he thought it would be hard on the tenant farmer to require a specification; but his opinion upon this matter would depend very much on the answer to the question, whether the right hon. Gentleman thought this clause would upset the custom of the country or not? If it would upset the custom then there would be several objections to the Bill. At the present moment, in his own county, full compensation was given under the custom of the country, and the tenant was not required to give notice. There was considerable difference of opinion upon this point, and he should like to have an answer to the question.

MR. KNIGHT said, he knew an extensive tract of clay land in Devon and Cornwall, upon which the proprietors had spent large sums of money for draining; but he did not think they had got 1 per cent upon their outlay. Landlords ought to be able to get some idea as to whether draining would pay or not before they were called upon to execute draining.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, he thought it would be very desirable that a landlord should have some idea as to the width and depth of the pipes which a tenant proposed to lay down, before he decided whether he would allow the tenant to do the work or not.

MR. PELL said, he thought the Amendment had raised a very important question, which had not so far attracted the attention it deserved. Everybody seemed to take it for granted that the drainage was to be done in tiles. The importance of knowing the width and the depth of the drains had been urged; but it had not occurred to anyone how the work was to be done. The question of the time of the year when the work should be done was also important. He had a friend in Leicestershire who was very fond of fox-hunting. He was not an early riser, and when the men went to ask him in the morning what they were to do, he told them to go draining. It was not very pleasant for a landlord to have to pay for draining done under such circumstances as those. Another consideration was this. If a difference arose between a landlord and his tenant as to the mode in which the draining was to be done, was this clause to apply solely to pipe draining? There was nothing in this clause to decide that point.

MR. M'LAGAN said, he thought that the more the discussion proceeded the more clear it became that there must be some controlling authority. Draining would never be properly done until there was some authority to say first whether it should be done, and then whether it was sufficiently well done to add to the value of the estate.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR JOSEPH PEASE proposed to insert the words "with or without plans," after the last Amendment. The watching of outfalls was, he said, a most important matter; and if that was not secured the drainage would be worse than useless. As soon as notice was given by a tenant, the land agent would inquire who was going to inspect the work, and then some qualified person would be named to inspect it.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 17, to add to the end of the last Amendment "with or without plans of the improvements so proposed, and stating the manner in which such work is to be inspected during its progress."—(*Sir Joseph Pease.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. BIDDELL said, he understood that the principle was that the landlord should send whom he chose to inspect the work; but if that was not so, then he would give the landlord that power by an additional clause.

MR. DODSON said, that of course a landlord would have the right, by himself or by his agent, to inspect the work. He did not think this Amendment was necessary or material, any more than the last Amendment was. When an owner received notice of draining he would naturally ask how it was to be done; but he had no objection to accept the Amendment, if that would re-assure the hon. Member as to what was intended.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he thought that if the Committee were to go into such minute details, it would be infinitely more in the interest of the tenant that the improvement of drainage should be included in the first class. The result of these minute provisions was that tenants were certain not to comply with them; and, consequently, they would lose their claim to compensation. If this word had been placed in the first class that would have settled the matter. The Amendment seemed to him to be superfluous.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he approved of the principle of the Amendment; but yet he thought it altogether unnecessary. Hon. Members seemed to think that landlords and tenants would not be able to come to terms; but there was no reason why a landlord should not ask from the tenant some information as to how the work was to be done.

Mr. PUGH said, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman was agreeing to these vexatious restrictions. He thought it would be much better that this clause should be left out altogether.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, he thought the Amendment altogether unnecessary, for a landlord had power to inspect work, and to send anybody he pleased on to his own land, and such a provision as this would only complicate matters.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, that all this discussion and all these refinements convinced him that drainage ought to be included in the 1st Part of the Schedule. The simplest plan would be to abolish Clause 4 altogether; but if the Committee were determined to retain that clause, he would move an Amendment with the object of altering the advantages to be given to a landlord in respect of drainage. He proposed to omit all the words from "a" to "or" in line 24, and then to insert "such a sum as shall repay in twenty-five years the outlay incurred, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum." The clause would then read—

> "The landlord may charge the tenant with such a sum as shall in twenty-five years repay the outlay incurred in executing the improvement, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent per annum."

As the clause stood, it was very difficult to realize what it meant. Was the tenant to pay 5 per cent in a lump sum, or was he to pay 5 per cent per annum? [Mr. Dodson: 5 per cent per annum.] Then, was that 5 per cent per annum to be paid only during the life of the drain, or was it to be paid in perpetuity? This was a very important matter. If the tenant was only to pay 5 per cent per annum during the life of the drain —say 25 years—the landlord out of that must retain a sufficient sinking fund, equal to nearly 3 per cent, to recoup himself for the original outlay, in order that when the drain was worked out he might have some money for new drainage. What would be the result? The landlord was told that he must be satisfied with this miserable 2 per cent. He considered such a proposition was perfectly monstrous. Would any landlord in his senses invest money on an improvement if he knew beforehand he had only to receive 2 per cent interest? Would any commercial man invest money at such a rate of interest? And yet, when they compelled a landlord to invest his money against his will, they told him he should only receive the miserable pittance of 2 per cent. Suppose they were to say that 5 per cent was to be paid in perpetuity by the tenant, that was so long as the tenant stayed on the farm, what happened? If the drainage became worn out at the end of 20 or 25 years the tenant would come to the landlord and say—"This drainage upon which I am now paying 5 per cent is worn out; the drains are bursting up all over the place; it is silted up in many places; tree roots have got into it; in fact, it is so inefficient that, for my part, I would just as well it had not been drained at all. I can't go on paying you this 5 per cent." "Well," the landlord would say, "what am I to do? The Act says you must pay me 5 per cent." The tenant would say—"It is really so bad that I can't stay on the farm and pay this 5 per cent unless you re-do the drainage." The result would be that the landlord would have to put his hand in his pocket for another £6 or £7 per acre, and do the drainage over again, in order that the 5 per cent might be paid. Where the owner wished to charge his inheritance with the improvement, and the work was done by a Land Improvement Company, the Company invariably charged a sufficient interest on the sum borrowed as would enable the capital sum to be repaid in a certain term of years. He was sorry to say he had had some experience in the matter. The period had been fixed at 30 years, and the interest upon the sum charged was considerably over 6 per cent. The charge was transferred by the Drainage Improvement Company to an Insurance Office, who advanced the money they received for 30 years 6½ or

$6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, which enabled them to get an annual interest of about 4 or $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, and put by the remainder as a sinking fund when the annuity, for it was nothing else, terminated. By Act of Parliament they allowed Companies to lend money, and do the drainage of land, and charge very high rates; but they came to the landlords with this Bill in their hand, and they told them that they should be put at a disadvantage as compared with a Company, although the landlord, in the great majority of cases, was able to drain his land at a much cheaper acreage rate than any Land Improvement Company could possibly do, because he saved the expense of supervision; and he, also, did not have to pay for what might be called crass ignorance which some of the men who were sent down displayed, not exactly of drainage work, but of the locality. They could not possibly apply the same rules of drainage to one part of the country that they could to another, for they all knew that the qualities of soil were very diverse. There was another factor in the question of drainage. In some districts of England there were 30 or 40 or 50 inches of rain, while in other districts there was very much less rain, hence a very different system of drainage was required. There was another reason why he thought the Committee ought to grant this enhancement of interest payable by the tenant—it would enable a landlord to effect drainage himself without loss. A landlord might disapprove of the system of drainage which the tenant adopted; but if he could drain the land himself he would be able to say—"I will do it myself in my own way; and I will charge you such an interest which will repay me." He (Mr. Donaldson-Hudson) objected to any permission being given to the tenants to drain their land without the previous consent of their landlords. As a general rule, tenants did not understand the drainage of land so well as landlords or the agents, for the very good reason that they had not had the same experience. Upon most estates there was someone who thoroughly understood drainage, because he was always at work. Because he was constantly employed, he was able to do drainage more effectually, and cheaper, on account of its being more effectual, than the tenant could do it. He did not mean to say there were not many tenants who could be trusted implicitly to do drainage. He, however, knew some tenants who could not do the work; indeed, he believed it would be quite as effectual to bury the drains as to trust some tenants with unlimited power to drain. There was another point to which he wished to call the attention of the Committee. In the case of drainage, it was most important that every drain should be mapped out. A map of an estate which was properly and efficiently drained presented the appearance of a gridiron. What might happen if a tenant did the drainage? The man might thoroughly understand drainage, or he might be an ignoramus. Suppose the drains, from being too wide apart, would not drain the land properly, what ought to be done? A man who understood the business would put an intermediate drain between the two, and drain shallower. He (Mr. Donaldson-Hudson) had drained in such a way hundreds of acres which had been drained too deep. A tenant might drain across an old drain, and it was possible that in a short time both drainage systems would be destroyed. He appealed to the Committee to deal in this matter with fairness and justice to the landlord. If they compelled landlords to advance money for this drainage, they ought not, at the same time, to inflict upon them any pecuniary loss.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 24, leave out "a sum not exceeding five per cent on," and insert "such a sum as shall repay in twenty-five years the outlay incurred with interest at the rate of five per centum per annum."—(*Mr. Donaldson-Hudson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. GREGORY said, that what the hon. Gentleman proposed was that a tenant should be charged such a sum as would recoup the principal and interest within 25 years. The charge must be contingent on the life of the tenant during the 25 years; and he did not think that was a principle that would work very well in practice. The question was then as to the interest being at the rate of 5 per cent. So far as he was concerned, he should be willing to do any amount of draining at 5 per cent per annum interest upon his capital invested; and his experience was that this became a permanent addition to the rent. Indeed, he was content to take the Bill as it stood in that respect. There might be cases where the tenant for life would have to pay a somewhat enhanced rate of interest. The charge, he thought, was something like 6¼ or 6½ per cent for principal and interest in the case of money borrowed from the Land Companies; and he did not think it would be unfair to give from 5 per cent to 6 per cent as the maximum. They were now providing a maximum, and it was matter of agreement between landlord and tenant as to whether it should be paid. They could give a tenant the alternative of saying—"I won't pay that, and I will do the drainage myself, as I can do it at less cost." If it were not for that he should be content to adhere to the rate provided by the Bill. In his own case he was satisfied with it.

Mr. FRANCIS FOLJAMBE said, he could not see how the restrictions of interest in regard to drainage loans could be otherwise than an interference with the rent. He knew of cases at the present time, and could name them to any individual Member, in which the drainage was done by the landlord without charging interest to the tenant; but that drainage, in the course of a year or two, would increase the value of the land from a small sum, something like 30*s.* or 40*s.* an acre. When a landlord had shown skill and enterprize, and had raised his money for the purpose of carrying out these works, why was he to be restricted from having the full value of the investment given to him? Probably he might be told that there was no restriction of that kind; but if there was no explanation of the matter it seemed to him that it would be unfair to adopt these restrictions.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he belonged to one of these Land Companies, and they lent money at 6¼ per cent. There was no reason whatever, because a great many landlords, perhaps the majority, were inclined to drain at 5 per cent, that other landlords should not be allowed to pay a higher rate of interest for the money they had borrowed for the purpose. Some landlords did it *ex gratiâ*, doing things for which they looked for no return. The men on their farms half teased and half coaxed them out of improvements; and they got paid, of course, by the reputation they acquired for being liberal landlords and not screws. It was no reason, however, because certain landlords had been good and generous to their tenants, that they should have forced upon them a lower rate of interest for money invested on drainage works. The generosity of the thing would at once be put an end to if the work was to be done according to the terms of an Act of Parliament. Twenty years would be rather over than under the time that an ordinary drain would last; and it was not fair, therefore, to compel a landlord to buy a terminable annuity, and only to allow him to receive 5 per cent for his money. That was a pure matter of business. If they were to lay down laws in Parliament, let them not lay down laws generous to the tenant at the expense of the landlord; and, on the other hand, let them not lay down laws generous to the landlord at the expense of the tenant. What they ought to do should be to endeavour to do justice between the two. It was not fair to take from A to give to B without giving A proper remuneration. He certainly hoped that if this thing was to be done at all the right hon. Gentlemen who had charge of the Bill would lay down the same principle that the Drainage Companies had laid down. A landlord should not be expected to carry out drainage works on terms that would not pay him when the life of the drain was worn out; he ought to have a sinking fund to pay him the interest on the capital which he had laid out, and to refund his capital when the drain was worn out.

Colonel RUGGLES-BRISE said, he understood the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) to say that if the rate was altered to 6 per cent, in case the tenants thought that too high a rate they would have the option of doing the drainage themselves; but he (Colonel Ruggles-Brise) did not so read the clause. He understood that if the tenant refused the rate of interest laid down in the clause, then he would no longer be able to execute the drainage himself and to claim compensation for it; therefore, if they placed in the Bill a very high rate of interest it followed that they were barring very much the tenant's right to carry out the drainage operations without the consent of the landlord.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, he did not read the clause in the same way as the hon. and gallant Member who had just addressed the Committee. It appeared to him that if the tenant and the landlord could not agree upon the mode upon which the landlord was to be paid interest on the money he laid out, the tenant could undertake the drainage himself. But what he (Viscount Folkestone) rose to ask was, whether it was necessary to have anything in the clause limiting the percentage to be charged upon money laid out for drainage—whether it was necessary to put in this clause at all? It appeared to him that if the landlord was free to charge what percentage he liked, and he and the tenant did not agree, the tenant thinking that the landlord was proposing to charge him too much upon his outlay, it would be left to the tenant to make the improvement himself, and if he quitted his holding before the improvement was worn out he would be able to claim from the incoming tenant, or the landlord if there was no incoming tenant, the value of his improvement. There appeared to be no limit as to how long the 5 per cent was to be charged upon the outlay of the landlord on the improvement. Were they to allow that 5 per cent to be charged on the present tenant — because it must be remembered that this was a Bill restricting freedom of contract and rights in all directions—or was a percentage to be charged on an incoming tenant after the tenant had left the farm? In the case of a drain lasting only 20 years, if the 5 per cent was to be charged for all time, the landlord could get at the tenant then on the farm; but he might be treated hardly, as might also the incoming tenant. Supposing, on the other hand, they said that was a matter for consideration between the landlord and the incoming tenant, the answer was, why should there be any limit or definition as to the amount of percentage to be charged in this clause at all? They had been told—and he believed there was no doubt about the case—that the landlords, if they wanted to borrow money at all for drainage, were obliged to pay as much as 6½, 6¾, or 7 per cent for it; therefore, it appeared to him, if the interest was only to be charged for 20 years, the landlord, if he only got 5 per cent, would be out of pocket, and would not be recouped, and would, therefore, be deterred from laying out any money on these improvements, even if the tenant and he himself wished to do so. They had to bear in mind that this was no new idea, and the landlords had often before borrowed money for the purpose of making these improvements; and he, for one, had never heard of any difficulty being found as to the compensation or amount of extra rent the tenant was to pay for the improvement. If the right hon. Gentleman would bear what he had said in mind, he would find, perhaps, it was not necessary to define in this clause any maximum of percentage which was to be paid to the landlord for making his improvement.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he felt, when they commenced this Bill, that it was one which was to be of benefit to the nation, and of equal benefit to landlord and tenant; but they had, during the last two days, made such alterations in the two first clauses that he had felt that the original objects of the Bill were pretty nearly extinct. [*Cries of* "Question!"] He was speaking to the Question—he felt that he must now give expression to his opinion respecting the observations he had heard made upon the Draining Clause. The rates of the Land Companies had been held up as the proper rates of interest to be paid for the money expended on drainage; but, in his opinion, these rates had been a great barrier to a great many improvements. The rates charged by these Companies were excessive, and the tenant farmers saw that they were paying for those permanent improvements which really belonged to the landlords. The tenant who remained 30 years in occupation of the land, by paying 6½ per cent on the money expended on the permanent improvements, really bore the cost of those improvements, and not the landlord; and yet, if the landlord went into the market with his land, he would be willing to sell these improvements at 3 per cent. The landlord would be prepared to part with his property and with the improvements at the ordinary rate; and yet, so long as the land was in the tenant's occupation, according to the views of the different Gentlemen who had addressed the Committee, the landord should have to receive 6½ per cent for the improvements. He certainly thought it monstrous to place such a rate of interest on the tenant, and he hoped the Government would not accede to the proposals made, but, on the contrary, would reduce the rate of interest.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he hoped the Government would accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), or the hon. Member who had moved the Amendment. They had to bear in mind that under this clause the tenant had power to tell the landlord to do that which he would not do himself. There were three ways in which this drainage could be done, either by an agreement between the landlord and tenant, according to the first part of the clause, or by the landlord doing it himself and charging 5 per cent for it, or by the tenant doing it. What was the position of the landlord if he did not choose to make these improvements for 5 per cent, because they knew they could rarely be effected for less than 6½ or 7 per cent? The landlord might say—"I cannot afford to carry out this improvement;" and, therefore, he would throw it in the power of the tenant to carry it out, and the landlord would then be compelled to pay compensation. And if the tenant was required to make the improvement, he might not do it so well as the landlord. By the Bill they were giving the tenant power to do the work, and to do it not so well as the landlord. The sum they fixed was not a fair sum between landlord and tenant. The statement was uncontradicted that drainage was not everlasting, and that the drains were certain to wear out in 21 years—they might say that 21 years was the maximum life of drainage. There were very few exceptions to that rule; many drains wore out sooner; so that if they took the term at 25 years the landlord would, in many cases, find that he was a great loser, although that would be fairer than the proposal of the clause. He did hope the Government would consent to some modification of the clause.

Mr. HENEAGE said, he entirely dissented from the Amendment before the Committee. He did not see why they should be tied down to 25 years, or to 5 per cent, or to anything else. The proper way to deal with this question would be to strike out the words "a sum not exceeding five per cent," and insert the word "interest." If it were thought desirable, they might put in, as an alternative, the amount at which the money could be borrowed from an Improvements Loan Society. That did appear to him to be the practical way of dealing with the matter. Under any circumstances they should not lay down a hard-and-fast rule. He hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Amendment, which he did not think had been approved by anyone up to the present time, and would allow him (Mr. Heneage) to propose the Amendment he now indicated. If the spirit of his Amendment were accepted, he should be willing to assent to any qualification that was fair and just.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he should be disposed to agree with the hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) in thinking that the insertion of any figure would be a great mistake on the part of the Committee. He quite admitted the exceedingly fair spirit in which the Government had dealt with this matter; and he thought they had realized, on the other hand, that there was no disposition to treat this matter in any shape or form as a Party question. What he would, with submission, venture to suggest was that the Committee should pause before it took an initial step in the direction which he knew the Government had no desire to travel—namely, in the direction of fixing judicial rents. Even the hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon, (Sir Thomas Acland), if he might for a moment engage his attention and disturb him in the conversation he was engaged in, would hardly agree to that. He would point out to the hon. Baronet that the Committee was now invited, for the first time, to introduce the authority of the law between landlord and tenant with regard to the money that should pass from one to the other in the way of rent, or what was equivalent to rent—namely, the charge on outlay. They had heard before of the germs of future legislation being laid without the knowledge of Parliament in an apparently inoffensive section of a previous Act of Parliament—germs passed and considered without any person having any idea at the time of what they were doing. He would ask the hon. Member, whom he knew wanted to deal with fairness on this subject, whether he would not find it difficult in the future to resist the conclusion being drawn that Parliament intended that under no circumstances should the tenant be charged more than an interest of 5 per cent on the outlay, whatever might be the improvement brought about, though a great part of it might be due, as the hon. Member for East Retford (Mr. F. Foljambe) had remarked, to the inherent qualities of the soil. The hon. Member for East Retford had mentioned cases within his own knowledge where fields—he was not now speaking of farms as a whole—might have been, perhaps, trebled in value by a comparatively small expenditure in the way of drainage. Well, would it be reasonable or fair that for all time, practically, the owner of the property should be debarred from reaping that advantage which was due, in a great measure, to the inherent qualities of the soil, by this clause? He knew that was not the intention of the Government, and he mentioned it merely with the view that the right hon. Gentleman should, if possible, exercise his ingenuity in devising some means for obviating so great an evil. With regard to the actual proposal that one figure be substituted for another, if they were driven to consider that he would ask the Committee to look at it from the point of view of those who desired to have no advantage either for the landlord or the tenant. Those who desired to promote drainage should be careful that upon neither side, neither as against the tenant nor as against the landlord, did they impose conditions which would deter either one party or the other from executing these much-needed improvements. If they said that the landlord—which term, unfortunately, was now almost convertible with that of "needy person"—was bound, at the risk of allowing the interest on his estate to pass to another, to execute these necessary improvements, they would be acting unfairly. The Bill said the landlord might not charge more than 5 per cent. They knew the Land Improvement Companies, to which the majority of landlords were unfortunately bound now-a-days to have recourse, made it necessary that they should give beyond 6 per cent, probably 6½ or 6¾. If they said that the needy landlord, who, perhaps, owing to the charges upon his estate, and other circumstances, was unable to appropriate any portion of his available income to these purposes, he was to be at a definite loss, on account of that expenditure, they would go a very long way towards discouraging that very improvement which, of all others, they heard from every quarter of the House was the most needed of all. Therefore, the Government would see that they must remove every impediment from the way of the employment of borrowed capital for this purpose. If it was not too late, might he again ask the Government if it was necessary to put these words in at all? The right hon. Gentleman must know perfectly well that it would be rarely, if ever, brought into play. He must know, what he had himself already admitted, that it would be monstrous to concede a permission to the tenant, who either might give or receive notice to quit, power to execute this improvement. Above all, they might be told, as had been already suggested to-night, that the landlord would be almost driven, in order to protect himself, to take that step which every landlord in the House knew was the most painful for a landlord to have to take—namely, that of giving notice to his tenant. He would be almost driven to take that step by the wording of this clause. The provision could be evaded in many other ways. He would point out that if this clause, unamended, ever became incorporated in an Act of Parliament, they would be very likely in the future to hear no more about the joint interest of the landlord and tenant in the improvement of a holding; what the landlord would do would be to execute what improvement was necessary and charge nothing whatever; but within what the Prime Minister would call a measurable distance of time have a re-valuation of the holding, and charge new rent which might have no direct connection with what had taken place in the way of draining. On the whole, this provision was one which would rarely be called into operation, which could be most easily evaded, and which would do very little, if any, practical good. This portion of the Bill raised the germ of a principle which might be capable of dangerous application at a future time. He perfectly agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay), and another hon. Gentleman opposite, with regard to this question of interest. He hoped the Committee had no desire to be drawn into dangerous channels, and that the right hon. Gentleman, who had set his face against injustice, either to the landlord or the tenant, would see that there was no real necessity for this provision. He trusted he would cut the Gordian Knot, as between 5, 6, or 7 per cent, by leaving out the words altogether.

MR. ALBERT GREY said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would intimate to the Committee, as soon as possible, what modification he was prepared to make in the clause. He trusted the Government would consent to the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage)—namely, that the words should be cut out altogether which limited the percentage to be charged, and that they would substitute the words—

> "Not exceeding the interest at which the landlord can borrow under the sanction of the Enclosure Commissioners for the purpose of carrying out such improvements."

That appeared to him to be a very fair arrangement, and if the Government would intimate that they were willing to adopt it, he believed they might bring to a conclusion this discussion on a financial matter in as many minutes as it would otherwise take hours to terminate.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he agreed with the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey), who had just sat down, that it would be well if the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would state what modification he was prepared to make in the clause, which, as the hon. Gentleman had just said, could then be settled in a very few minutes. His hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who had spoken just now, had placed the case as fairly as it was possible to do before the Committee; and, therefore, he should not travel over the same ground, but content himself by repeating his belief that if the words proposed by the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) were adopted the discussion on the clause would be brought to an end in a very short time.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND said, it was not an uncommon thing that Parliament, when it granted special privileges to Companies and other persons, should say that no more than a certain percentage of profit should be raised upon the public; but in this case they had before them the reverse of that principle. They proposed to take away from the landlord the right which he possessed, they imposed on him certain duties, and they said that he should not get one penny for what he did. He thought the principle of limiting the rate of interest to be charged was economically and financially unsound, and that the limit in the clause ought, therefore, to be expunged.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he trusted the Government would accept the proposal of their own supporters in reference to this clause.

MR. ACLAND said, in the Division of Cornwall which he had the honour to represent, as appeared by the evidence given before the Royal Commission, there were a very large number of small owners. This question, however, had hitherto been regarded from the point of view of the large proprietors alone. Speaking in the interest of these small proprietors, he thought it rather hard to tie them down to a rate of interest at which they could not borrow the money necessary for the purpose of the clause.

MR. BIDDELL said, it seemed to him to be a question whether the tenant or the landlord should have their wishes carried out. They each had different ideas with regard to drainage; and he thought, looking at the clause, that the case, on the whole, was fairly met. The landlord was not compelled to take a low rate of interest for his money.

MR. DODSON said, they had had a very long discussion on this question, which he admitted was one of no inconsiderable difficulty, and with regard to it they had had almost as many different proposals as there had been speakers on the Amendment. He ventured to call attention to one or two points. The object of the clause was to secure that drainage should be executed either by one party or the other; while, if they left out all percentage of interest, they placed it in the power of the landlord to charge a prohibitory rate. He might say to the tenant—"I will undertake to do this drainage; but I will charge you 10 or 20 per cent." On those terms it was clear that the tenant could not pay.

It was necessary, therefore, that the clause should impose some limit on the interest which the landlord could charge; and, accordingly, they had placed it at 5 per cent, which was a rate at which owners in general were content to execute drainage for their tenants. [Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson dissented.] The hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) shook his head at this; but he thought he would be fortunate if he could get more than 5 per cent for drainage works, because, so far as his (Mr. Dodson's) information went, the tenants would not pay more. He wished to point out, further, that there were three alternatives in this clause; in one case, the tenant might do the drainage himself at his own expense; in the second, he and the landlord might agree as to the terms on which the drainage should be done, and, in that case, there was no limit imposed as to the rate of interest. That limitation only occurred in respect of the third alternative, where the owner said he would not permit the tenant to do the drainage, and would make no terms with him about it, and would do it himself, absolutely and entirely on his own terms. He wished hon. Members to appreciate the fact that there was no limit as to the time for which the interest could continue. They knew that in ordinary cases the owner very generally charged 5 per cent for the interest upon the outlay to the existing tenant; but if the tenant quitted his holding before the drainage was exhausted, that interest merged into rent, and was so charged to the new tenant. Then it had been said that the impecunious landlord who had not the money to do the work himself, when he insisted on doing it himself, would have to borrow, and that the landlord ought to be enabled by this clause to charge such a rate of interest as would provide a sinking fund, and cover the charges of Companies from whom he borrowed. Therefore, it was said that the rate of interest should be raised to 6 or 6¾ per cent. But in cases where such a rate was charged, it was not without any limit as to time, as in the case of the 5 per cent in the clause; it was for a fixed number of years, within which capital and interest had to be repaid. He would like the wording of the clause to remain as it was; but to meet the point of the Amendment of the hon. Member opposite, which had received the support of a number of Members of the Committee, he proposed that there should be added, as an alternative, after the word "improvement," in line 25—

> "Or any such annual sum as will repay principal and interest at the rate of   per cent in the term of twenty-five years."

He would not then specify what rate of interest should be permitted, as he must take time to consider that point. The effect would be that a landlord who took the matter of drainage into his own hands, and made no terms with the tenant, would be entitled to charge the 5 per cent proposed in the clause, for which there was no limit of time. Or, if he had to borrow the money of the Government or the Land Companies, he would have the alternative of charging an annual sum for principal and interest for a limited number of years. He would not move the words then, but would undertake to bring up on Report words which would give effect to the alternative he suggested.

Mr. PICKERING PHIPPS said, he thought the terms of this clause were fair; and he regretted that the Government should have made this alteration in it, because if they went on in this way they would be rightly accused of taking out of the Bill everything of value which it contained. As it was necessary to cultivation that some land should be drained, he considered that where the landlord elected to do the work himself, he was only entitled to the same rate of interest as on the land itself—say, 3 per cent; the remaining 2 per cent would, in a great measure, recoup the landlord for his outlay. He might point out that if the landlord did not like to execute the work there was nothing to compel him to do it. For the last eight years, a great deal of draining had been going on, without the consent of either landlord or occupier—he meant the drainage of the tenants' pockets. During that time the agricultural interest had been greatly depressed, and he considered it to be the duty of the landlords to endeavour to assist the tenant farmer in this matter. He regarded the clause, in its present form, as perfectly fair and just in its provisions, and for that reason he should give it his support.

Mr. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. DUCKHAM said, it was to be regretted that nearly every step taken by the Government in relation to this Bill was in the wrong direction. He thought if the rate of interest named in the clause was to be increased, the sooner the Bill was dropped the better. He was determined, even if he stood alone, to go to a Division in support of the clause. In the meantime, at the suggestion of several hon. Members, he would move the reduction of the rate of interest from 5 to 4 per cent.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 24, to leave out "five per cent," and insert "four per cent per annum."—(*Mr. Duckham.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, the proposal of the Government would render the first and second Schedules of the Bill nugatory; in fact everything, as the hon. Member had just stated, that was of any value was being steadily eliminated from the Bill. It was clear that the tenant was to be called upon to pay the whole cost of the drainage; that was the proposal which the Government had indicated they were prepared to accept. They proposed that the tenant should pay the whole cost of the drainage in 25 years, and that at the end of that term the landlord should have the whole benefit of the drainage. With regard to the Amendment before the Committee, which, he believed, his hon. Friend had moved for the purpose of hearing the opinions of hon. Members still further upon the question, he was bound to say that he considered 5 per cent a very fair rate of interest; but he was afraid that in the case of a yearly tenant he would, in a short time, find the interest abandoned, and an increased rent charged upon him to make up for the moderate rate chargeable under the Bill. So far, however, as the Amendment of his hon. Friend was concerned, he thought it better that the clause should remain as it was; but, rather than that the Amendment of the Government should be adopted, he would prefer to see the Bill dropped altogether.

Mr. PICKERING PHIPPS hoped the hon. Member would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 27, to leave out "a reasonable time," and insert "three."—(*Mr. Duckham.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he thought it was very desirable that there should be no uncertainty; but "reasonable time" might lead to such uncertainty. At the same time, the conditions of each case varied so much that it might be difficult to fix a limit that would apply to all cases. If the Government would not adopt "three" months, he hoped they would name some definite period of their own.

Mr. DODSON said, he hoped there would be no long discussion on these words. He thought the clause was better as it stood; but if there was to be a fixed limit, it should be a year.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he thought the period should be longer than three months.

Mr. DUCKHAM said, he did not care whether it was three or 12 months, though he thought three were sufficient. All he wanted was a definite time.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 27, to leave out "reasonable time," in order to insert "six months."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. DODSON said, "six" months were not so hard as three; but still he submitted that if the period was fixed, it should be one year, and he should be ready to agree to that.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he did not see how drains could be expected to be completed in one year, and he hoped the Government would keep to their clause.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he thought six months too short.

Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY considered "a reasonable time" the best provision.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he rose to move an Amendment providing that if a landlord failed to comply with an undertaking to execute improvements himself within a reasonable time, the tenant might apply to the County Court for authority to execute the improvements, and that the Court should thereupon appoint an arbitrator to consider the application. This Amendment had been framed to meet all the objections that had been raised during the last three hours. If a tenant went to a landlord who had drained the land within five years, and said he wished the land drained again, because it was badly done, and the landlord would not give way, the tenant under this Amendment would be able to apply to the County Court; and so an arbitrator would be brought in at the commencement instead of at the end of the proceedings, in order that there might be no question afterwards between the landlord and the tenant as to the work. The Committee having decided that the tenant should only receive what he had laid out, it was most important that the outlay should be settled at the commencement and not left over until the work was finished. The Amendment was in the interest of the landlord as well as the tenant, because it would do away with uncertainties that might arise in a great many cases. He had suggested the County Court instead of the Commissioners, because the County Court was the authority under the English Agricultural Holdings Act in this matter. The Amendment would chiefly apply to leases.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 28, after the words "he may," insert "apply to the county court for authority to execute the improvement himself. Upon the receipt of such an application the judge of the county court shall name an arbiter to inquire into the merits of the application. The arbiter may call for the production of such documentary or other evidence as he may deem to be necessary, and shall report the result of his inquiry to the judge. If satisfied, after such inquiry, that the proposed improvement is suitable and necessary for conducting the work for which the holding has been let, the judge shall make an award that the tenant is authorised to execute the improvement himself. Such award shall be final and shall specify—

1. The nature and extent of the improvement to be made;

2. The amount to be expended upon it by the tenant;

3. The time within which the work is to be completed."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Amendment proceeded on a principle distinct from and opposite to that of the clause, and introduced a principle which was very novel, and was one which the Government had endeavoured to avoid in the construction of the clause — namely, the principle of arbitration upon what should be done. That was a principle which, if adopted on this occasion, might be carried a good deal further. He thought there had been heard in the discussion the germs of future legislation; and this Amendment might be one of such germs. The hon. and learned Member had suggested that not only with regard to draining, but to other improvements, arbitration might be called in to determine what should be done. It was for that reason that the Government had avoided in this clause any reference to an independent authority, for they thought the main thing was to leave matters to be settled between the landlord and tenant on the basis of the clause itself. He hoped the Committee would not accept the Amendment.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he was rather surprised at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, for the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln had stated to-day that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had agreed to accept this proposal. He regretted the decision of the Government, for he believed the landlords were very anxious for this provision.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, he moved to omit, in page 2, line 29, the words "on the execution thereof;" first, because they were not necessary; and, secondly, because he thought they might lead to the mistake that a tenant who had several years to run would be entitled to claim compensation immediately on the execution of the improvements. Possibly the Government had it in mind to show that a tenant should not be entitled to compensation unless the improvements were carried to a conclusion; but that would be as well carried out by the substitution of the words "on quitting his holding on the determination of his tenancy." What he wished to prevent was a tenant claiming compensation immediately on the execution of the improvements.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 29, leave out "on the execution thereof." —(*Viscount Folkestone.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had no objection to omit these words; but he would propose to insert "in respect thereof."

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Amendment made, in page 2, line 29, after the word "due," by inserting "in respect thereof."

Mr. CHAPLIN, in rising to move the insertion of the following paragraph:—

"Except as to feeding stuffs and manures the tenant shall not be entitled to compensation for an improvement mentioned in the second or third part of the Schedule hereto, where, in the case of a tenancy from year to year, it it executed after the tenant has given or received notice to quit, unless it is executed with the previous consent in writing of the landlord,"

said, this was an Amendment to which he had referred at an earlier part of the evening, and its object was to give a certain control over the execution of that class of durable improvements which could not be met with any excuse on the part of the landlord. He understood the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) to intimate to the Committee that he would himself be prepared to bring up an Amendment of this character. He (Mr. Chaplin) did not know whether it would be the wish of the Government to accept the proposal which he submitted at the present time, or not; but, if they were, he thought it would be well that the question should be settled at once. Therefore, with that view, and without repeating anything he said earlier in the evening, he would move this addition to the clause.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 34, insert as a new paragraph,—"Except as to feeding stuffs and manures the tenant shall not be entitled to compensation for an improvement mentioned in the second or third part of the Schedule hereto, where, in the case of a tenancy from year to year, it is executed after the tenant has given or received notice to quit, unless it is executed with the previous consent in writing of the landlord."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. M'LAGAN said, he had an Amendment to propose which came before this Amendment.

Mr. J. LOWTHER submitted that this Amendment had already been moved.

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE rose to Order. His hon. Friend (Mr. M'Lagan) rose to propose his Amendment at the same time as the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin).

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. M'Lagan) would have precedence if his Amendment were on the Paper. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) has precedence, because his Amendment is already on the Paper.

Mr. DODSON hoped the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) would not press his Amendment now. He (Mr. Dodson) stated last night that the Government would be prepared to bring up a clause with a view of effecting substantially what was aimed at by this Amendment.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, on that understanding he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, that if the Government accepted the Amendment, or the spirit of the Amendment, which was proposed by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, it would render nugatory the second part of the Bill, and, to a considerable extent, the third part.

Mr. DODSON said, as there still appeared to be some misapprehension on this point, he was afraid he should have to detain the Committee for a few moments. He thought he had stated that the Government would bring up a clause, and endeavour to give effect to that which was intended by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire. He stated, at the same time, that the matter required consideration, and he stated also that he could not commit himself as to any particular improvements, or as to the notice to quit in the case of a tenancy from year to year. Unless the clause respecting this was very carefully framed, it would enable the owner to keep the tenant under notice continuously, and thus prevent his obtaining compensation for any improvement. That was the difficulty which had been pointed out, and they had to find means of meeting it. With regard to leases, also, he did not think the words suggested by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire could be accepted, and he stated that in the earlier part of the evening.

MR. CHAPLIN said, perhaps he might explain that, with regard to leases, he should be quite prepared to accept a modification in the sense suggested. He wished, however, to make this point quite clear, that earlier in the evening he distinctly advocated the Amendment on the ground that it would give, in an extreme case, control to the landlord over the execution of a certain class of improvements, if they were made improperly or unnecessarily. He held, therefore, inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) had said he would substantially accept the spirit of the Amendment, that the terms of the Amendment with regard to notice to quit should remain practically as they were.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) would be able to lay the new clause on the Table of the House, at all events, by Monday.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he thought the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire had nothing whatever to do with the clause before the Committee. The clause was confined solely to the 2nd Part of the Schedule, and the Amendment referred to the 3rd Part.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, it might be that when the notice was given the work might have been commenced.

MR. STAVELEY HILL, rising to Order, asked if there was any Motion before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes; the Motion is that the Amendment be, by leave, withdrawn.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he hoped the acceptance of the spirit of the Amendment by the Government did not by any means imply that the form of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire would be accepted. Unfortunately, when they were told from the Treasury Bench that, substantially, the Amendment was accepted, there was a liability, when they came to Report, of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire and those acting with him holding the Government to the terms of the Amendment. He (Mr. Illingworth) only wished to point out now that if the work was in progress when the notice to quit was given, the tenant would be uncompensated for the work so far as he had done it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. M'LAGAN proposed to add to the clause the following Proviso:—"Provided that such improvement does not tend to diminish the general value of the estate." It was very possible that an improvement might benefit a particular holding and yet diminish the value of an estate generally. One of his reasons for moving this Amendment was that, as leases are included in the Bill, certain improvements might be added to the Schedule, which might be good in themselves, but might tend to diminish the value of the estate, and the landlord would, under the Bill, have no power to prevent their being executed. He had taken these words from the Irish Land Act, and surely if the Government consented to insert them in that Act they would not object to put them in this Act.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 30, after "Act," add "Provided that such improvement does not tend to diminish the general value of the estate."—(*Mr. M'Lagan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. HENEAGE said, he hoped that the Government would not accept this absurd proposal. If the tenant was going to do something which would diminish the value of an estate, of course the landlord would step in and give him notice to quit. If the landlord did not know of any probable injury, how could the tenant be expected to know?

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he thought there was a great deal in the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan). It was perfectly possible to conceive that some improvements might have a detrimental effect on the value of an estate. It was a different matter where a tenant was holding under a long lease, and holding under a yearly tenancy; and he should like to ask the Government whether they were prepared to say that the conclusions which the Committee came to in reference to this Bill would apply also to the Scotch Bill? On several points in this Bill Scotch Members held strong opinions, but had refrained from troubling the House with them, having put down Amendments to the Scotch Bill; but he was informed that there was a possibility of several points, not only of principle, but of detail, in the Scotch Bill being supposed to be under consideration on this Bill. The Amendment of his hon. Friend had a very important bearing on the Scotch Bill; and he would be glad if the Government would define the exact position, as it would very probably tend to shorten the debate hereafter.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, looking at this question from the point of view of an estate on which the lettings were from year to year, he very much concurred in what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage). At the same time, he was bound to admit that he, fortunately, knew exceedingly little of the system of leases, which, he was glad to say, did not prevail in any part of the county with which he was connected, and he was not inclined to advocate the adoption of the system generally. It was plain that the question as to year-to-year tenancies and to leaseholds must be considered from a separate point of view. It was obviously most unfair that in the case of leaseholds a tenant should have power to carry out improvements which might be beneficial to the particular holding he occupied, but which, at the same time, were calculated to injure the estate of which his holding was only a part.

Sir. EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he sympathized with the object his hon. Friend (Mr. M'Lagan) had in view; but he doubted whether the words he proposed would tend to carry out his object. There was great reason for allowing power to a landlord to object to a tenant carrying out a particular scheme of drainage, because it might be no drainage at all. He thought the real way of meeting the proposal of the hon. Member would be to give power to the valuer to decide whether the improvement was an improvement at all.

Mr. BULWER said, he considered that the proposal of the hon. Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) was a very sensible and a very reasonable one. He (Mr. M'Lagan) had pointed out, in the course of the discussion this evening, a case in which the occupier of a house was deprived of his supply of water on account of the ill-managed drainage of an adjoining property. It was quite clear to the mind of anybody that an improvement to a particular holding might be extremely detrimental to the other tenants of the estate. One of the great difficulties which they would have to deal with in the Floods Prevention Bill was the effect of the drainage of the uplands on the lowlands. It was contended, on the one hand, that the drainage of the uplands was an advantage; but the lowlanders maintained that it might be extremely detrimental to them; in other words, though it would do good to the uplands, it would do the lowlands a deal of harm. So one could readily imagine what might be an improvement to one particular holding might damage the rest of an estate. He thought the Committee ought to accept the spirit of the Amendment, though he was not prepared to say whether the words were exactly sufficient to carry out the object in view. The draftsman would be quite competent to find words which would attain the object, if desired.

Mr. DODSON said, the Government were not prepared to accept the Amendment. It did not appear to him to be one which was at all necessary. Under the clause the owner really had the matter very much in his own hands, and this Amendment would even give him greater power. He (Mr. Dodson) did not think it was necessary to give the owner this additional protection, if protection it be. With regard to the appeal made to him by the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick), he could only say that it was well known the Scotch and the English Bills were constructed on the same lines to a very great extent. There was, of course, a difference of circumstances and of law in the two countries, and on going through the Scotch Bill they would be obliged to take into consideration that difference.

Mr. M'LAGAN said, that, at the commencement of the discussion this evening, it was distinctly stated that this clause referred to leases as well as to yearly tenancies; and, consequently, the objection taken to the Amendment by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) was of no avail. This Amendment distinctly referred to leases and to yearly tenancies. He would not, however, trouble the Committee by taking a Division; but when the Scotch Bill was under consideraion, he would move his Amendment, and take the sense of the Committee.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he desired the Committee to take note of the declaration of the Government, that in the Scotch Bill they desired to carry out, in so far as the difference of cultivation would allow, the same principles they had adopted in the English Bill. He thought this was a very important declaration, because it simplified the discussion on the Scotch Bill. Of course, they would have to take all these points up again in the Scotch Bill, unless they understood that the two Bills were at least *pari passû.*

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he hoped the Government would not attempt to prevent any discussion on this clause in the Scotch Bill.

Mr. DODSON said, he had only to repeat that the English and Scotch Bills had been constructed on the same lines, but that they would consider, on going through the Bill for each country respectively, the points of difference which the circumstances of the two countries required. He did not know what was the particular object with which the hon. Member (Mr. A. J. Balfour) rose; but if there was any idea in his mind that the Government would accept for the Scotch Bill an Amendment which they had objected to in the case of the English Bill, simply because the Amendment had been forced upon them, he begged him not to indulge in any such idea.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR asked the Government to give a pledge that the principle of the Scotch Bill would be the same as that of the English Bill.

Mr. DODSON said, he declined to pin himself to any statement with regard to the Scotch Bill.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON moved to add, at the end of the clause, these words—

"Compensation under this Act shall not be payable in respect of any improvement in the third part of the Schedule hereto, unless the tenant has within twelve months after the execution of such improvement given notice in writing to the landlord of the amount of money expended thereon and, if required, produced vouchers."

His Amendment was intended to insure the keeping of the accounts between landlords and tenants in a business-like fashion. He desired that the tenant year by year should keep an account of the agricultural operations that he had made for which he desired to receive compensation, and that it should be necessary for him to give notice to the landlord of the works he had done in the way of improvements, and how much he had spent on them, so that when the parties desired to dissolve partnership there would be as little trouble as possible in their doing so.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY rose to Order. The Amendment of the hon. Member dealt with the 3rd Part of the Schedule, whereas the clause only dealt with the 2nd Part.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON pointed out that the Amendment which they had just disposed of affected matters in the 3rd Schedule.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the Amendment was in Order.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, his Amendment was conceived in the interests of the tenant, because it would often happen that the tenant would omit to keep a proper account of the works he was doing, and which he had done, and the consequence would be that in 10 or 15 years, possibly, he might not have the proper evidence which was so necessary, especially as the Committee had decided that his compensation should not go beyond his original cost. It was reasonable that the two partners in the business, the landlord and the tenant, should know what was going on between them—that was to say, a bill should not be run up by the one against the other behind his back. The Amendment would not affect the discretion of the tenant in carrying out improvements. It only required that after he had made an improvement he should give notice to the landlord, in order that an account might be kept of it. The Amendment would induce a tenant to keep accounts, and enable him at the proper time to put forward his claim in an intelligible manner. The Amendment would also have another advantage. They all knew there were a few cases in which tenants were robbed in respect of the manure and feeding stuff sold to them by dealers. The Amendment would induce the landlord to assist a tenant in getting the proper analysis of the manures and feeding stuff used on the farm. The Amendment would prevent disputes between landlords and tenants; and in case a tenant died suddenly, all the circumstances of his agricultural operations would be in the possession of the landlord and the tenant's successors. He begged leave to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 34, at end of Clause, add—"Compensation under this Act shall not be payable in respect of any improvement in the third part of the Schedule hereto, unless the tenant has within twelve months after the execution of such improvement given notice in writing to the landlord of the amount of money expended thereon and, if required, produced vouchers."—(*Mr. Stanley Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. DODSON said, he hoped the hon. Member would not detain the Committee by pressing this Amendment. It was very much out of place here; it was confined exclusively to the 3rd Part of the Schedule, whereas the clause dealt exclusively with the 2nd Part. He would point out that the Amendment would be a trap to the tenants who were not generally acquainted with the provisions of Acts of Parliament. They would not know they would be called on to give this notice, and would omit to do it. He, therefore, appealed to the hon. Member to withdraw the Amendment.

Mr. FLOYER said, he would draw the attention of the Committee for one or two minutes to the Amendment he had placed on the Paper. In some respects it was analogous to that moved by his hon. Friend the Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton), and as that Amendment had been ruled to be in Order, he (Mr. Floyer) supposed his Amendment would be equally in Order. The distinction between the two Amendments was this. What his hon. Friend had asked the Committee to agree to was that notice should be given by the tenant to the landlord of any improvement that was made in the 3rd Schedule, accompanied with vouchers if required; and his Amendment was one which was in the Agricultural Holdings Bill of 1875, requiring the tenant, before beginning to execute certain improvements, to give notice to the landlord. He did not ask for any permission or agreement from the landlord, but merely that the tenant should give notice to the landlord that he intended to execute these improvements. Furthermore, he did not ask that the tenant should be bound to give notice to the landlord when he executed improvements such as the use of certain feeding stuffs and manures. In regard to these matters, if notice had to be given the tenant would require to do it every year, and the duty would, therefore, become somewhat irksome; but the improvements of which he required notice to be given were the more permanent class in the 3rd Part of the Schedule, such as boning, chalking, claying, liming, and marling the land. These were improvements which, unless they were carried out judiciously and with discretion as to the character and requirements of the different parts of the farm, might be very injurious indeed. For instance, a tenant might put chalk on land which was altogether unfit for it, and inflict an injury upon that part of the farm that could not be recovered for many years to come. If the landlord received notice that the tenant intended to carry out these improvements, he would be able to remonstrate with him at once, and give him the benefit of his judgment, which, as he might have been there for many years, whilst the tenant might be new to the farm, might be very useful. Besides that, if this notice had to be given there would be this advantage—that the landlord would be able to take note of the way in which the improvements were done. The landlord would know the quantities of lime and chalk used, the manner of their application, and their results, and by noting these facts he might be able to give information to the valuer, when that person came to value the improvements, in the event of the tenant quitting. He had been informed by a very able Member of the House—one who was as conversant with valuations as anyone could be—that it was important, when a valuer came to value improvements, on a tenant quitting a farm, that both parties should be able to give useful information, to enable a just and fair valuation to be arrived at. It was quite impossible that a valuer, by merely walking over the land, could fix the amount of the value of the improvements for which compensation was claimed. What the valuer would do would be to get all the information he could from the different parties. The tenant would say to him—"I have chalked that field and marled this, and I have done so and so, and I make a claim for these improvements, which, as you see, have done a great deal of good to the farm." The object of his (Mr. Floyer's) Amendment was to enable the valuer to go to the landlord as well, or to enable the landlord to go to him and say—"I remember such and such an improvement being effected very well—I remember it was so many loads of chalk, so many loads of lime, which were put down on this or that field; I remember that part was not touched." In this way the landlord would be able to give information from his point of view; and it was in this way, by receiving the evidence of the landlord on one side, and of the tenant on the other, that the valuation would be made. There could be no doubt whatever that the difficulty which would be experienced under the Bill would be to arrive at a just valuation. They wanted all the information for the valuer they could give. The agent might not be living on the spot, he might not be there when the improvements were effected, and there might be nothing from the landlord's point of view to guide the valuer if this notice were not given. The only way in which the landlord's evidence, so far as he could see, could be made useful, would be by requiring that the landlord should receive notice of improvements. It would surely not be difficult or troublesome for the tenant to have to give this notice. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) had objected to his hon. Friend's Amendment on the ground that the tenants would not know the Act of Parliament; but he (Mr. Floyer) expected that all the tenants of England would very soon be familiar with all the leading provisions of the measure. His proposal would involve no unreasonable request to the tenant. He did not ask that all those works which were the ordinary operations of good husbandry should be notified to the landlord—for instance, where the tenant provided manures, or oilcake for feeding his stock; but he wished to have all those more durable improvements, such as chalking the land, made known to the landlord. The adoption of this proposal would take no benefit from the tenant. He (Mr. Floyer) would not move his Amendment now; but he had thought it well to refer to it, in order to enable the Committee, if they thought it a better one than that of his hon. Friend, to adopt it. If the Amendment of his hon. Friend were not accepted, he should move his.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the observations of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down appeared to him to be directed almost exclusively to the Amendment which stood in his own name, whereas he (Mr. Chaplin) understood that the hon. Member for Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) had not yet withdrawn his Amendment. With regard to the latter Amendment, though he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that it would be better raised at another time, he did not think it devoid of importance. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Shropshire provided that there should be a distinct record kept of the expenditure on the making of an improvement; but the Committee must remember that only two days ago they carried an Amendment by which it was provided that compensation for improvements made without the consent of the landlord should not exceed the outlay. He thought, therefore, that it was of some importance that there should be some record of the outlay such as that which would be provided for by the suggestion of his hon. Friend. There was some force in the observation of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who said that it would provide a trap into which the tenant would fall through ignorance; but that difficulty might be easily provided for by an Amendment to the effect that, on the demand of the landlord, the record should be placed in his hands. He (Mr. Chaplin), however, would ask his hon. Friend not to press the Amendment at the present time.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. FLOYER said, he now begged to move his Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN: I understood the hon. Member to say he did not intend to move his Amendment.

Mr. FLOYER: I did not say that. I said if the Committee accepted the Amendment of the hon. Member for Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) I would not move mine, as it would not come in as it stands on the Paper. The hon. Member's Amendment, however, has not been accepted; therefore I now move mine.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, at end of Clause, add—"Compensation under this Act shall not be payable in respect of any improvement mentioned in the third part of the Schedule hereto, and numbered from 14 to 19 respectively, unless the tenant has, not more than three months and not less than one month before beginning to execute such improvement, given to the landlord notice of his intention so to do, and of the nature and extent and probable cost of such improvement."—(*Mr. Floyer.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Amendment of the hon. Member differed from that of the hon. Member for Shropshire, inasmuch as it required notice of improvements to be given before they were executed instead of after, and in that respect it would restore the improvements to the position they held under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, which required that notice should be given of the improvements executed. He believed there was no provision in that Act which gave more general dissatisfaction; therefore, he would venture to hope that the Committee would not agree to the Amendment. If the last Amendment was rightly described as a trap to tenants, the same, he thought, might be said of these notices. Why should the tenant give notice before putting a little lime on his field? If he gave notice the landlord could not prevent the improvement taking place, and the effect of neglecting to give notice would be that, it might be three or four years afterwards, he would lose the value of all the improvement.

Sir THOMAS ACLAND said, that chalking and liming the land were very serious matters. A "little liming," to use the right hon. Gentleman's expression, would not be of much use. It was reasonable, he thought, that the landlord, who might have very good reason for wishing to know what was going on on his property, should be entitled, when an operation of this kind was going on at the discretion of the tenant, to ask him what amount of cost he had incurred. He hoped some clause to that effect would be brought up later on.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he supported the observations which had fallen from the hon. Baronet who had just addressed the Committee, because those who had had practical experience of the matter would know that there were cases where they might apply bones or lime to the land without its being of the slightest value. At the same time, it was a most expensive class of manuring. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) spoke of a man "putting a little lime on his field," but he (Mr. R. H. Paget) knew from experience that the operation might easily cost from £4 to £5 an acre. They were going to allow a tenant to enter upon what might be an expenditure of £4 to £5 an acre. It was not a question of a "little lime" not worth a moment's consideration, but it was whether or not a tenant was to be allowed to enter upon an expensive experiment of this nature not merely for his own amusement, but with the power of saddling the expense on the landlord, and without giving any notice whatever to the landlord. It might be that the Amendment would not act harmoniously with the clause they were discussing; but he hoped the hon. Member (Mr. Floyer), if he withdrew it, would take good care to embody it in a seperate clause or to bring it up on a subsequent part of the Bill.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he must protest against the view of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioners of Works, that the Amendments moved by his hon. Friend and by himself were traps to the tenants. They, perhaps, knew more about tenants than did the right hon. Gentleman. The Amendment had been supported, not only on the Opposition side of the House, but by the hon. Baronet (Sir Thomas Acland) who sat behind the right hon.

Gentleman, and who was one of the largest and best landlords in the country. The right hon. Gentleman asked why the tenant should give notice to the landlord of what he had spent? And, in reply, he (Mr. Stanley Leighton) would say—"For the reason that the landlord was guaranteeing the repayment of the outlay." If a man was to be responsible for an expenditure of money, surely he should know something about that expenditure. If they were to go on amicably with this Bill, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman not to talk in this way about "traps to tenants."

MR. ALAN EGERTON asked the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill whether, on Report, they would be able to bring up an Amendment to deal with this matter? There were such things as vouchers for artificial manures which were not worth carriage. They had had reports which showed that manures supplied by various manufacturers were not worth the trouble of putting on the land; and if they were to go back five years, even if they had *bonâ fide* vouchers presented by the tenant, how did they know that they would represent any real benefit to the landlord or incoming tenant? He hoped the Government would, on Report, see their way to bringing up something to embody this Amendment.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, it might be more convenient for this matter to be postponed than to be decided now; but, whether or not, he hoped the Government would not overlook the desirability of coping with the difficulty which had been pointed out. At the risk of repetition he would, in one word, call the attention of the Committee once more to the fact that this was not really a question between landlord and tenant. In the great majority of cases the person who would have to find the money would be the incoming tenant. He was the person who was perfectly helpless in the matter, because he had not had the opportunity of the previous experience of the outgoing tenant. What he (Mr. J. Lowther) thought was most important was that they should have in the Bill before it passed out of their hands some provision — some power which would enable the landlord and his agent—who were the persons on the spot, which the incoming tenant was not—to check the claim subsequently to be made. The Government might choose their own time for bringing that forward; but he hoped they would not overlook this practical danger—the danger of fraud on the part of dishonest outgoing tenants, who might endeavour to get money from incoming tenants for improvements they had not effected.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken represented a division of a county in which a well-known custom had long been enforced. The people of that county were not put into leading strings, as was proposed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. To his mind it would be intolerable to call on the Cheshire tenants, for instance, to give notice to the landlord every time they wished to buy a ton of coal-dust for their land; it would be intolerable to call on the Essex or Suffolk farmers, who were in the habit of using chalk, to give notice to their landlords every time they wished to put a quantity of chalk on the land; or to call on the Worcestershire farmers, who were in the habit of clay-burning, to give notice to their landlords every time they wished to use clay; and, in like manner, many farmers throughout the country would find it an intolerable nuisance to have to give notice to their landlords when they wished to put lime on their holdings. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) was bound to show that any such provision as this was wanted by the farmers. At any rate, he had never heard from any Lincolnshire farmer that any such safeguard was necessary.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, the outgoing tenant would have to prove what he had done. He sympathized with hon. Members as to the quality of manures; but it was by no means such a simple matter as hon. Members seemed to think if the tenant was to be bound to give notice to the landlord every time he put manure on his land. He would have to give notice to the landlord that he required a certain quantity of manure; an elaborate process would then have to be gone through, including the obtaining of samples and the sending of them to an analyst—for if this were not done there would be serious disputes arising. He did not think any of these things were necessary. The valuators should look at the farm to see the condition in which it was, and to ascertain whether artificial manures had been applied. In this way a practical test should be applied. No doubt the suggestion made had something to recommend it; but it raised serious points for the Committee to consider. The tenant, for instance, would have to prove that he had given notice to his landlord that he wished to carry out improvements.

Mr. FLOYER said, he was ready to withdraw the Amendment. As to the Amendment being a trap, he would inform the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) that he had taken it from some rules drawn up by the best farmers in the county of Dorset—who were quite as good farmers as those the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) spoke of—in conjunction with Lord Alington's father, one of the best landlords who ever lived.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Viscount GALWAY wished to ask a practical question. Supposing a tenant said to his landlord—"Will you drain such and such a field?" and the landlord said—"I am willing to do it, but shall charge you 5 per cent on the outlay;" and supposing the tenant refused to pay that percentage—there would be no agreement—could the tenant then benefit himself in the matter? Would the landlord's offer in such an event be a sufficient guarantee that he was ready to perform his part of the transaction?

Mr. DODSON said, he was afraid he must answer that question by another question. Did the noble Lord mean that there should be an undertaking in writing or not?

Viscount GALWAY said, that if the landlord offered to his tenant in writing to drain the land on the understanding that the tenant should pay 5 per cent on the money expended, would the refusal of the tenant to pay that amount vitiate the offer of the landlord?

Mr. DODSON said, he was sorry to say he did not even yet understand the noble Lord's question. No doubt it was his (Mr. Dodson's) own fault.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, there could be little doubt about the question, and he should think there could be less about the answer. The noble Lord asked, if the landlord undertook to execute drainage works, but the tenant refused the condition to pay 5 per cent, would that refusal to conform to the landlord's terms vitiate the offer of the landlord, and enable the tenant to effect the improvement himself?

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, the tenant would have no choice in the matter. He would have to pay the percentage if the landlord did the work. He might leave the farm; but he would have to pay the money so long as he continued in occupation.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that, as the Bill stood, the words were—

> "In default of any such agreement or undertaking, and also in the event of the landlord failing to comply with his undertaking within a reasonable time, the tenant may execute the improvement himself, and shall on the execution thereof be entitled to compensation under this Act."

If the tenant declined to pay 5 per cent, there would be no agreement.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, a landlord, on receiving notice, might undertake to do the work himself, or come to an agreement with the tenant to do it; or he might say that, whether the tenant agreed or not, he would do it himself.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY asked whether the landlord was to do the work himself, and then charge the tenant 5 per cent; or whether the tenant could withdraw from the matter after having once met the landlord?

Mr. BULWER said, he thought the clause was very simple. The landlord might undertake to execute the improvements himself, and charge the tenant 5 per cent. Of course the landlord would not execute the work unless the tenant undertook to pay 5 per cent. That was one part of the agreement; but then, in in default of the tenant undertaking to pay 5 per cent, or of the landlord executing the work, the tenant might do the work himself. He presumed that the landlord might, after executing the work himself, and if the tenant did not pay, put the tenant into the County Court to recover his 5 per cent; but that was no answer to the noble Lord, who wanted to know whether, if a tenant did not enter into an agreement with the landlord, he might do the work himself, and then charge the landlord 5 per cent as "compensation under this Act?" To this, at present, the Committee had received no answer.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he thought the Committee had now passed the stage at which they could profitably discuss the matter, for the Question that the clause stand part of the Bill had been put. The Government, however, might consider the point between now and the Report.

COLONEL RUGGLES-BRISE said, that before the clause was agreed to, he wanted an explanation on one or two matters connected with it. He had asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster whether this clause would override the custom of the country; but, as yet, he had received no answer. If that was the case, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to give hereafter some definition of what land drainage was. In his own county it was not necessary now that a tenant should give notice when he wished the land improved; but under the clause he would not be able to make the slightest improvement without giving three months' notice.

MR. DODSON said, that if a tenant gave notice under this clause he would then get the benefit of compensation under this Act. If he did not give notice, he would not be so entitled.

COLONEL RUGGLES-BRISE said, that was no answer to his question. As he understood it, the clause would override the custom of the country, and so would put the tenant in a worse position than he was now in.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Reservation as to existing and future contracts of tenancy).

MR. ALBERT GREY said, that, as he attached a great importance to the Amendment which he now had the honour to move, he trusted that hon. Members would bear with him while he stated as shortly as possible some of the reasons why he thought that his proposal should commend itself to the favourable opinion of the House. The clause, if his Amendment were accepted, would read thus—

"Where, in the case of a tenancy under a contract of tenancy beginning after the commencement of this Act, any particular agreement in writing is made between landlord and tenant with respect to compensation for any improvement, and executed after the commencement of this Act, then, in such case, the compensation in respect of such improvement shall be payable in pursuance of the particular agreement, and shall be deemed to be substituted for compensation under this Act."

In other words, wherever a written contract between a landlord and tenant might contain a particular agreement in writing as to the manner in which compensation should be paid, then both landlord and tenant should be obliged to maintain and fulfil the terms of the contract into which they had deliberately entered, and should be prohibited from falling from the terms of their contract, back upon the Act. This was, he was aware, a most important Amendment. It raised the whole question of freedom of contract, and whether it was, or was not, desirable that the State should interfere to regulate contracts entered into by men who were quite capable of managing their own affairs, on the ground that the State understood their interests and the way to promote them better than they did themselves. For that this would be the effect of the clause, if passed as it then stood, could not be denied. By the clause, as unamended, it was proposed to invest the referees to be appointed by the Act with power to examine into any and every agreement, no matter how made, and to decide, some in one way, and some in another—for there was no rule laid down to guide their action—whether the agreement should be allowed to stand as fair and reasonable; or whether it should be set aside as not coming up to what, in their varying opinion, might be required by the words of the Act. Now, he ventured to contend that this clause proposed to invest these referees with more power than was necessary. It could not be maintained that it was desirable that the State should interfere to regulate contracts, on the ground that the tenants were unable to obtain for themselves fair bargains. The argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that the landlord was the *dominus* of the contract, use in 1880, could not be used in 1883. Nor could his hon. and eloquent Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) argue now, as he argued in the first Session of this Parliament, that inasmuch as there would always be a greater demand for farms than for tenants, that therefore land was a monopoly, and should be brought under the regulation of State control. Without pausing to show that the views of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton involved the establishment of judicial rents, it was sufficient to state that never since the beginning of this century, had land, which was wanted for agricultural purposes, been so little of a monopoly as at the present time. The difficulty of landowners to let their farms was well known to everyone. So far from land being a monopoly, for which there was a crowd of eager competitors ready to outbid one another, the number of farms in the market greatly exceeded the number of tenants looking out for them, and landlords were only too ready to accept or keep a tenant on any terms which the tenant might propose, so long as they did not transgress the bounds of moderation and of reason. If, then, good tenants were able to impose their own conditions, was it wise to encourage helplessness by doing for men what they had the power of doing for themselves? What was wanted, in order to obtain a productive agriculture, was that farms should be held by energetic and self-reliant men; and, he asked, could anything tend more in an opposite direction than to pass a provision which would teach men to look to the State to give them that protection which they had complete power of securing for themselves? His objection to the clause in its unamended state was that it went beyond the necessities of the case. All that was wanted was that the Compensation Clauses of the Bill should come into operation wherever no particular agreement in writing specified the manner in which compensation should be paid; and this was what would be effected if his Amendment was accepted. If his Amendment was accepted, the tenant of every single agricultural holding would have compensation secured to him—either the compensation given to him by the Bill, or that measure of compensation which he had himself agreed in writing to accept. In the North of England, where the agreements were mostly in writing, he did not believe there was any danger of practical injustice being done to the farmers, who were well able to take care of themselves. In the South, he was aware, it was very different. There, he knew, a loose and slovenly system prevailed, and the sooner it was put an end to the better he believed it would be for all parties concerned. He could conceive no better way of putting an end to it, nor any way which was less open to objection, than that suggested by his Amendment. He was strongly in favour of giving the tenant the clearest Statutory right to the fullest possible compensation in every case where no written agreement, signed by both landlord and tenant, specified the manner in which compensation should be paid. For this change in the law he was earnestly anxious; but what he disapproved of, what he saw great danger in, what he believed to be beyond the necessities of the case, was that the State should undertake to judge for men what contracts they ought to make. The business of the State was not to make contracts, but to enforce contracts; and if a contrary principle were acted on, if the State were to undertake to regulate and readjust the industrial relations between man and man—not for any purpose involving the protection of human life, not for any purpose involving the protection of those who were unable to help themselves, but for the purpose of securing a purely economical result—namely, the production of a larger output of wealth; then, if that principle were extended and applied, all the transactions of life would be thrown into confusion. But then it might be said—"If you do not give the State the power of overhauling agricultural covenants, of what advantage is the Bill? Wherein consists the difference between this Bill and the Act of 1875?" Well, he believed that this Bill would, if amended, be of the very greatest advantage. The great fault in the Act of 1875 was the manner in which freedom of contract was preserved. It was remarked, in 1875, by one who was now one of Her Majesty's Ministers, that the provision that either of the contracting parties might, by giving notice to the other, exclude himself from the operation of the Bill, was absolutely unique in our Statute Book. The Bill, if amended as he had suggested, would remedy that grave defect. Instead of allowing one of the contracting parties to issue a notice excluding himself from the operation of the Bill, every tenancy would be brought under the Act, unless both landlord and tenant agreed in writing as to the manner in which compensation should be paid to the tenant for improvements made by him; and this was as far as, he ventured to maintain, the State ought to go. The loose and slovenly system which existed over large parts of England, to which he had referred, would, on the passing of this clause, if amended as he had suggested, instantly disappear; and this would be an immense advantage, and one to secure which would be well worth the efforts of the Government and of the House. In 1875, Lord Malmesbury gave it as his opinion that not one among 30 or 40 tenants had a signed agreement; and he said that, when he succeeded to his property, he did not find a single properly-written agreement in existence between the tenants and his father. Now, he was not conversant with the circumstances of Lord Malmesbury's estate; but what he would venture to say was that Lord Malmesbury had described a state of things which prevailed over large parts of England, and that, to remedy this state of things, the Act of 1875 had done very little; but if, instead of an Act which, like that of 1875, enabled the landlords to notice themselves out of the Act, without any reference to the tenants, we had an Act which would apply to every single case in which there was not a lease or particular agreement in writing signed by both landlord and tenant, then the system referred to by Lord Malmesbury would instantly disappear. No one, he thought, could deny this, least of all the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), who, in his evidence before the Duke of Richmond's Commission, stated it to be his conviction that if we had had such an Act as this one would be, if his (Mr. Grey's) Amendment was accepted, there would be no necessity now for any further legislation. With these few remarks he would conclude. He hoped he had said enough to convince hon. Members of the fairness and justice of his Amendment; but, while thanking the House for the patient indulgence which had been extended to him at that late hour of the night, he wished it to be clearly understood that it was only a reluctance on his part to trespass unduly on their kindness which prompted him to confine his remarks, for he had not brought forward one tithe of the powerful and convincing arguments which showed that his Amendment was one which ought to be accepted by the House.

Amendment proposed—

In page 3, line 5, to leave out the words "secures to the tenant," and insert the words "is made between the landlord and tenant with regard to compensation."—(*Mr. Albert Grey.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not mean to add anything at length to the arguments so very ably put forward by the hon. Member opposite. He had put his case with great force and moderation, and was old-fashioned enough to still believe in freedom of contract, which every Party in the State, 10 years ago, were ready to pin their faith to. He was as old-fashioned as the hon. Member, and he should go with the hon. Member if he went to a Division. The Bill proposed to make contracts for the whole of the tenantry of England and Scotland; but he would like to ask the Committee whether there was any class in the community more capable of taking care of their own interests than the tenant farmers? They were men of education and capital, and in agricultural matters they were stronger than the landlords. It was the landlords who competed with the tenants, and not the tenants who competed with the landlords. If the Committee thought it necessary to interfere with contracts, he would ask for what classes the Committee thought that should be done? He would draw attention to the condition at this moment of the poor tenants in Westminster—not 100 yards from the House. Whole families were living in one room, and were rack-rented to the uttermost. If the House thought it necessary to make contracts for farmers, who were quite able to make contracts for themselves, ought they not to do the same for these poor people? And how about the agricultural labourers? He did not think they were the poor oppressed people some Gentlemen thought them; but certainly they were less able to take care of their interests, and required the interference of the House, more than the tenant farmers. He should vote for the Amendment.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought the hon. Member's speech was very good for a second reading, but not as to this Amendment. It was argued that contracts of a general character might be interfered with; but that when a specific contract was made, however unfair and one-sided, it ought not to be interfered with. He could not see much difference between the two cases; but if the Amendment was accepted, there would be nothing to prevent a landlord from imposing upon tenants contracts which should exclude compensation altogether. All that tenant farmers demanded of Parliament was that landlords should not have the power to impose upon them contracts as to the amount that they should pay, the conditions of which were upon the face of them manifestly unfair; the tenant farmers demanded that landlords should not be allowed to confiscate the improvements which properly and justly belonged to them. He strongly objected to the Amendment proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Arthur Grey), and he was surprised to hear the hon. Gentleman say that those constituents of his who were farmers did not demand legislation for their protection. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had heard a very different voice from Northumberland. The tenant farmers of Scotland, at any rate, required legislation for their protection; and he hoped, therefore, that the Committee would reject this Amendment.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, it was impossible for him to support the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Northumberland, because it really aimed at the principle of the legislation in which they were now engaged. The principle of that legislation was an endeavour to effect a compromise between landlord and tenant. He entirely agreed with some of the remarks which fell from the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). For instance, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman that they could not discuss this question as a pure question of theory. This was a question which many persons would not allow to slumber. The case of the poor people, whose misery and degradation the hon. Gentleman had referred to, would be taken up in due course, and when those people obtained the franchise they would be able to make their voices heard.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 185; Noes 71: Majority 114.—(Div. List, No. 216.)

MR. CHAPLIN said, he now desired to move an Amendment which stood in the name of his hon. Colleague (Mr. E. Stanhope). It was, after the word "secures," to insert the word "compensation." Perhaps he would best express the purport of the Amendment if he read the clause as it would run if amended as he proposed. The clause would run thus—

> "Where, in the case of a tenancy under a contract of a tenancy beginning after the commencement of this Act, any particular agreement in writing secures to the tenant compensation for any improvement mentioned in the third part of the Schedule hereto, and executed after the commencement of this Act, then, in such case, the compensation in respect of such improvement shall be payable in pursuance of the particular agreement, and shall be deemed to be substituted for compensation under this Act."

His hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope) also intended to move subsequently to leave out "fair and reasonable," and to add, at the end of the clause, "unless such agreement is contrary to, or an evasion of, the objects and intentions of this Act." The object of this Amendment was to get rid of the difficulty which was attached to defining what was "fair and reasonable compensation." He (Mr. Chaplin) confessed that it appeared to him the object and evident intention of the clause would be better gained by adopting the words which stood in the name of his hon. Friend, than by allowing the clause to stand as at present.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 5, after "tenant," insert "compensation."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'compensation' be there inserted."

MR. DODSON said, he hoped they would not have a protracted discussion on this Amendment. The Government were unable to accept it because they preferrred the words of the clause as it stood. The words of the clause appeared to be more intelligible to the lay mind than the words proposed to be inserted. They had, also, the further advantage that they were not only intelligible to the lay mind, but they were words known to the law. "Fair and reasonable provisions" was an expression which occurred in Acts of Parliament, and which Courts of Law had been in the habit of construing. He trusted that the Amendment would not be pressed.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, no doubt the words "fair and reasonable" might be very intelligible to the lay mind; but he was afraid they were not very intelligible to his mind. What he had hoped to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) was some interpretation of what the Government really meant by "fair and reasonable compensation." Now they knew what the proposals of the Bill were. They were really to leave everything to the valuers. What did the Government mean by pointing to an alternative agreement, which, after all, was to be subject to a reference to the County Court? What did the Government think should be the provisions of an agreement, which, in exclusion of the operation of this Act, should be deemed to give "fair and reasonable compensation?" Was "fair and reasonable compensation" such compensation as would be provided by the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875? Take the case of improvements of the third class. Would it be "fair and reasonable compensation" if the agreement provided that compensation for those improvements should be dependent upon whether they were executed in the last year of the tenancy, or in the year before, and that a certain proportion should be paid according to the year in which they were executed? What did Her Majesty's Government really mean by those words? He did think that, unless they had some sort of explanation, it would not be right for the Committee to come to a conclusion this evening upon the Amendment moved by his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin). The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) had expressed a wish that there should be no discusssion on this subject. As a matter of fact, the more the subject was discussed the more difficult it appeared to arrive at a conclusion as to what was the meaning of the Bill; and the more certain it seemed that, in passing a measure in such vague terms as this, they were passing a measure which would do no good at all to the country, except to one class of men—namely, the lawyers. Members of the Committee might have a good idea what was meant by the words "fair and reasonable compensation;" but they must remember that a very short time ago Parliament passed an Act with relation to anothar part of the United Kingdom, leaving the terms of that Act extremely vague, and the result was that the Act was construed in a most unexpected manner. What reliance could they have upon a similar proposal now made to them by Her Majesty's Government? He could not help thinking that, if this Bill passed in its present shape, it would, so far from settling the question at issue, sow the seed which would lead to the most fruitful harvest of litigation ever known.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) desired to say a word or two in reference to what the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had just stated. They were dealing with a proposed Amendment to the Bill. He did not quite understand whether the right hon. Gentleman supported this Amendment or not.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I want an explanation.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he would deal, first of all, with the Amendment proposed, which was that an agreement providing for compensation should be deemed to be substituted for compensation under this Act, unless such agreement was contrary to, or in evasion of, the objects and intentions of the Act. It seemed that every word the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had said in respect of the words of the clause as it now stood were even more applicable to the Amendment proposed. What were the objects and intentions of the Act? They were to give "fair and reasonable compensation" for improvements, and the question whether an agreement was contrary to the objects and intentions of the Act was whether it did or did not give to the tenant "fair and reasonable compensation" for his improvements? They, therefore, left the same question to be determined by the Amendment, only in a more vague and more objectionable form. He did not think any exception the right hon. Gentleman took would be removed by the Amendment which was proposed by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). He (the Solicitor General) did not for a moment deny that there was some difficulty in dealing with this question; but did the right hon. Gentleman mean that, because this difficulty was so considerable, they should leave out that alternative altogether, and let anybody make any compensation in substitution of what the Bill provided? The right hon. Gentleman agreed that the provisions of this Bill would give the tenant compensation. The right hon. Gentleman did not mean that they should contract out of the Act by giving "fair and reasonable compensation." But they must do something of this kind, or they could not allow contracting out of the Act at all. They ought to distinctly understand what the right hon. Gentleman meant and desired, for they were asked to comply with his wish that they should define in every case what would be "fair and reasonable compensation."

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, the question he asked was whether an agreement adopting the provisions of the Act of 1875 would be held to give "fair and reasonable compensation?"

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, he did not profess to bear in mind the provisions of the Act of 1875, and, therefore, he should be sorry to give an off-hand opinion upon the point raised. Whatever opinion he might give would not prevent the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) from determining the question himself. It would be a matter for consideration and judgment whether it was a fair and reasonable alternative as regarded the provisions of this Bill. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to answer this—which, he thought, was a thing they had a right to understand—whether he meant that because the words "fair and reasonable" were words which, to a certain extent, left a good deal to the judgment of the tribunal which was to determine the matter, therefore it would be better to leave them out altogether?

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell): Then, what did the right hon. Baronet suggest? The right hon. Baronet might ask him (the Solicitor General) just as reasonably to say what was "fair and reasonable" as to the carriage of goods by rail, as to say what would be fair and reasonable under the Act of 1875. The right hon. Gentleman would have to consider whether he would rather have the provisions of the Act of 1875 out of the Bill altogether. These provisions would come before them one by one, and the right hon. Gentleman could say as they came up whether or not he approved of them.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he had simply asked that Her Majesty's Government should interpret their own words, and unless he received some more satisfactory reply he would move to report Progress — in fact, he now made the Motion. He had asked a plain question — namely, whether an agreement embodying the provisions of the Act of 1875 would be held to be fair and reasonable compensation? What were the provisions of the Act of 1875? He found in that Act certain rules and limitations which Her Majesty's Government had not thought fit to adopt in the Bill before the Committee. There was, for instance, the provision that the tenant should not be entitled to compensation, in respect of improvements in the the 3rd Part of the Schedule, where an exhausting crop had been taken from the land. These were practical provisions relating to matters of agriculture which every valuer, in valuing these things, would take into consideration as between the outgoing and incoming tenant. It seemed to him of great importance, if they were to permit—as he wished to see permitted—an alternative agreement for compensation in place of the provisions of this Bill, that they should have a clear declaration as to whether the provisions—which were law at the present time—would, if embodied in that alternative, be considered fair and reasonable compensation. As he understood the Solicitor General, he was not prepared to answer the question now. Perhaps he would be able to answer it to-morrow; therefore, he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) moved to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he thought they were entitled to some further explanation from Her Majesty's Government than that which they had received from the Solicitor General. He had himself been about to put a question similar to that which had been asked by the right hon. Baronet, as to the interpretation to be put upon this clause, for the reason that he believed the state in which the Bill was left by the 1st clause would lead to endless litigation. It left everything to be decided by the valuer as to the amount of improvement; and every reasonable landlord and tenant would endeavour to come to an agreement outside the Bill. It was to the interest of all that this should be the case. They should not lay down a hard-and-fast line, and say—"By this rule, and this rule alone, shall compensation be estimated." Compensation should be on more definite lines than this clause; and if Her Majesty's Government could not say now whether the landlord and tenant could not come to an agreement similar to that under the Act of 1875, they should take time to consider it.

MR. DODSON said, the right hon. Baronet opposite had thrown out a challenge to Her Majesty's Government which called for an explanation, but had immediately moved to report Progress, whereby they were debarred from discussing the subject. If the right hon. Baronet would withdraw his Motion, he (Mr. Dodson) would endeavour to give an answer.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, he would withdraw the Motion, which he had only moved because the Solicitor General said he could not explain the point submitted to him.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. DODSON said, he would endeavour to answer the question of the right hon. Baronet.

MR. JAMES HOWARD (who rose amidst cries of "Order!") said, he was sure the Committee would act fairly with him. He wished to ask what Amendment was before them?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question before the Committee is, that the word "compensation" be inserted after the word "tenant."

MR. DODSON said, he might now, perhaps, be allowed to answer the appeal made to him by the right hon. Baronet, inasmuch as this was the first of a series of Amendments by which it was proposed to substitute certain words which were more vague than the words "fair and reasonable." The right hon. Baronet had thrown out a challenge to the Government, and had asked—"What do you mean by 'fair and reasonable;' and is this thing and the other thing a 'fair and reasonable' substitute for the compensation provided in the Bill?" He thought he might answer by saying that the words "fair and reasonable" would have to be construed by the valuers or the Court according to the case submitted to them. [An hon. MEMBER: That means litigation.] He (Mr. Dodson) was not called on as a Court of Law, or a valuer, to answer hypothetical cases submitted to him by the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. Baronet had brandished before them the Act of 1875—which he (Mr. Dodson) had not a copy of at the present moment—and said—"Tell me off-hand, would a Court say that the provisions of this Act would be 'fair and reasonable compensation' within the meaning of the Bill?" He (Mr. Dodson), if he might venture without prejudice — having protested against being called upon to answer the question—to give his view of the matter, would say the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 were, in the main, borrowed from the Lincolnshire custom. That was a very good custom for that part of the country in which it prevailed, and he should think it might there be held that these provisions were a "fair and reasonable" substitute for the provisions under the Bill; but in other parts of the country, different in character to Lincolnshire, and where the conditions of the Lincolnshire custom did not so well apply, these provisions might not be a "fair and reasonable" substitute. The Agricultural Holdings Act had adopted the custom of one part of the country, and had endeavoured to apply it to the whole of the country; and that was as a matter of fact, one of the chief causes of the failure of that measure. This was the only general answer he could give—under the protest he had mentioned—to the right hon. Baronet.

MR. HENEAGE said, that the objection to these words did not come from any particular quarter of the House. If the right hon. Gentleman would look on the Paper he would see that "fair and reasonable" were objected to by hon. Members representing every quarter of the House. The answers which the Solicitor General and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had given were the very worst which could be offered, as they distinctly referred them to a Court of Law. This was exactly what had been foretold at a very large meeting of the Chambers of Agriculture. They had said that the Bill left open the question of what was and what was not "fair and reasonable," and that a great deal of litigation would be the result. They objected to the provision on that ground, and adopted as the best words to be found those standing in the name of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. Everybody objected to these words "fair and reasonable," believing that they would lead to endless confusion. The Government had not satisfactorily explained them. He did not think that, up to the present, he had voted against the Government once; but he must say that he did object, in the very strongest manner, not only on his own behalf, but on behalf of the tenant farmers of England, to these words "fair and reasonable." If the intellect of Her Majesty's Government could not find a way out of the difficulty, some independent Member should find it for them.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would consider this matter, and offer some explanation to-morrow. The Government relied upon the words because they were indefinite, and would have to be considered, not by themselves, but by a Court of Law. He was bound to say he considered it impossible to come to a conclusion this evening, and, therefore, moved to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Mr. BULWER said, he would ask the hon. Member to withdraw his Motion, and let them go to a Division on the clause. He could understand the straightforward action of the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey), who stood up for freedom of contract, and had taken the bull by the horns, and asked them to go into the Lobby with him to declare that the landlord and tenant should be allowed to make a "fair and reasonable" agreement between themselves. Hon. Members who had voted with the hon. Member for South Northumberland now came back to the Committee and endeavoured to wriggle out of their vote.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Member must confine himself to the Question before the Committee.

Mr. BULWER said, he thought it was right to give some reasons why the hon. Member (Mr. Brodrick) should withdraw the Motion, so that they might go to a Division on the clause; but he did not wish to pursue the discussion further.

Mr. DUCKHAM supported the Motion to report Progress. He thought it would be far better to leave out the second paragraph altogether, if the Bill was to become the law of the land; and he hoped that the Motion would be accepted, in order to give time to consider the desirability of its being eliminated.

Mr. DODSON said, that if the Committee wished to discuss this matter further, he would not oppose the Motion for reporting Progress. ["Hear, hear."] Let hon. Members have patience for a single moment. He wished to say that in consenting to report Progress the Government did not wish to flinch from words they had proposed in the Bill, because they did not believe that they could propose better ones. They certainly did not think that any better ones had been suggested. If hon. Members who objected to the words thought that by taking a night's reflection they could propose anything better, he was willing to wait and see the result of their reflection.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he should be happy to withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Duckham.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 22; Noes 159: Majority 137.—(Div. List, No. 217.)

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he had asked himself, with regard to the Amendment before the Committee—and, indeed, he might say with regard to the clause—what was its object? Was it not the object of the clause to give a certain latitude to tenants and landlords, to be able to make agreements not entirely in accordance with the Act? If that was the object of the clause, did not the Committee risk losing that object altogether, unless words could be found which would suit the majority of the Committee? As to the words "fair and reasonable," there were some who objected to them because they were afraid they might limit the compensation to the tenant, while others objected to them, because they were afraid that the landlords under these words would have to pay more than they would, for instance, under the Agricultural Holdings Act. It was impossible to vote against these words unless they had some idea of the words which the Committee would adopt, and substitute in their place. It seemed to him that it would be very dangerous to cut these words out, and to trust to the future for finding words which would satisfy the whole of the Committee; because, if the majority could not be satisfied upon this subject, the result would be that they must give up the hope of coming to agreements outside the Act altogether, and he commended this suggestion to hon. Members opposite, who wished to retain a certain amount of freedom in this matter. He thought they would risk the making of these agreements altogether, unless they adopted words in the direction proposed by the Government. As to the words "fair and reasonable," it was argued that those words would take them before the Courts; but could hon. Members suggest words which would not take parties before the Courts? Unless something precise were laid down in the Act it was not worth while making these agreements at all. One Amendment before the Committee was that they should substitute these words—"the compensation to be in accordance with the objects and intentions of this Act;" but he could not conceive words which were more vague or more certain to lead to litigation than these, if they were to be substituted for "fair and reasonable." Indeed, whatever words might be suggested, it would hardly be possible so to frame them as, at the same time, to give liberty of action, and not leave the matter in the vague form in which it was left by the Government. However, he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman opposite who had taken part in this debate whether he could not obtain his object and test the opinion of the Committee upon the Agricultural Holdings Act by moving a Proviso which should provide that, if compensation was given under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, such compensation should be deemed to be fair and reasonable within the limits of this Act? That would test the question fairly, and the Committee could then decide whether they considered that the words "fair and reasonable" would include those provisions. Otherwise they would be entirely in the dark, because, even if the Government were to say that they considered that compensation under those provisions was fair and reasonable, a Court of Law might hold that it was not so, and it would be no guide whatever to the Committee that the answer of the Government should be in the direction that it was fair and reasonable. The way he suggested was, he thought, a fair and reasonable way of testing the question.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was perfectly ready to assent to the suggestion that had just been made by the right hon. Gentleman; and he thought it could be done by the insertion of words either before or after the words in the clause. It was a little late to attempt to do it to-night; but he thought they might very well decide on the first Amendment now. It was hardly desirable that the clause should stand as it was.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he thought there was a great deal in what had fallen from the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen); but he agreed with his right hon. Friend that if that view of the question was to be taken it was too late to proceed to-night. Perhaps the clause had better remain as it was to-night, and then they could dispose of it to-morrow. He would, therefore, move that the Chairman be directed to report Progress.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, the Government had admitted that it was desirable to discuss this matter at greater length, and they had no objection to reporting Progress. But hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to be almost entirely disagreed; perhaps it would be as well if the Committee had some intimation of what it was they did desire

—whether they desired to go on or to report Progress ?

Mr. CHAPLIN said, that a totally new suggestion had just been made by the right hon. Member for Ripon. Though the noble Marquess appeared to have forgotten it, and as that suggestion seemed to be so well received by the Committee, it was desirable that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow,* at Two of the clock.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Postponed Resolution [16th July] *further considered.*

(5.) " That a sum, not exceeding £1,556,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884."

Lord HENRY LENNOX said, they had just had a debate about what was fair and reasonable; but he did not think it was either fair or reasonable to expect hon. Members, at half-past 1 o'clock in the morning, to discuss the important questions which would arise on the Report of Supply. It was a national misfortune that important Votes, such as those for Dockyards and shipbuilding, should be brought on at such an hour. He did not believe that Her Majesty's Government, or anyone else, was to blame; but he must say, in justice to himself and those who acted with him, that it was neither more nor less than a farce to discuss such questions at half-past 1. He would not detain the House at that hour of the morning; but he wished particularly to say that some time ago the Secretary to the Admiralty made a statement which, he said, was accurate in his belief, as to the amount of iron-clad tonnage added to the Navy. Subsequently, he (Lord Henry Lennox) took occasion to demur to the correctness of that statement. The Secretary to the Admiralty replied to him, and his hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty also replied to him, and he had no opportunity of answering either of those hon. Members in their distinct denials of his facts. He was, however, prepared to stand by the correctness of his facts, and to dispute the correctness of theirs. He made a statement last year founded on the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty, and the Surveyor General of Ordnance came down one night when he (Lord Henry Lennox) was not here, and distinctly denied the truth of what he had said. Now, he was prepared, at a proper time, and in a proper manner, to answer that hon. Gentleman with his own Colleague's words; but, under the present circumstances, if the Government could not see their way to giving the House an opportunity of discussing this most important question of the real strength of our Navy, at a decent hour of the night, he should, with a humble protest, refuse to go into the question at such an hour as this. He would only make one appeal to his noble Friend who was now in charge of the Government Business, to know whether he would think it fair or reasonable to give them another opportunity of discussing these important matters?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he understood that these questions had been discussed on more than one occasion, and that no object was to be gained by devoting another day to them, although, no doubt, the subject was important. He could not hold out any hope that it would be possible to bring the matter in on any night at any hour much earlier than the present; and, therefore, he thought they ought to take advantage of the present opportunity.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: It is, Sir, to be regretted that, unfortunately, we are in the hands of the Government, and we cannot do more than make our protest. But if we are to go into the subject now, I wish to say just a few words in reference to this Vote; and I may remark that the Secretary to the Admiralty said the other evening that if the Navy was not adequate for the duty it might be called upon to discharge, the late, and not the present Board of Admiralty, was responsible for its insufficiency, because the present Board had not had time to build and complete any ship since they had been in Office. I pointed out at the time that I spoke with reference to the recent and progressive increase of Foreign Navies, which require to be met by corresponding exertions in England, and that this development has become marked and continuous during the past three or four years. But what is the present Board doing? It is allowing ships which figure in the lists as efficient or available ships to remain unrepaired and absolutely useless. So long as their boilers are bad, they are no more than paper ships, and are for the time struck off from the strength of the Navy. And there are six iron-clads in the Dockyard now in this condition; and there are some in commission which are so defective that they cannot move excepting with a low pressure on their boilers, and at a slow rate of speed. The *Bellerophon* has been in hand three years, and we are told she is to be completed next year. The *Triumph* and the *Iron Duke* are to be "partly completed;" but there is no earthly reason why they should not be finished before the 31st March. The *Warrior*, the *Black Prince*, and the *Resistance*, are not to be touched. Their repairs, whenever any are taken in hand, will take at least a year, so that the possibility of making any use of these ships, which are admitted to be capable of making most valuable cruisers in time of war, is postponed for at least two years; and what may happen in that time? Then there are the *Inconstant* and *Shah*, large unarmoured frigates. They are to be left still further to depreciate. Now, either the Admiralty intend to use these ships again, or they do not. If they do, they are incurring a grave and serious responsibility in deliberately depriving the country of their assistance any longer than can possibly be avoided; but if they do not intend to repair them, then the shipbuilding programme requires to be greatly enlarged, or pressed forward to supply the deficiency which the dropping out of these and of their sister ships will create. But I spoke of iron-clads in commission, which are almost on their last legs. The *Defence* requires new boilers. The *Achilles*, the *Minotaur*, and the *Valiant*, are working with reduced pressure; and of coast defence iron-clads, the *Gorgon*, the *Glatton*, the *Hydra*, and the *Hecate*, will very soon require a complete overhaul. The truth is, Sir, that every year must bring its own crop of repairs imperatively required to be executed. Every year ships will drop out of the really Effective List, unless the work of each year is faced and disposed of. If it is not done, we may have nominally a large, but practically for all purposes of war, a very small Fleet. There is no economy in postponement, but, on the contrary, there is great extravagance; and the country is weak when it may be of the highest importance that it should be strong. I venture again most earnestly to express the hope that the Admiralty will decide at once to repair every ship needing repair, which they intend to retain on the effective strength of the Navy. If they come to the House for any Supplies now, I am certain the House will give them; if they do not, their responsibility, I repeat, will be great indeed.

SIR JOHN HAY said, it was very satisfactory to him to find that his right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster had at last seen it necessary—absolutely necessary—notwithstanding all the traditions which came from the Treasury of trying to save as much as possible of the national resources—to come down and impress upon the House, with all the weight of his authority, the fact of the terrible destitution of our Navy. Naval Members of this House were not much attended to; but his hon. and gallant Friend beside him (Captain Price) and himself, and, no doubt, others also, had endeavoured, both when in Opposition and when they sat on the Ministerial side of the House, to urge upon the Admiralty the necessity for adding to our iron-clad Fleet. He himself had never hesitated to do so, because he believed it right; and because he thought it justified by a great deal of the information collected by the hon. Gentleman who was now the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and who had constantly urged upon the country the necessity for this Fleet. He (Sir John Hay) was astonished the other day, when his right hon. Friend was urging on the Committee the necessity for an additional number of iron-clads being at once commenced, to hear the Secretary to the Admiralty reply—"Yes; that may be so; but if it is, it is because you did not build enough when you were in power." That *tu quoque* kind of argument was of no value; and in order that the House might see how far it was true, he would just point out what were the ships that were laid down and launched between 1874 and 1880, and what had been done since the present Government came into Office. The *Nelson*, the *Northampton*, the *Agamemnon*, the *Ajax*, the *Majestic*, the *Colossus*, the *Conqueror*, and the *Collingwood*, were all laid down. He did not speak of the *Inflexible*, which was laid down before; but all these eight ironclads were laid down under the Conservative Government; and, in addition to them, there were the *Superb*, the *Neptune*, the *Orion*, and the *Belleisle*, which were launched, making 12 for which the late Government were responsible—not enough, as he thought; but, still, largely in excess of what had been done by the present Government, who were responsible for the *Benbow*, the *Rodney*, the *Camperdown*, the *Howe*, the *Warspite*, and the *Impérieuse*—the Government would hardly expect him to take the *Mersey* and the *Severn* into the account. The present Administration had, therefore, laid down six, as against the 12 of the previous Government. He did not wish to emphasize the facts, or to ask whether his right hon. Friend the ex-First Lord of the Admiralty laid down enough or not; but he was very glad that his right hon. Friend, in his desire to assist the Admiralty in doing what was right for the country, had thought it his duty to come down and say that he knew the Navy to be insufficient. The only reply which the Secretary to the Admiralty seemed able to give was—"Well, if it is insufficient, it is your fault." But that would not save the country; the question was, how was such a state of things to be remedied? The bandying of charges between the two sides of the House did not make the Navy sufficient, and would not give us a strong Navy. The Government should attend to those who had urged this matter upon them, both in and out of Office, because they knew what was wanted. Until that was done, they would have no sufficient Navy. He had thought it right to give these names of the ships laid down, so that the country might be able to judge whose fault it was; and he supposed the fault would rest more upon the shoulders of those who only built six, than upon the shoulders of those who built 12. But neither had built enough, and that fact ought to be known.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he must confess that he should feel some little difficulty in supporting the appeal of his noble Friend (Lord Henry Lennox) to the Government for postponing the Report of Supply; because, as had been very truly said, they had really discussed these matters very fully on the Votes; and if the Report was postponed now, there was no saying when they would get a chance of repeating the discussion, and most probably, when the opportunity did occur, it would only be at a very late hour. At the same time, he was bound to say that he thought his noble Friend had some reason for wishing to postpone it, because on Monday night, or rather at an early hour of the morning, the right hon. Gentleman the late First Lord of the Admiralty made a most remarkable statement, which he thought ought to be repeated at a time when the House was full, and when the reporters in the Gallery would all be present, and would be able to give to the country the full extent of what the right hon. Gentleman said. What the right hon. Gentleman did say was no less than this—that he had come to the conclusion that the preparations that were being made to put our Navy upon a proper footing were not sufficient. He even said more than that—that he was fully satisfied that the naval strength of this country was not what it ought to be, and that sufficient provision was not being made for the future. That was a very remarkable statement to come from such a very high authority, and it was only right that the country should know what was said in its entirety. He (Captain Price) would not venture to go into the *tu quoque* argument at all. He should like to do so if there were time; but it was obviously too late for such a thing. But he wished to point out that the reason why there was such a great difference between the action taken by the present Government and that of the late Government was that the efforts which were being made by our neighbours across the water were far greater now than they were then. That, he thought, was the principal gist of the thing. He dared say that a great many hon. Members, and especially those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House, studied economy rather more than efficiency. They had never thought it worth their while to look at the French

Navy Estimates, or, if they did, they would find that the French Chamber took a Vote in augmentation of credit this year to the extent of 3,000,000 francs, and the reason they gave was this—that it was on account of the Vote passed in the Chamber to hasten the construction of the new iron-clads, and to come to the completion of their construction in three years instead of six. That was to say, that their efforts to put their Navy on a proper footing were to be doubled. During the last Administration, he thought we were keeping fairly apace with the French Navy. But, as he had said on previous occasions, he did not think we were doing enough, because his idea was that our Navy should be considerably stronger than that of France. Up to 1880 we were keeping fairly on an even footing with the Navy of France; but now matters were altogether different. The French had increased their efforts. They had 5,000 more men in their Dockyards building ships than we had, and their Chamber of Deputies had passed a Resolution directing that they should increase their efforts still further, and complete the ships they were now building in three years instead of six. That, he thought, was a complete answer to the arguments which hon. Gentlemen opposite had framed and also to what had been said, that the late Government did not do better than the present Government. This was all he had to say. Too much weight could not be given to the remarks of the late First Lord, and they deserved to be fully answered by the Representative of the Admiralty.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN wished, first, to say something in reply to the complaint that the Report of Supply was taken at such a late hour. The noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox), who made the complaint, appeared to have gone away; and it not infrequently happened that, after he had made an elaborate attack on the naval policy of the Government, he retired, not waiting to hear a reply. But the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith), at all events, had the courage of his opinions, and supported those opinions by his presence, and he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was glad he had remained. The explanation to the complaint was, that it was not his experience that the Report stage was a stage upon which the whole discussion which had taken place in Committee of Supply was to be gone over afresh. It was a stage at which stitches that had been dropped were picked up, questions that could not be answered in Committee were answered then, and any required detail was supplied; but it was not an occasion for renewing, on the very same lines, the elaborate discussion which had taken place in Committee; and, therefore, he thought it was not at all a "ridiculous" thing, especially at that time of the Session, to take the Report at a somewhat advanced hour in the morning. A few nights previously the Shipbuilding Vote was brought on at a comparatively early hour, a quarter before 12, and a long discussion arose upon it.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it was a quarter to 1.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, perhaps, it was at that hour that the right hon. Gentleman spoke; but the Vote, upon which the right hon. Gentleman might have got up at once if he had chosen to do so, was called before midnight. But there was an occasion prior to that when the Naval Estimates were brought on, when there was a long night's discussion, when the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) made a long speech, and when, as now, he went away immediately afterwards; the Civil Lord of the Admiralty made a most elaborate reply to the attack, and the noble Lord did not remain to listen to it. The noble Lord said on that occasion, as he had said now, that the Secretary to the Admiralty had made the complaint that ships were waiting for their guns, and that he had complained of the delay at the War Office, or of the system under which the Navy obtained its ordnance; in fact, that the guns were not ready when the ships required them. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) took occasion to explain elaborately that he never said anything of the sort, that he never meant to convey any such idea, and that, if he inadvertently did convey such an idea to some minds, the idea had no foundation in fact. But then, as now, the noble Lord went away, not waiting to hear the explanation. But the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) had heard the explanation, and knew that the delay was not in the manufacture of the guns, but in settling the design of the guns. It was not the fault of the Department over which his hon. Friend the Surveyor General presided that occasioned the delay, but the difficulty that arose between the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Ordnance Committee in settling the designs of the guns; and, once the design was settled, there was no blameworthy delay in the War Office. The noble Lord never heard his explanation—an explanation that was really not required—but went to a discussion that took place outside on a well-known occasion, and alleged that the Secretary to the Admiralty had made that suggestion, which he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had explained he never made at all. So much for that part of the attack; and he would now turn to the more serious business, the line of attack the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) had adopted in the new departure he had suddenly made. Something had been said about the *tu quoque* line of argument which he was said to have followed in saying that if the Navy was inefficient the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends were to blame for it. He was not accustomed to use the *tu quoque* argument; and he quite agreed there was no public benefit in the free use of it, and he hoped he should never fall into the error of using it. What he had said was, that hitherto the House had been discussing the question whether, in 1885, when our neighbours across the water had completed the programme they proposed, this country would be in a proper state of strength as compared with them? That was the question which had been under discussion when the right hon. Gentleman undertook to prove that the Navy was inadequate at present for the duties it had to discharge. All he then said was, that if the right hon. Gentleman blamed anybody for that, he must blame himself, because no ship the present Admiralty could have laid down at the beginning of their tenure of Office could be of any avail to the Navy now; and it must be owing to a want of foresight in laying down a sufficient number of ships if the Navy was in such a feeble state as had been alleged, and that was a proposition that must be evident to everyone. Whether the proposals for future eventualities were sufficient was another matter. The right hon. Gentleman said at the moment the Fleet was inadequate; and, of course, if that was so, the reply was not complete, for the Government should, if that state of inefficiency existed, set about making it good; but, in condemning the present Navy, the right hon. Gentleman was really blaming himself. He now said the Navy, as regards ships built and building, was short of what was required; and that, of course, raised another question, Whether the Admiralty were making proper provision for the future? The right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) quoted a number of ships, and went on to say that the late Government had laid down a certain number of ships, and that the present Government had only laid down a certain smaller number; therefore, said the right hon. and gallant Gentleman—"Look on that picture and on this." Now, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) denied that the number of ships laid down was any test of the strength of the Navy. It was open to the Admiralty to lay down 20 ships, and only spend some £500 a-year on each, and they might point to them and say—"See what we are doing." But what good would they be to the country while they were not finished? The great object was to push on with shipbuilding. He had quoted the figures in Committee showing that before the Government came into Office the amount of shipbuilding proposed was somewhere about 8,000 tons, and then he gave the figures showing how, since then, the Government had gradually and prudently raised the amount, until their proposal for the current year reached 13,000 tons. That was no inconsiderable advance, from 8,000 to 13,000; and it was in that way, by extending shipbuilding operations, by adding to the money devoted to that purpose, by seeing that the work was energetically pushed on, the Admiralty were making the preparations they thought necessary. As to the French Estimates, he had, on a former occasion, given figures bearing upon those; and, in reference to these Estimates, he had seen the most grotesque errors committed in quarters which might be expected to be well informed. He had not the figures before him, not being prepared for this renewed debate; and, therefore, he could not refer to the particular figures quoted by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price).

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he did not quote any figures.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, yes; the hon. and gallant Gentleman quoted the 3,000,000 francs. He merely mentioned this to show how necessary it was to be careful in such matters. There was such a sum mentioned, not in the Votes, but inserted in a *projet de loi*, a sum proposed to be taken for the advancement of shipbuilding for the completion of the naval programme in three instead of six years; and this it was that had been made a handle of. But what happened? The Chamber refused to pass it, and not one sous had been spent in that way, and in the complete French Estimates there was no mention of any such sum, or of an increase in the money voted. This was an example of the way in which, honestly and innocently enough, perhaps, mistakes were made, and the public were misled. Undoubtedly the French Estimates had gone up; but this and next year they had not been substantially increased, and there was no reason to believe their programme would be at all exceeded; it did not even look as though it could be reached. When the House was told of the large sums the French Government were spending on ships, and therefore we should redouble our efforts, he would point out that in the time of the late Government we were not spending so much as now, and the French were not even now building up to their programme announced several years ago. A number of years ago they announced a certain programme to be finished in 1885. That programme was well known; and if these things were to be taken into account as a test of the degree of rivalry, and this country must exceed that programme, then it was an indication of what was required, quite as much seven or eight years ago as it was now; in fact, the indication was less strong now, for it was now known the French Government were not likely to keep up to that programme. For his own part, he repudiated the idea that we were to go on building great ships merely because we saw France doing the same sort of thing. Speaking in the discussion raised by the noble Lord on the 7th May, he had pointed out to the House, and it was worth mentioning again, that the whole of this great start which the French were apparently making in this matter was due to the converting of their old obsolete wooden iron-clads into a fleet of steel ships; there was nothing in this to cause all this unnecessary alarm. But undoubtedly, when we saw them adding to their Navy vessels of the newest type and the greatest strength, it behoved us not to be behindhand; and it was for that purpose, and that we might keep the position we ought to occupy, that the Admiralty had made so considerable an increase in the shipbuilding tonnage. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) said nothing about this alarm; he did not say a word about the inadequacy of the Navy on the 7th May, when there was a full discussion on the subject; but now, from his place in the House, he made a statement which, if it meant anything, meant that the Government should proceed immediately to bring in Supplementary Estimates for increasing the Navy. Then let it be distinctly understood in the country, when the Government were accused of extravagance in many respects, let it be understood that in this respect they were called upon by the Opposition to spend yet more money, and were invited to introduce increased Naval Estimates. As to individual ships, with all his right hon. Friend had said as to the propriety of keeping up repairs he entirely agreed; but he must be allowed to say that the Board of Admiralty, with the assistance of their Naval Advisers, were really the best judges as to what particular ships should be repaired in one particular year. They could not repair them all; he did not suppose his right hon. Friend would ask the Admiralty to do that in one year. What the Admiralty had done was to repair all the iron-clads except the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance.*

SIR JOHN HAY: And the *Defence.*

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman always raised the name of that vessel, because her boilers were not so strong as they once were; but that did not make the *Defence* an useless ship, and she was not in a condition requiring elaborate repairs. The *Bellerophon*, the *Iron Duke*, and the *Triumph* had been quoted by the right hon. Gentleman. The *Bellerophon* was finished with the exception of her gun fittings, her gun mountings, and the repairs connected with them, and the reason these were not finished was, that as she was to be used as a sea-going gunnery ship it was necessary to fit and mount her with guns of the newest type of almost an experimental kind, and that was why she was, in one sense, unfinished at the moment. The *Iron Duke* and the *Triumph* were on the year's programme; the *Iron Duke* would be well advanced, the *Triumph* not so far advanced. The *Warrior* had only been begun; it was discovered within the last few weeks that her masts were unsound, and she was now in the same category with the *Black Prince* and the *Resistance.* The right hon. Gentleman said these valuable ships should never be left out of repair; it was a wasteful and impolitic proceeding; but he had found it necessary when he was at the Admiralty. The *Black Prince* was out of repair in 1879, and the right hon. Gentleman himself could not make up his mind to repair her. The *Black Prince* and the *Resistance* had been left to the present Admiralty, with a Minute of their Predecessors on the Board, to say that the consideration of repairs to these ships should be postponed, because no one could say what the cost would be; it would cost a large sum, perhaps £150,000, or more, to do what was required. The Admiralty were going thoroughly into the question of these ships in the autumn, to see whether one or more should be taken in hand this year; but it was very doubtful whether they should be taken in hand at all; therefore, it was not desirable to set to work in a hurry for the sake of doing something which, after all, might not be justified. The *Raleigh* would be completed this year. The *Shah* was out of repair in the days of the late Admiralty; she was in the programme one or two years and not touched. [Mr. W. H. Smith dissented.] He was speaking only from memory, and, so far as his recollection served him, the *Shah* was out of repair a year or two before the right hon. Gentleman left Office.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he was sure the hon. Gentleman did not mean to misrepresent. He could assure him it was not so.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, it was desirable to have repairs executed as soon as possible; but the Admiralty had to ask their Naval Advisers, in making new arrangements, which were the ships which, in their opinion, should be taken in hand, and upon the list the Board exercised their judgment. It was according to this advice it had been decided it was not desirable to repair more than the *Raleigh* in that class. The repairs to the *Hecate* were just finished.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, her boilers would have to be worked at low pressure.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that might be so; but, at all events, the money expended upon the vessel had made her much more useful than she was before, and it was intended to do the same thing to others of the same class. The whole question amounted to this—was the Navy in an efficient condition for the services required of it? And, secondly, were the Admiralty doing enough, in view of future requirements, and the relative position this country would occupy in the future? The explanations he had given to the House in the course of lengthened debates had answered these questions in the affirmative. The Admiralty had taken such steps, prudent and careful, but substantial steps, they thought necessary; and he could not see that there was any ground for the right hon. Gentleman coming down to the House in an unusual and unexpected state of alarm, to urge upon the Government an expenditure which they could not see was justified.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, he did not wish to detain the House at such a late hour; but there were one or two remarks due in reply to the speech just made. The Secretary to the Admiralty said that his right hon. Friend seemed to acquiesce in the views laid before the House when the hon. Gentleman introduced the Navy Estimates; but if he remembered rightly, his right hon. Friend expressly guarded himself against that. He accepted the figures on the responsibility of the Admiralty that they were adequate, without giving a very decided opinion as to the correctness of the facts, but, accepting the figures laid before the House on the authority of the Admiralty, he proceeded to discuss the way in which they had allocated the money they asked for. That was a different thing from saying he accepted the view put forward as entirely adequate to the work and development of the Navy. The real complaint was that the Admiralty were not only not building sufficient ships, but that they were not laying down sufficient ships. He, at any rate, had come to that conclusion, and they had also allowed repairs to fall too largely in arrear. It was impossible to go into this at such an hour; but the facts and figures quoted by his right hon. Friend showed, at any rate, there was considerable cause for the accusations or the charges, if the hon. Gentleman chose to call them so, brought against the present Administration. This was not the time to raise a general question on the state of the Navies of Europe; but whilst he was out of Parliament he happened to be taking great interest in the Navy, and he had looked closely into the state of Foreign Navies. As a rough test, he remembered ascertaining, in 1879, that the number of iron-clads in the possession of all the other nations of the world were double the number this country had in commission. He admitted this was a rough test; but he had reason to think it gave some ground, if not for alarm, at least for increased attention to our own Navy. It was impossible not to have this feeling intensified when they considered not only what France was doing, but also what was being done by other nations. It was well known that very powerful ships had been added to the Italian Navy, and other nations were not behind. He did not know exactly what the Russians were doing at the moment; but there was a considerable fleet in the waters of Constantinople which, under certain circumstances, might have been added at one blow to the Russian Navy in 1877. All that the Opposition could do, when it was not in their power to make any increase in the money for the Public Service, was to suggest that the Admiralty should reconsider their Estimates, that they should go further into the question of repairs in our Dockyards, and take greater pains to become acquainted with the state of Foreign Navies, about which there seemed to be some doubt, seeing the great discrepancies between the account of the progress of the French Navy, given by the Secretary to the Admiralty, and the accounts from other sources. The only hope was that the Admiralty would bestir themselves next year, and present a more sufficient programme.

Resolution *agreed to*.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL BILL.

(*Sir Thomas Brassey*, *Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

[BILL 253.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Thomas Brassey.*)

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, he should like to ascertain from the Civil Lord of the Admiralty—to get, in fact, a positive assurance from him—that there was no intention to reduce the number of boys in the Greenwich School. It was a school well recognized, in this and other countries, as a nursery for seamen, and it would be a great mistake to interfere with it. With the objects of the Bill he quite sympathized. If it was thought right and proper that a certain number of boys should have a claim on the Admiralty to be educated, though not physically fit for the Naval Service, he could have no objection; but he did want to get a positive assurance from the Civil Lord, who was the Representative of the Admiralty, and entitled to speak for them on this subject, that there was no intention to decrease the number of boys—namely, 1,000—who were at present educated in Greenwich Hospital School.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, the principal object was to make provision for pensions for widows, and in some cases, he believed, for the orphans of seamen in Her Majesty's Navy; and he thought that those who were in charge of the Bill ought to give them some idea as to what the measure would actually cost the country by-and-bye. There was no scale in the Bill for the pensions which were to be given to the different classes of widows of petty officers and seamen, so that they were not able to judge what it would eventually cost the country. His hon. Friend had told him, in answer to a Question the other day, that the Vote for this year would be about £1,200; but, of course, that would go on accumulating in amount from year to year, and in 15 or 20 years' time it would amount to a very considerable sum, especially if there were any further catastrophes such as the loss of the *Captain*. In a few years' time there might be a charge of £20,000 or £30,000 on the Greenwich Hospital Funds. Those funds had always been looked upon as a charity; their principal object was to provide pensions for old seamen. In former days there used to be a hospital in which the old seamen lived; but that was abolished some years ago, and the funds of Greenwich Hospital were appropriated in the form of Government pensions to seamen, who got 4*d.* a-day at 55 years of age, and at 65 that sum was increased to 9*d.* Now, what he wanted to say was this—when a charge for pensions to widows came to be a considerable sum, it must, of course, result in this, that the number of old seamen who were receiving pensions would be very much reduced. The Estimate for Greenwich Hospital last year was £155,000. That was the total expenditure; and out of that £120,000 was paid for these pensions of which he was speaking, and to the old men—irrespective of officers and others—£100,000 was given in pensions. If that £100,000 was to be reduced by-and-bye, as he thought it might be, by £20,000 or £30,000, it would make a very serious difference to these old seamen. At present there were about 12,000 men who were receiving these pensions; but by-and-bye that number must be very considerably reduced, and a very large number of widows might come to claim pensions, especially if some great catastrophe were to happen—if some large war ship were to be lost. He wanted to see that sufficient provision was made to provide for these pensions in future; and if there should not be, and if they found that they could not get sufficient money from Greenwich Hospital to pay them and to keep up the pensions for the old seamen, then that there should be some pledge given that the Board of Admiralty of the day would come to Parliament for a further grant, or, otherwise, someone undoubtedly would have to suffer. If the widows were to have the whole of their pensions as provided by this Bill, it was clear that the men would not be able to get theirs, and he wished to have some guarantee on this point. The Admiralty were taking very large powers in the matter, and they might extend those powers to a great variety of cases—not only to the case of widows whose husbands died in war, but to those whose husbands died from the effects of any disease. When any man died in the Service from any cause his widow might be given a pension from this Greenwich Hospital Fund. He was rather sorry that the wish which the men expressed some years ago to form a fund of their own had been altogether ignored. He had tried for many years in this House to give effect to that wish. The wish of the men was mentioned by Mr. Ward Hunt in 1875, and that right hon. Gentleman gave it the very foremost place in his Navy Estimates of that day. He (Captain Price) was very sorry that something had not been done. Had the men been allowed to subscribe, and been assisted by the Greenwich Hospital Funds under the conditions of this Bill, or from moneys voted by Parliament, some such fund might have been got up, and it would have been far more satisfactory than a Bill of this kind, the need of which he really did not see.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, in answer to the question put by the hon. Baronet (Sir Massey Lopes), there was no intention whatever of reducing the number of boys in Greenwich School. The more liberal arrangements proposed for the boys who were not physically capable would be in addition to the provisions hitherto made for the sons of our seamen. With reference to the question raised by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price), he could assure him that there was no intention whatever of reducing the age pensions, as awarded under the existing Regulations. He, therefore, hoped that the Bill would be for the benefit of the Service, and that it would be generally approved.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

FRIENDLY &c. SOCIETIES (NOMINATIONS) BILL.—[Bill 264.]

(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Burt, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Northcote.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, that, instead of moving that it be now read a third time, he would move that it be recommitted; and he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would look favourably upon that proposal. He (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would not ask the House to go further than to get the Bill into Committee, and then immediately report

Progress. He was very anxious to get all the Amendments inserted.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed."—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he was rather unwilling to assent to this proposal. Nothing would be lost by deferring the Bill till to-morrow. It was absolutely necessary that all these Amendments should be put upon the Paper, so that they might be understood; and the Motion could be as well made to-morrow as to-night. He was not prepared, without seeing the Amendments, to commit himself to their principles.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that some of the Amendments were already on the Paper. He would suggest that the re-committal might take place with respect to them. It was quite an accident that the Bill had assumed its present shape. Some of the Amendments were certainly worthy of consideration.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY expressed his willingness to postpone the Bill until to-morrow, on the understanding that the Secretary to the Treasury, if he could see his way to it, would then consent to the re-committal, and also to taking the last stage, of the Bill.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Third Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

WAYS AND MEANS—CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 4) BILL.

Resolution [July 18] *reported* and *agreed to:* —Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time.

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

[INDEX.

LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

INDEX

TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLXXXI.

SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1883.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1^{o}, 2^{o}, 3^{o}, or 1^{a}, 2^{a}, 3^{a}, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches' 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—ARMY—NAVY—INDIA—IRELAND—SCOTLAND—PARLIAMENT—POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—CRIMINAL LAW—LAW AND JUSTICE—TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

ABERDARE, Lord
  Pawnbrokers, Comm. *cl.* 6, 172
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), Comm. 1875

ABERDEEN, Earl of
 Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 410
 Railway Servants—Hours of Duty, 586

ACLAND, Sir T. D., *Devonshire, N.*
 Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1754, 1757, 1797, 1808; *cl.* 4, 1935, 1979, 1980, 2000

ACLAND, Mr. C. T. D., *Cornwall, E. Div.*
 Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1769, 1792

Afghanistan
 Alleged Capture of Convoy in the Khyber Pass, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 5, 479
 Subsidy to the Ameer, Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 12, 1211; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 16, 1500

Africa (South)
 LORDS
  The Transvaal—Dr. Jorissen, Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, The Earl of Derby *July* 13, 1348

Africa (South)
 COMMONS (*Questions*)
  Cetewayo and Usibepu, Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 2, 43

 "Republic of Stellaland"
  Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 6, 603; Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 9, 783; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 12, 1213

 The Transvaal
  Alleged Forced Labour, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 9, 781
  Dr. Jorissen, Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 12, 1235

[*cont.*

Africa (*South*)—cont.
Zululand
The Native Reserve, Questions, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 2, 37; *July* 9, 781
The Native Tribes, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 12, 1224

Africa (*West Coast*)
Hostilities at British Sherbro, Questions, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Richard, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 2, 29
The River Congo—Negotiations with Portugal, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 791; Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 19, 1888

Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. *Clause* 8—*Charges on Holdings obtained under County Court Judgments*, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Dodson *July* 9, 793
Committee—R.P. [First Night] *July* 17, 1683 [Bill 186]
Committee—R.P. [Second Night] *July* 18, 1798
Committee—R.P. [Third Night] *July* 19, 1919

Agriculture
Agricultural Department — Statistics — Question, Mr. Duckham; Answer, Mr. Dodson *July* 6, 600
Agricultural Returns, Question, Mr. Duckham; Answer, Mr. Dodson *July* 9, 786
Chambers of Agriculture and Farmers' Clubs (*England and Scotland*)—*Deputation to the Lord President of the Council*, Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 19, 1911

AINSWORTH, Mr. D., *Cumberland, W.*
Ennerdale Railway, 2R. Amendt. 444

ALCESTER, Lord (Lord of the Admiralty)
Navy—Regulations—Warrant Officers, 932

ALEXANDER, Colonel C., *Ayrshire, S.*
Parliament—Business of the House—Order of Business, 58
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 284, 298; *add. cl.* Motion for reporting Progress, 1333

ANDERSON, Mr. G., *Glasgow*
Malta—Constitutional Reforms, 1904
Naturalization—Fees on Certificates, 1226
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1010, 1323, 1326; Schedule 1, 1424, 1437
Treasury Solicitor Act, 1876—The Goods of Felons, 792

ARGYLL, Duke of
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Comm. 1869, 1873
Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock, 1877, 1880

ARMY (*Questions*)
Cavalry Horses, Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Brand *July* 5, 470
Chelsea Hospital—Lord Morley's Committee, Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Mr. Brand *July* 5, 465;—*Report of the Committee—The Evidence*, Question, Colonel North; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 19, 1902
Courts Martial, Question, Mr. Callan; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 19, 1905
Dover Cliff, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 9, 776
Forage Allowance—The 2nd Suffolk Regiment, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 2, 60
The Staffordshire Regiment, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 9, 801

Army (*India*)
The Indian Medical Service, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 2, 39;—*Alleged Neglect in the Case of Lieutenant Clarence Noble*, Question, Mr. Montagu Scott; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 10, 954;—*Re-organization*, Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 16, 1507

The Auxiliary Forces
Channel Islands Militia, Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 9, 780
Training of Militia Recruits, Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 19, 1891

Army Organization — The Militia and Militia Reserve
Moved to resolve, "That having regard to the present defective military organization and to the great importance of the Militia force, it is essential that the Militia be forthwith recruited up to their established strength; and that the 'Militia Reserve' should, as intended by its originator the late General Peel, and as recommended by the Militia Committee of 1877, be borne in excess of the Militia establishment" (*The Earl of Wemyss*) *July* 9, 730; after debate, on Question? Cont. 29, Not-Cont. 25; M. 4; resolved in the affirmative
Division List, Cont. and Not.-Cont. 765

ARNOLD, Mr. A., *Salford*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1706; Amendt. 1726, 1729, 1735, 1803; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1827, 1834, 1837; *cl.* 3, 1923
Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. Amendt. 1037, 1083

[*cont.*

Arnold, Mr. A.—*cont.*

- Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1362
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 197, 241 ; *cl.* 35, 625 ; *cl.* 45, 872
- Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1096
- Turkey—Greek Subjects of the Porte, 793
- Turkey in Asia—The Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company—Navigation of the Tigris, 956, 957, 1218, 1889

Artizans' Dwellings

- *Dwellings of the Poor—Legislation,* Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 6, 609
- *Overcrowding—A Royal Commission,* Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Sir R. Assheton Cross ; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 2, 52
- *The Petticoat Square Site—The Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London,* Question, Mr. Francis Buxton ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 2, 52

Ashley, Hon. E. M. (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Isle of Wight*

- Africa (South)—Questions
  - Cetewayo and Usibepu, 43
  - "Republic of Stellaland"—Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers, 603, 604, 783, 1214
  - Transvaal—Alleged Forced Labour, 781 ;—Dr. Jorissen, 1236
  - Zululand—Reserved Territory, 37, 782 ;—Native Tribes, 1224, 1225
- Africa (West Coast)—Hostilities at British Sherbro, 30, 32
- Ecclesiastical Grants—Church at Hong Kong—Grant in Aid, 1904
- Malta—Constitutional Reforms, 1905
- Suez (Second) Canal—The Australian Colonies, 1888, 1889
  - The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1913
- Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea — Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 1359
- Western Pacific—Office of High Commissioner, 1678
- West Indies — Jamaica—The Executive Government, 1238, 1358, 1683
  - Windward Islands — Stipendiary Magistrates, 43

Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. E., *Eye*

- Africa (South)—"Republic of Stellaland"—Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers, 603, 604, 783, 1213
  - Zululand—Native Tribes, 1224
- Dwellings of the Poor, 609
- Madagascar—Questions
  - Action of the French—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1357
  - French at Tamatave, 1679, 1680
  - Protection to Lives and Property of British Subjects, 1898
- Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, Amendt. 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580

[*cont.*

Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. E.—*cont.*

- Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 54, 1100, 1361, 1362
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 265, 273 ; *cl.* 44, 858, 860
- Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 693
- Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 824
- Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1097, 1230, 1356, 1517, 1899
- Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea — Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 611

Attorney General, The (Sir H. James), *Taunton*

- Corrupt Practices at Elections, 1891
- Court of Criminal Appeal—Mr. Justice Hawkins, 1897
- High Court of Justice—Questions
  - Chancery Division, 774
  - Continuous Sittings Bill, 794
  - Lord Chief Justice, &c. (Patronage), 775
  - Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, 1913
- Parliament—Business of the House, 1912
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 61, 62, 63, 66, 69, 71, 76, 80, 81, 84, 86, 89 ; *cl.* 8, 90, 95, 101, 103 ; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 104 ; *cl.* 10, 105, 106 ; Amendt. 109, 110, 111 ; *cl.* 11, Amendt. *ib.*, 112 ; *cl.* 13, *ib.*, 113, 114, 115, 118, 122, 126 ; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 127, 129, 130, 147 ; Motion for reporting Progress, 149 ; *cl.* 15, 195, 202, 207, 208, 223, 230, 231, 233, 235, 246 ; Amendt. 248, 250, 252, 253, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 266, 268, 269, 270, 289, 291, 296, 297 ; *cl.* 16, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 313, 314 ; *cl.* 17, 319, 320, 321, 323 ; Amendt. 324 ; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 325, 326, 327, 329, 330 ; *cl.* 19, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345 ; *cl.* 21, 349 ; Amendt. 350 ; *cl.* 22, Amendt. 351, 352, 353, 354, 356, 360 ; *cl.* 23, *ib.*, 361 ; Amendt. 362, 363, 364, 365, 367, 370, 371, 376, 378, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387 ; *cl.* 24, 389, 390, 391, 393, 394, 396, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485 ; Amendt. 486, 487, 490 ; *cl.* 25, 491 ; *cl.* 26, 492, 493, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 502, 504, 505, 506, 507 ; *cl.* 27, Amendt. 509, 510, 511 ; *cl.* 28, 512 ; *cl.* 30, 513 ; *cl.* 31, 514, 516, 517, 518, 519, 525, 527 ; Amendt. 528, 529, 530, 531, 547, 550 ; *cl.* 33, 615 ; *cl.* 34, 618, 619, 621 ; *cl.* 35, *ib.*, 622, 623, 624, 625 ; *cl.* 36, 626 ; *cl.* 37, 630, 632, 640 ; *cl.* 38, Amendt. 642 ; *cl.* 39, 646, 648, 649, 652, 653 ; *cl.* 40, 654, 656, 657 ; *cl.* 41, 831, 833 ; *cl.* 44, 834, 835, 836, 839, 845, 855, 856, 857, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864 ; *cl.* 45, 870, 878 ; *cl.* 46, 879 ; *cl.* 47, 880, 881 ; Amendt. 882 ; *cl.* 48, 883, 884 ; Amendt. 885 ; *cl.* 49, *ib.*, *cl.* 56, 886, 887 ; *cl.* 60, 888 ; Amendt. 889, 890, 891 ; Motion for reporting Progress, 892 ; *cl.* 66, 971, 972, 973 ; *cl.* 67, *ib.* ; Amendt. 979, 981 ; *add. cl.* 985, 986, 990, 1003, 1004, 1008, 1015, 1017, 1018, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1131, 1132,

[*cont.*

ATTORNEY GENERAL, The—*cont.*
  1133, 1143, 1148, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1170, 1281, 1283, 1287; Amendt. 1288, 1289, 1291, 1293, 1297, 1298, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1304, 1307, 1321, 1322, 1325, 1329, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1367, 1368, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1375, 1379, 1381, 1385, 1389, 1398; Schedule 1, 1400, 1401; Amendt. 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1414, 1415, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1423, 1424, 1426, 1427, 1432, 1438, 1439, 1448, 1451, 1458, 1459; Schedule 2, Amendt. *ib.*, 1460; Schedule 3, Amendt. *ib.*; Schedule 5, Amendt. 1463
  Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 717
  Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1513, 1514, 1899

AYLMER, Captain J. E. F., *Maidstone*
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 88, 89; *cl.* 10, 106; *cl.* 14, 147; *cl.* 45, Amendt. 878
  Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 558, 559; *cl.* 5, 575, 577; 3R. Amendt. 893, 898

BAILEY, Sir J. R., *Herefordshire*
  Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1730; *cl.* 4, 1940

BALFOUR, Lord
  Public Health (Dairies, &c.), Comm. *cl.* 13, Amendt. 173, 176
  Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3), Comm. 3

BALFOUR, Right Hon. J. B. (Lord Advocate for Scotland), *Clackmannan, &c.*
  Registration of Births and Deaths (Great Britain)—Uncertified Deaths, 766
  Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 828
  Scotland—Questions
    Fishery Board—The Report, 463
    Harbours of Refuge—Harbours on the North-East Coast, 768
    Law and Justice—Disaster on the Clyde, 801;—Suspected Cases of Infanticide in Sutherlandshire, 767
    Mercantile Marine—Harbour of Refuge, 1219
    Public Business—The Home Department—Official Papers, 472

BALFOUR, General Sir G., *Kincardineshire*
  Army—Dover Cliff, 776
  Navy Estimates — Scientific Departments, 1591, 1592
  Supply—Mint, including Coinage, 1526
    National Debt Office, 1266
    Stationery and Printing, 1269

BALFOUR, Mr. A. J., *Hertford*
  Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1727, 1779; Amendt. 1785, 1818, 1820; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1843, 1845; *cl.* 4, 1947, 1949, 1993; *cl.* 5, 2010

[*cont.*

BALFOUR, Mr. A. J.—*cont.*
  Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. 454, 457
  Madagascar—Action of the French—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1099
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 241, 296; *cl.* 24, 393; Amendt. 396, 485; *cl.* 31, 520; *cl.* 37, 637; *cl.* 39, 647; *add. cl.* 1163
  Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 820
  Tunis—Arrest of a British Subject, 1238

Bankruptcy Bill (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Order for Consideration, as amended, read *July* 9, 892
  Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed in respect of six clauses relating to the abolition of offices and compensation to existing officers" (*Mr. Chamberlain*); Question put, and agreed to; Committee; Report [Bill 243]

BARCLAY, Mr. J. W., *Forfarshire*
  Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1693, 1699, 1724, 1727, 1730, 1735, 1736, 1782, 1783, 1787, 1803, 1807, 1816, 1825; *cl.* 2, 1832, 1846, 1850, 1861, 1863; *cl.* 3, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1932; *cl.* 4, 1961, 1964, 1967, 1983, 1984, 1988, 1993, 1994, 2002, 2004; *cl.* 5, 2010
  Importation of Foreign Cattle, Res. Amendt. 1050, 1083

BARTTELOT, Colonel Sir W. B., *Sussex W.*
  Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1761, 1804, 1820; *cl.* 2, 1838; *cl.* 4, 1951, 1979
  Egypt—Cholera, 611
    Sanitary Condition of Alexandria, 1215, 1217
  Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1362
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 204; *cl.* 23, 378, 379; *cl.* 31, Motion for reporting Progress, 547; *cl.* 34, 618; *cl.* 45, 876; *cl.* 67, 977; *add. cl.* 1399; Schedule 1, 1424, 1437
  Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 963, 964
  Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 818
  Supply—Lunacy Commission (England), 1247, 1253

BATH, Marquess of
  Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 410

BAXTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Montrose, &c.*
  Scotland—Harbours of Refuge—Harbour on the North-East Coast, 767, 768
    Mercantile Marine—Harbour of Refuge, 1219

BEACH, Right Hon. Sir M. E. HICKS-, *Gloucestershire, E.*
  Africa (South)—Transvaal—Dr. Jorissen, 1235
    Zululand—Native Tribes, 1224

[*cont.*

BEACH, Right Hon. Sir M. E. Hicks—*cont.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1753, 1754, 1795; Motion for reporting Progress, 1797, 1798; Amendt. 1802, 1813; *cl.* 2, 1830, 1845, 1848, 1855, 1861, 1862; *cl.* 4, 2004; *cl.* 5, 2013, 2014, 2015; Motion for reporting Progress, 2016, 2017, 2022
Parliament—Public Business—Questions
Arrangement of Business, 1237
Ministerial Statement, 1360
Precedence of Government Orders, 183
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, 148; *cl.* 15, 196; *cl.* 19, 342; *cl.* 35, 622; *cl.* 37, 631; *add. cl.* 1381
Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea — Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 55, 56, 479, 1359

BELPER, Lord
Merchandize Marks (Channel Islands and Isle of Man), 2R. 1876

BENTINCK, Right Hon. G. A. F. Cavendish, *Whitehaven*
Ennerdale Railway, 2R. 445, 446; Instruction to the Committee, 596, 597, 599
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 70; *cl.* 8, 97, 101; *cl.* 13, 120; *cl.* 14, 140; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 192, 200, 227, 233, 244; *cl.* 16, 306; *cl.* 21, 346, 349; *cl.* 24, Amendt. 388, 396, 482, 483, 484, 486, 490; *cl.* 31, 533; *cl.* 41, 832; *cl.* 44, 846; *add. cl.* 1009, 1156, 1290, 1315

BIDDELL, Mr. W., *Suffolk, W.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1687, 1733, 1778; *cl.* 2, 1861; *cl.* 4, 1941; Amendt. 1959, 1966, 1980

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G., *Cavan Co.*
Army—Forage Allowance—2nd Suffolk Regiment, 60
Ireland—Questions
County Cess Collection—Captain Alisen, 776
National Schools—Results Examinations, 1678
Royal Irish Constabulary—Sub-Constables O'Neill and M'Kay, 1505
Ireland, State of—County Cavan, 1507
Police Protection, 1501
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1644, 1645
Medical Establishments, 1646
Parliament—Poor Relief (Ireland), 56
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 72; Amendt. 77, 84, 85, 87; *cl.* 8, 99; *cl.* 10, 104; *cl.* 13, 126; *cl.* 14, 139, 145, 147, 148; *cl.* 15, 229; *cl.* 16, Motion for reporting Progress, 312, 313; *cl.* 17, 320; *cl.* 18, 327, 328, 333; *cl.* 19, 345; *cl.* 22, 360; *cl.* 23, 361; Amendt. 381, 382, 386; *cl.* 24, 396, 489; *cl.* 25, 493, 495; *cl.* 26, 506; *cl.* 31, 549; *cl.* 37, 638, 641; *cl.* 39, 652; *cl.* 40, 660, 663; *cl.* 61, 969; *cl.* 66, Amendt. 970, 971, 973; *cl.* 67, 979; *add. cl.* 1368
[*cont.*

BIGGAR, Mr. J. G.—*cont.*
Poor Law (England and Wales)—Westminster Union Workhouse, 1894;—Case of Ann Kane, 33, 1503
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 154; *cl.* 1, 571; *cl.* 5, 574

BIRKBECK, Mr. E., *Norfolk, N.*
Sea Fisheries, 2R. 917

BLAKE, Mr. J. A., *Waterford Co.*
Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment, Comm. 917
Sea Fisheries (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1336

Board of Trade—See title *Lighthouse Illuminants*

BORLASE, Mr. W. C., *Cornwall, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1701, 1807; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1819, 1823

BOURKE, Right Hon. R., *Lynn Regis*
Madagascar—Hostile Operations of France—Bombardment of Tamatave, 468;—Death of Consul Pakenham, 1527
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 40, 637
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 609, 610, 797, 1091, 1092, 1094, 1233, 1352, 1354, 1514, 1515, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1888, 1896, 1908, 1913

BRABOURNE, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, Amendt. 399

BRAMWELL, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 409; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 418
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Comm. 1873

BRAND, Right Hon. Sir H. B. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

BRAND, Mr. H. R. (Surveyor General of the Ordnance), *Stroud*
Army—Cavalry Horses, 471
Army Estimates—Warlike Stores, 1903
Chelsea Hospital—Lord Morley's Committee, 465

BRASSEY, Sir T. (Civil Lord of the Admiralty), *Hastings*
Greenwich Hospital, 1209; 2R. 2040
Navy Estimates—Civil Pensions and Allowances, 1651
Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1584, 1589
Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c. 1647
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1650

Bright, Mr. J., *Manchester*
Africa—The Congo—Negotiations with Portugal, 1888
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 703

Brinton, Mr. J., *Kidderminster*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 19, 341

Brise, Colonel S. B. Ruggles-, *Essex, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1708, 1811 ; *cl.* 2, 1835, 1839 ; *cl.* 4, 1954, 1964, 1972, 2005

Broadhurst, Mr. H., *Stoke-on-Trent*
Artizans' Dwellings—Overcrowding—A Royal Commission, 52, 53
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1606, 1623
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, 96 ; *cl.* 15, 199, 200
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1517

Brodrick, Hon. W. St. J. F., *Surrey, W.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1788 ; *cl.* 5, Motion for reporting Progress, 2019, 2020
Parliament—Speech of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Acton, 794, 796

Brogden, Mr. A., *Wednesbury*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1303

Brooks, Mr. M., *Dublin*
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 830

Bruce, Hon. R. P., *Fifeshire*
Spain—Quarantine on English Shipping, 1523

Bruce, Hon. T. C., *Portsmouth*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1552

Bruce, Sir H. H., *Coleraine*
Ireland—Drainage and Inland Navigation—Drainage of Lough Neagh, 602
Settlement and Removal Law Amendment, 2R. 724

Bryce, Mr. J., *Tower Hamlets*
Crown Lands Act, 1866—Sales of Crown Lands—The Manors of Esher and Milbourne, 1210, 1211
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1101
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1000

Buccleuch, Duke of
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 744
Church of England (Colonies)—Public Worship at Hong Kong, 728
Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock, 1881

Buchanan, Mr. T. R., *Edinburgh*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 24, 482 ; *cl.* 45, 872 ; *add. cl.* 1322
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 823

Building Act—Panics in Public Buildings—Legislation
Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 2, 46

Bulwer, Mr. J. R., *Cambridgeshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1931 ; *cl.* 4, 1991, 2004 ; *cl.* 5, 2019, 2020

Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 9 [Bill 191]

Burial Acts—Consecration of Cemeteries—Rhos, Denbighshire
Questions, Sir Robert Cunliffe, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Stanley Leighton ; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 5, 463

Burt, Mr. T., *Morpeth*
Mines Regulation Act, 1872—Examination of Mines, 1886

Bury, Viscount
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 748
Railways (Continuous Brakes), 2R. 1347
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers), Consid. Amendt. 1175, 1181

Buxton, Mr. F. W., *Andover*
Artizans' Dwellings—Petticoat Square Site—Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London, 52
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 74, 76 ; *cl.* 67, 976
Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1274

Buxton, Mr. S. C., *Peterborough*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 36, 627 ; *add. cl.* 1294

Caine, Mr. W. S., *Scarborough*
Navy Estimates—Seamen and Marines, 1541
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, 135

Cairns, Earl
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers), Consid. 1176, 1177
Trinity College, Dublin—Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, Motion for an Address, 23

Callan, Mr. P., *Louth*
Army—Courts Martial, 1905

[*cont.*

CALLAN, Mr. P.—*cont.*
Ireland—Questions
Distress in Gweedore, 1510
Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Ryan, 779, 780
Magistracy—Roscrea Petty Sessions District, 1212
Municipal Disqualification (Ireland), 2R. 156, 157
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1118, 1119
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 85; *cl.* 8, 99; *cl.* 13, 123; *cl.* 14, 149; *cl.* 15, 209, 234; Amendt. 253, 262, 266, 269; *cl.* 16, 313; *cl.* 23, 375, 380; *cl.* 24, 490, 491; *cl.* 26, 498; Amendt. 499, 503, 505, 506; *cl.* 31, 541, 545, 548; *cl.* 33, 613, 615; *cl.* 34, 617; Amendt. 619, 621; *cl.* 36, 626, 627; *cl.* 40, 659, 662, 663; *cl.* 44, 834, 835, 836, 842; *cl.* 47, 881, 882; *cl.* 67, 976, 985; *add. cl.* 1171, 1318
Petroleum Acts—Storage of Petroleum, 608
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 559, 569, 571; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 573, 574; 3R. 912
River Steamers (Metropolis)—Pimlico Pier, 955, 956
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 825, 829
Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 916
Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea—Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 612

CAMBRIDGE, Duke of (Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief)
Army—Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 761
Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 593

CAMERON, Dr. C., *Glasgow*
Law and Justice (Scotland)—Disaster on the Clyde, 800
Suspected Cases of Infanticide in Sutherlandshire, 767
Post Office (Contracts)—Mails to the Mauritius 601
Registration of Births and Deaths (Great Britain)—Uncertified Deaths, 766
River Steamers (Metropolis)—Pimlico Pier, 955, 956
Vaccination Laws (Germany), 601

CAMPBELL, Sir G., *Kirkcaldy, &c.*
Egypt—Law and Justice—Trials of Suleiman Sami and Said Bey Khandeel—Procedure, 468
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5), 2R. 316
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6), 2R. 951
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1203
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. 459
Island of Cyprus—Cost of Military Occupation, 1886
Madagascar—Action of the French—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1099
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 53
Precedence of Government Orders, 191

[*cont.*

CAMPBELL, Sir G.—*cont.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 72; *cl.* 36, 628; *cl.* 60, Amendt. 888, 889; *add. cl.* 1164, 1309, 1322, 1388

CAMPBELL, Mr. J. A., *Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities*
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 828

CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Mr. H. (Secretary to the Admiralty), *Stirling, &c.*
Madagascar—Protection of Lives and Property of British Subjects, 1898
Navy—Questions
Assistant Paymasters, 38, 476, 477
Dockyards—Fire-extinguishing Apparatus, 770
Mediterranean Squadron, 786
Transport Ship "Orontes," 769, 770
"Victoria and Albert" Yacht, 1897
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1580
Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1581
Dockyards, &c. 1616, 1619, 1624, 1625, 1640, 1645, 1646
Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, 1648
Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c. 1646, 1647
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1649, 1650, 1651
Scientific Departments, 1590, 1592, 1593, 1596, 1597, 1600, 1603, 1605
Seamen and Marines, 1560, 1564, 1566, 1567, 1569, 1570, 1574
Supply, Report, 2029, 2030, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036

CAMPERDOWN, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, Amendt. 408; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 414
Defence of the Colonies—Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 947
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Comm. 1873
Office of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 590, 596

Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Burt, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. John Corbett, Mr. Pell, Mr. Broadhurst*)
c. Report of Select Committee * *July* 12

CANTERBURY, Archbishop of
Church of England (Colonies)—Public Worship at Hong Kong, 726

CARBUTT, Mr. E. H., *Monmouth, &c.*
Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 190
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1913

COLLINS, Mr. T.—*cont.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1015, 1153, 1395

Colonies, Defence of the—Colonial Naval Forces
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Australasian or other Colonies with reference to the formation of colonial naval forces" (*The Viscount Sidmouth*) *July* 10, 932; after debate, on Question ? resolved in the negative

COLTHURST, Col. D. La Zouche, *Cork Co.*
Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland)—Lower Bann, 1893
Tramway Loans, 1893

COLVILLE of CULROSS, Lord
Railway Servants (Hours of Duty), 590

Companies Acts Amendment Bill
(*Sir John Jenkins, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 4 [Bill 246]
Committee *; Report *July* 12
Considered *; read 3° *July* 17
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Aberdare*) *July* 19 (No. 148)

Companies (Colonial Registers) Bill
(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Macnaghten, Mr. Salt*)
c. Committee *; Report *July* 6 [Bills 185-260]
Commitee * (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 16
Read 3° * *July* 18
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Longford*) *July* 19 (No. 150)

Consolidated Fund (No. 4) Bill
(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Resolution in Committee * *July* 18
Resolution reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *July* 19

Contagious Diseases Acts—Statistics
Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 9, 792; Questions, Captain Price, Mr. Hopwood; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 12, 1209

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Resolution of the House of 10th July Last
Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1520
[See title *Cattle Diseases Acts*]

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill
(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 4 [Bill 50]

Copyright Bill
(*Mr. Hastings, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Agnew*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 11 [Bill 141]

Corn Sales Bill (*Mr. Rankin, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Biddell, Mr. H. T. Davenport, Mr. Williamson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 95]

CORRY, Mr. J. P., *Belfast*
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 827

Corrupt Practices at Elections—Bribery, &c. at Elections Act, 17 *&* 18 *Vict. c.* 102
Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 19, 1891

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), *Liskeard*
Acts of Parliament—Printing and Distribution, 773
Civil Service—The Playfair Scheme, 783
Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations), Consid. *cl.* 9, 1336; 3R. 2041
Ireland—Questions
  Board of Public Works—Loans, 609;—Advances to Irish Tenants, 1889
  Fisheries—Shannon Fisheries, 1211
  Milford, Co. Cork, Drainage Bill, 48
  Tramways, 1903
Ireland—Inland Navigation and Drainage—Questions
  Drainage of Lough Neagh, 602
  Lower Bann, 1893
  Scarriff Drainage Works, 42
  Shannon, The, 1903
Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment, Comm. 918
Metropolitan Board of Works (Money), 2R. 915
Parliament—Business of the House, 604, 606, 1238
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 712, 713
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 554, 556, 557, 559, 567, 571
Sea Fisheries (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 1336
Supply—Mint, including Coinage, 1258, 1259
  National Debt Office, 1266, 1267
  Patent Office, &c. 1260
  Stationery and Printing, 1268, 1274
  Works and Public Buildings Office, 1261
Tramway Loans, 1893
Treasury Solicitor Act, 1876—The Goods of Felons, 792

Court of Criminal Appeal Bill—Mr. Justice Hawkins
Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 19, 1896

COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*
High Court of Justice (Continuous Sittings), 794

[*cont.*

Cowen, Mr. J.—*cont.*
Ireland—Pauper Emigrants to the United States, 469
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1102
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, 97, 102; *cl.* 13, 114; *cl.* 15, 206, 270, 280; *cl.* 19, 336; *cl.* 23, 382, 383; *cl.* 24, 396, 483, 490; *cl.* 26, 504; *cl.* 35, 624; *cl.* 39, 650; *cl.* 40, 654, *cl.* 44, Amendt. 834, 836, 843; *cl.* 60, 892; *add. cl.* 1007
Petroleum Acts—Storage of Petroleum, 608

Cranbrook, Viscount
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 756
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, 404
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Comm. 1868
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats), 2R. 1659
Pawnbrokers, Comm. *cl.* 4, 170
Poor Law (England and Wales)—Boarded-out Children, 397
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), Comm. 1875

Creyke, Mr. R., *York*
Civil List Pensions—Prince Lucien Bonaparte, 1227

Criminal Law Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Rosebery*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *July* 5, 398
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day three months") (*The Earl of Longford*); on Question, "That ('now,') &c.," resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 3ª accordingly; Moved, "That the Bill do pass;" after debate, Bill passed (No. 134)

Cropper, Mr. J., *Kendal*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1619
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 34, 617

Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A., *Lancashire, S.W.*
Artizans' Dwellings—Overcrowding—A Royal Commission, 53
High Court of Justice—Lord Chief Justice, &c. (Patronage), 775
Parliament—Public Business—Parliamentary Elections, &c. 1912
Precedence of Government Orders, 182
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 62, 63, 67; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 89, 90, 96; *cl.* 10, 106, 107, 111; *cl.* 13, 113, 117, 124, 125; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 127, 146, 147; *cl.* 15, 199, 224, 245, 256, 259, 262, 265, 268, 269; *cl.* 17, Amendt. 320, 322; *cl.* 18, 326; *cl.* 19, Amendt. 337, 338; *cl.* 22, Amendt. 350, 352, 353, 355, 358; *cl.* 23, Amendt. 360, 361, 367, 380; *cl.* 24, 485; *cl.* 26, Amendt.

[*cont.*

Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A.—*cont.*
501; *cl.* 44, 855; *cl.* 45, 872, 876; *cl.* 60, Amendt. 887, 888, 889, 891, 892; *cl.* 67, 975; *add. cl.* 1010, 1014; Amendt. 1122, 1123, 1127, 1130, 1131, 1162, 1163, 1287, 1291, 1308, 1314, 1319, 1321, 1323, 1332, 1333, 1394, 1399; Schedule 1, Amendt. *ib.*, 1409, 1410, 1412, 1416, 1417, 1421, 1423, 1426, 1427, 1431, 1438, 1446, 1452, 1456, 1458
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 821

Cross, Mr. J. K. (Under Secretary of State for India), *Bolton*
Afghanistan—Alleged Capture of Convoy in the Khyber Pass, 480
Subsidy to the Ameer, 1211, 1500, 1501
East India—Mysore Gold Mining—Return of Lands held by Uncovenanted Servants, &c., 475
India—Questions
Cholera at Bombay, 777
Darjeeling Coolies Bill, 49
Law and Justice—Bengal—Mr. Banerjee, 602;—Jurisdiction in Civil Causes, 37
Madras—Cholera, Outbreak of, 474;—Criminal Prosecutions—Salt Revenue, 474;—Ex-Tahsildar of Conjeveram, 777
Palconda—Viziaram Raz, 50
Railways — The Nizam's Territories — Hyderabad, 49;—Hyderabad and Chanda Railway, 788
India—Army—Questions
Indian Medical Service, 40
Lieutenant Clarence Noble, 954
Re-organization, 1508
Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 962

Crown Lands Act, 1866—*Sales of Crown Lands—The Manors of Esher and Milbourne*
Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 12, 1210

Cunliffe, Sir R. A., *Denbigh, &c.*
Burial Acts—Consecration of Cemeteries—Rhos, Denbighshire, 463

Curzon, Major Hon. M., *Leicestershire, N.*
India—Law and Justice—Jurisdiction in Civil Causes, 36

Cyprus, Island of — Cost of Military Occupation
Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 19, 1886

Dalhousie, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 5, Amendt. 408; *cl.* 6, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 419

DALRYMPLE, Mr. C., *Buteshire*
Parliament—Business of the House, 1527
Scotland—Public Business—Home Department—Official Papers, 472

DALY, Mr. J., *Cork City*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1371
Poor Relief (Ireland), 3R. 910, 911, 912

DAVENPORT, Mr. H. T., *Staffordshire, N.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44, 858

DAVEY, Mr. H., *Christchurch*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1312; Amendt. 1407

DAWNAY, Hon. G. W. C., *York, N.R.*
Africa (South)—Cetewayo and Usibepu, 43
Zululand—Reserve Territory, 37, 781;—Native Tribes, 1224
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1700
Egypt—Ahmed Bey Minshani, 772
Parliament—Business of the House, 1238; Ministerial Statement, 1359
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 818

DE FERRIERES, Baron, *Cheltenham*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1330

DE LA WARR, Earl
Railways (Continuous Brakes), 2R. 1345, 1347, 1348

DE L'ISLE and DUDLEY, Lord
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1340

DERBY, Earl of (Secretary of State for the Colonies)
Africa (South) — Transvaal — Dr. Jorissen, 1349
Church of England (Colonies)—Public Worship at Hong Kong, 727
Defence of the Colonies — Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 937
New Guinea, Motion for Papers, 14, 20

Detention in Hospitals Bill
(*The Marquess of Hartington, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Arthur Hayter*)
c. Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn *July* 5, 579 [Bill 247]
Leave given to present another Bill instead thereof

Detention in Hospitals (No. 2) Bill
c. Presented; read 1ª* *July* 5 [Bill 259]

DE WORMS, Baron H., *Greenwich*
Afghanistan—Alleged Capture of Convoy in the Khyber Pass, 479
[*cont.*

DE WORMS, Baron H.—*cont.*
Lighthouse Illuminants Committee, 1892;—Commissioners of Irish Lights, 44
Mercantile Marine Act—Irish Lighthouses, 1215
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 81; *cl.* 15, 212, 228, 242; *cl.* 23, 374; Schedule 1, 1452
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 671, 683
Russia and Persia, 771, 772
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1900, 1901, 1909
Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea — Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 478

DICKSON, Mr. T. A., *Tyrone*
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1186

DILKE, Right Hon. Sir C. W. (President of the Local Government Board), *Chelsea, &c.*
Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881 (Sub-Commissioners)—Listing, 33
Navy Estimates—Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, 1649
Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 181
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, 116; *cl.* 15, 199; *cl.* 21, 346; *cl.* 44, 837, 841, 850, 852, 853, 863; Schedule 1, 1404, 1405, 1446
Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 957, 960, 965
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 828
Settlement and Removal Law Amendment, 2R. 725

DILLWYN, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 570
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 435
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 821
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1254
Patent Office, &c. 1260
Stationery and Printing, 1267, 1269
Works and Public Buildings, 1261, 1266

DIXON-HARTLAND, Mr. F. D., *Evesham*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 289, 303; *cl.* 38, 643, 644; *add. cl.* 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1299, 1301
Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1279

DODDS, Mr. J., *Stockton*
Manchester Ship Canal, Consid. 1087, 1088
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1088
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1393, 1394

DODSON, Right Hon. J. G. (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), *Scarborough*
Agricultural Department—Statistics, 600, 786
[*cont.*

Dodson, Right Hon. J. G.—*cont.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1692, 1699, 1708, 1737, 1741, 1779, 1782, 1783, 1785, 1789, 1796, 1798, 1799, 1814, 1822; *cl.* 2, 1831, 1833, 1834, 1837, 1839, 1843, 1844, 1847, 1851, 1856, 1860, 1862; *cl.* 3, 1927, 1928, 1931, 1932; *cl.* 4, 1933, 1939, 1952, 1960, 1966, 1967, 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1995, 2003, 2005; *cl.* 5, 2012, 2017, 2020
Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill—Clause 8—Charges on Holdings obtained under County Court Judgments, 793
Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1078
Parliament—Speech of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Acton, 794
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 439

Donaldson-Hudson, Mr. C., *Newcastle-under-Lyne*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1743; *cl.* 2, 1859; *cl.* 4, 1953; Amendt. 1967, 1983

Drainage (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*Lord Thurlow*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 3 (No. 124)
Read 3ª* *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxviii]

Duckham, Mr. T., *Herefordshire*
Agricultural Department—Statistics, 600, 786
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1697; Amendt. 1698, 1725, 1731, 1772, 1783, 1792, 1817, 1819; *cl.* 2, 1830, 1841; *cl.* 4, 1974; Amendt. 1983, 1984; *cl.* 5, 2020
Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1082

Dundas, Hon. J. C., *Richmond*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, 875

Dwellings of the Poor
Artizans' Dwellings—Overcrowding—A Royal Commission, Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 2, 52
Legislation, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 6, 609
The Petticoat Square Site—The Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London, Question, Mr. Francis Buxton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 2, 52

Dyke, Right Hon. Sir W. H., *Kent, Mid*
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1102, 1110
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 239; *cl.* 26, Amendt. 498, 499; *cl.* 44, Amendt. 859, 860, 864, 866; *add. cl.* 1382, 1391

Earp, Mr. T., *Newark*
Army Estimates—Warlike Stores, 1902
Literature, Science, and Art—The Circular Theory of Storms, 1221
Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1270

Ebrington, Viscount, *Tiverton*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1705; *cl.* 4, 1941

Ecclesiastical Grants — The Church at Hong Kong—The Grant in Aid
Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley, The Archbishop of Canterbury; Reply, The Earl of Derby *July* 9, 725; Questions, Sir John R. Mowbray, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 19, 1903

Ecroyd, Mr. W. F., *Preston*
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1120
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 23, 383; *add. cl.* 1015
Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 964
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 429

Education Department
Elementary Schools — Increase of Insanity, among Pupils arising from Overwork, Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Lord Carlingford; short debate thereon *July* 16, 1465
Intermediate Education (*Wales*)—*Legislation* Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 2, 59
Schools Compulsorily Closed, Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 3, 178

Education—School Boards (*England and Wales*)—*Religious Teaching*
Moved, That there be laid before the House, "Return of the provisions, if any, made by each school board in England and Wales respecting religious teaching and religious observances by children in board schools, stating cases in which no such provision is made by the Board; and copy of the byelaws, if any, by which such provisions are enacted and regulated" (*Lord Colchester*) *July* 5, 420; Motion agreed to

Egerton, Hon. A. F., *Wigan*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1967
Navy Estimates—Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1588
  Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c. 1647
  Scientific Departments, 1591, 1599
  Seamen and Marines, 1572
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 208, 243; *cl.* 45, 871
Supply, Report, 2036

Egerton, Hon. Alan de Tatton, *Cheshire, Mid*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 2001
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* Amendt. 1127, 1128, 1161

Egypt
LORDS
Slave Trade in Upper Egypt, Question, Observations, The Earl of Fife; Reply, Earl Granville *July* 17, 1675

Egypt
COMMONS (*Questions*)
Ahmed Bey Minshani, Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 772
Omar Pasha Lufti, Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 2, 46
Egyptian Exiles in Ceylon—Personal Maintenance, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 2, 39
The Massacres at Alexandria—Alleged Complicity of the Khedive, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 2, 60
Sanitary Condition of Alexandria, Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 12, 1215
The Rinderpest, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 10, 965

Law and Justice
Trial of Said Ahmed Bey Khandeel, Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 2, 47; Questions, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 12, 1223; *July* 13, 1365
Trials of Suleiman Sami and Said Ahmed Bey Khandeel—Procedure, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 5, 468
Trial of Suleiman Sami, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 5, 471

The Cholera
Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 2, 57; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 3, 180; Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 6, 611; Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Onslow, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 788; Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 12, 1233; Ministerial Statement, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 13, 1363; Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 16, 1522; Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 19, 1914
[See title—*Suez Canal*]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Ashton, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Report * *July* 13 [Bill 217]
Considered * *July* 16
[*cont.*

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 2) (Ashton, &c.) Bill—cont.
c. Read 3° * *July* 17
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *July* 19 (No. 151)

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 3) (Halsall Heath, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Report * *July* 13 [Bill 218]
Considered * *July* 16
Read 3° * *July* 17
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *July* 19 (No. 152)

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) (Barton, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 2 [Bill 223]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) (Bermondsey, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *July* 4, 315 [Bill 224]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills
c. Ordered, That the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bill, the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill, and the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill, be committed to a Select Committee to consist of Seven Members, Four to be nominated by the House, and Three to be added by the Committee of Selection *July* 5, 446
Moved, "That, subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House, all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the Select Committee on the Bills, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills, against such Petitions" (*Mr. Chamberlain*)
Amendt. to leave out "subject to the Rules, Orders, and Practice of the House" (*Sir Hussey Vivian*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and negatived
Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to
Ordered, That Three be the quorum of the Committee
Ordered, That the Report and Minutes of Evidence of the Select Committee on "The Electric Lighting Bill, 1882," be referred to the Committee
Committee nominated *July* 10
Mr. Whitley added *July* 11

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) (Limehouse, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° *July* 10, 950 [Bill 227]
Ordered, That the Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill be referred to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills Nos. 1, 4, and 5, are referred *July* 12
Ordered, "That all Petitions against the Bill, or Orders, be referred to the said Commit-
[*cont.*

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 6) (Limehouse) &c. Bill—cont.
tee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions" (*Sir George Campbell*)

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 7) (Barnes, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° *July* 10, 954 [Bill 229]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8) (Bradford, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 12, 1193
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Warton*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 212, N. 91; M. 121 (D. L. 196)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 230]
Moved, "That the Bill be committed to the same Committee to which Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills (Nos. 1, 4, and 5) are to be referred:
"That all Petitions against the Bills, or Orders, be referred to the said Committee; and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard upon their Petition, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions" (*Lord Algernon Percy*); Motion agreed to

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 9) (Bristol, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 12 [Bill 238]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 10) (Chiswick, &c.) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 13 [Bill 249]

Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 11) (Dundee) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 13 [Bill 250]

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 410

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. De Lesseps, 1515

Emigrant and Passenger Ships—Scandinavian Emigrants
Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 12, 1213

Emigrant and Passenger Ships—cont.
Passenger Acts—Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 9, 779

EMLYN, Viscount, *Carmarthenshire*
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 821

ENFIELD, Viscount
Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 593

Endowed Schools—Middle Class School at Tunbridge
Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 9, 768

Endowed Schools Commission—The Ashton Charity, Dunstable
Question, Mr. Causton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 5, 466

Ennerdale Railway Bill [Lords] (by Order)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 5, 444
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Ainsworth*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 150, N. 143; M. 7 (D. L. 167)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Instruction to the Committee, Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public, who annually visit the Lake District, by injuriously affecting the scenery in that neighbourhood, or otherwise; and that they have power to receive Evidence upon the subject" (*Mr. E. S. Howard*) *July* 6, 596; Question put: A. 78, N. 42; M. 36 (D. L. 178)

ERRINGTON, Mr. G., *Longford Co.*
Italy—New Treaty of Commerce, 775
Literature, Science, and Art—The Ashburnham MSS., 784
West Indies—Windward Islands—Stipendiary Magistrates, 43

EWART, Mr. W., *Belfast*
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1119

Factories and Workshops Amendment Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Read 2ª, after debate *July* 16, 1496 (No. 113)
Committee; Report, after short debate *July* 19, 1865

FARQUHARSON, Dr. R., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, 869

[*cont.*

FAWCETT, Right Hon. H. (Postmaster General), *Hackney*
Post Office—Questions
Cholera in Egypt—Mails from the East, 798, 799
Contracts—Mails to the Mauritius, 601
Indian Mails, 1218
Irish Mail Service, 1223, 1906
Mails from Seychelles to the Mauritius, 475
Parcel Post, 800
Savings Bank Department—The Controller, 470
Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Postal Delivery of Telegrams, 1885
Sixpenny Telegrams, 476, 799
Post Office (Ireland)—East Bars, Co. Leitrim, 1509
Mails between Limerick and Kilrush, 1219

FEVERSHAM, Earl of
Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner, 1344

FIFE, Earl of
Egypt—Slave Trade in Upper Egypt, 1675

FINDLATER, Mr. W., *Monaghan*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 18, 334; *add. cl.* 1365, 1368, 1369, 1370
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 569

FIRTH, Mr. J. F. B., *Chelsea*
Metropolitan Board of Works (Money), 2R. 913
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1395

FITZGERALD, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, 403; *cl.* 12, Amendt. 414
Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, Motion for an Address, 26

FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G. P. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Calne*
Africa (West Coast)—River Congo—Negotiations between England and Portugal, 791, 1888
Chili and Peru—Rumoured Treaty of Peace, 36
Egypt—Questions
Ahmed Bey Minshani, 772
Cholera, Outbreak of, 57, 180, 611, 789, 790, 1234, 1235, 1523, 1914; Ministerial Statement, 1363
Commercial Treaty with Italy, 60
Egyptian Exiles in Ceylon—Personal Maintenance, 39
Omar Pasha Lufti, 47
Rinderpest, 965
Suez Canal, 792
Egypt—Law and Justice—Questions
Trial of Ahmed Bey Khandeel, 47, 48, 1223, 1224, 1365
Trial of Suleiman Sami, 472
Trials of Suleiman Sami and Said Bey Khandeel, 468, 469

[*cont.*

FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G. P.—*cont.*
France and China, 476
Italy—New Treaty of Commerce, 776
Japan—Importation of Drugs and Chemicals, 1887
Madagascar—Questions
Hostile Operations of France—Bombardment of Tamatave, 467, 468
Expulsion of the British Consul, 1099, 1357
French at Tamatave, 1680
Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 961, 962, 963, 964
Russia and Persia, 771, 772
Spain—Expulsion of certain Cuban Refugees from Gibraltar—Colonel Maceo, 782
Quarantine on English Shipping, 1523
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1230, 1356, 1516, 1517, 1896, 1914
Trade and Commerce—Brokerage on Shipping (France), 32
Treaty of Berlin—Article XXIII.—Island of Chios, 1509
Tunis—Arrest of a British Subject, 1239
Turkey—Greek Subjects of the Porte, 793
Turkey in Asia—The Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company—Navigation of the Tigris, 956, 957, 1218, 1890
Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea—Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 612
New Hebrides—Occupation by France, 610, 792

FLOYER, Mr. J., *Dorsetshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1744

FOLJAMBE, Mr. F. J. S., *East Retford*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1971

FOLKESTONE, Viscount, *Wilts, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1772; *cl.* 4, 1973; Amendt. 1986, 1995, 1999, 2003
Egypt—Cholera, 1233, 1235
Navy—Dockyards—Fire-extinguishing Apparatus, 770
Parliament—Business of the House, 480
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 85; *cl.* 15, 230, 286; *add. cl.* 1317
Post Office—Cholera in Egypt—Mails from the East, 798, 799
Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 957, 959

FORBES, Lord
Railway Servants—Hours of Duty, 585

Forest of Dean (Highways) Bill
(*The Lord Thurlow*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 12 (No. 98)
Read 3ª* *July* 13
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxvii]

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford*
Africa (South)—Transvaal—Alleged Forced Labour, 781
Ennerdale Railway, 2R. 445
Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 183
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 236, 238, 245
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 819

FORSTER, Sir C., *Walsall*
Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1677
Manchester Ship Canal, Consid. 1182

FORTESCUE, Earl
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, 405
Education (Ireland)—The English System of State-supported Training Colleges, Res. 1473, 1486, 1496
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Comm. 1871
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1341
Pawnbrokers, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 169; *cl.* 6, 172; Report, *cl.* 5, 925

FOWLER, Mr. H. H., *Wolverhampton*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 10, 111; *cl.* 23, 383, 392; *cl.* 24, 485; *cl.* 28, Amendt. 511; *cl.* 31, 518, 539; Amendt. 549; *cl.* 35, Amendt. 621, 623; *cl.* 37, Amendt. 630, 636, 637; *cl.* 44, 858; *cl.* 47, Amendt. 882; *add. cl.* 996, 1012, 1014; Amendt. 1121, 1152, 1301, 1303
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 698, 719

FOWLER, Mr. R. N., *London*
Africa (South)—"Republic of Stellaland"—
  Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers, 783
  Transvaal—Dr. Jorissen, 1236
Africa (West Coast)—Hostilities at British Sherbro, 29
India (Finance, &c.)—Financial Statement, 796
Japan—Importation of Drugs and Chemicals, 1886
Medical Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 314
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1190
Navy Estimates—New Works, Buildings, &c. 1651
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, Motion for reporting Progress, 115, 118; *cl.* 15, 215, 287; *cl.* 21, 346, 349; *cl.* 26, 503, 504; *cl.* 44, 857; *add. cl.* 1293, 1332; Schedule 1, 1453
Turkey in Asia—Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company—Navigation of the Tigris, 1889

FOWLER, Mr. W., *Cambridge*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1723
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. 461

FOWLER, Mr. W.—*cont.*
Parliament—Business of the House—Order of Business, 59
  Precedence of Government Orders, 186
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1356

France and China
Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 5, 476

France and Madagascar—See title *Madagascar*

Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations) Bill (*Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Burt, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Northcote*)
c. Further Consideration, as amended *July* 12, 1335 [Bill 228]
Order for 3R. read *July* 19, 2040
Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed" (*Mr. Stuart-Wortley*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; 3R. deferred

FRY, Mr. L., *Bristol*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. Schedule 1, 1412

FRY, Mr. T., *Darlington*
Acts of Parliament—Printing and Distribution, 773
Parliament—Public Business, Ministerial Statement, 1099
  Precedence of Government Orders, 181
Railways—Engine Drivers—Hours of Duty, 770

GALWAY, Viscount, *Nottingham, N.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 2003
Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Ryan, 466
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1304, 1306, 1307

GARNIER, Mr. J. CARPENTER-, *Devon, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1713

Gibraltar—See title *Spain—Expulsion of certain Cuban Refugees*

GIBSON, Right Hon. E., *Dublin University*
Army (India)—Indian Medical Service, 39
Ireland—Peace Preservation Acts—Extra Pay to Prison Surgeons, 774, 775
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1099
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 17, Amendt. 320, 324; *cl.* 18, 329; *cl.* 23, 367; *cl.* 26, 504, 505, 506; *cl.* 27, Amendt. 508, 509, 510; *cl.* 31, 525, 535, 536; *cl.* 36, Amendt. 627; *cl.* 40, 658; *cl.* 47, 882; *cl.* 48, 884; *add. cl.* 1018, 1286, 1367, 1379, 1382

[cont.

Gibson, Right Hon. E.—*cont.*
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 830
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1352, 1515, 1901, 1902
Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1270, 1271

Giffard, Sir H. S., *Launceston*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, 132; *cl.* 16, 310; *cl.* 41, 833; *cl.* 44, 839, 840; Amendt. 851, 852, 853; *cl.* 47, Amendt. 881; *add. cl.* 1388, 1389

Giles, Mr. A., *Southampton*
Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1048

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E. (First Lord of the Treasury), *Edinburghshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1820
Artizans' Dwellings—Overcrowding—A Royal Commission, 52, 53
Chambers of Agriculture and Farmers' Clubs (England and Scotland)—Deputation to the Lord President of the Council, 1911
Civil List Pensions—Prince Lucien Bonaparte, 1227
Civil Service—Private Secretaries to Ministers, 1522
Cattle Diseases Acts—Imporation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1083
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Resolution of the House of 10th July last, 1520, 1521
Dwellings of the Poor, 609, 610
Egypt—Massacres at Alexandria—Alleged Complicity of the Khedive, 60
India—East India (Finance, &c.), 1528;—Financial Statement, 796
Government—Sir Auckland Colvin and Major Baring, 56, 477
Intermediate Education (Wales), 60
Madagascar—Action of the French—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1097, 1099;—Death of Consul Pakenham, 1527
Parliament—Questions
House of Lords—Usher of the Black Rod, 478
Promulgation of the Statutes, 480
Speech of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Acton, 795, 796
Parliament—Business of the House—Questions
51, 58, 59, 1236, 1238, 1521, 1524, 1528, 1912
Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment, 480
Ministerial Statement, 53, 54, 808, 1099, 1105, 1108, 1110, 1113, 1119, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363
Precedence of Government Orders, 186
Suez (Second) Canal, Ministerial Statement, 1525, 1526, 1527
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, 130, 131, 132,

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E.—*cont.*
133, 137, 139, 143; *cl.* 14, 148; *cl.* 15, 250, 292, 293; *add. cl.* 1330
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 802, 806
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 822, 827
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 797, 798, 1089, 1093, 1230, 1232, 1233, 1353, 1354, 1518, 1519, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910
Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea—Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 55, 56, 478, 479, 1359

Gladstone, Mr. H. J. (Commissioner of the Treasury), *Leeds*
Civil Service—Orange Lodges, 473

Goldney, Sir G., *Chippenham*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1714, 1732; *cl.* 2, 1836; *cl.* 3, 1929; *cl.* 4, 1984
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1386

Gordon, General Hon. Sir A. H., *Aberdeenshire, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England) Bill—Clause 8—Charges on Holdings obtained under County Court Judgments, 793
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1683, 1688, 1717, 1732, 1739, 1781, 1807; *cl.* 2, 1842, 1851, 1860, 1861; *cl.* 3, 1931; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1956, 1957, 1985, 1986, 1989
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. 456
Local Government Board for Scotland, The Staff, &c. 1505
Scotland—Fishery Board—The Report, 463

Gorst, Mr. J. E., *Chatham*
Africa (West Coast)—Hostilities at British Sherbro, 32
Egypt—Law and Justice—Omar Pasha Lufti, 46
Trial of Ahmed Bey Khandeel, 1223, 1365
France and China, 476
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1608
Scientific Departments, Amendt. 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604
Seamen and Marines, 1558
Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 182
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 66; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 90; *cl.* 13, 112, 113, 122; *cl.* 15, 225, 236, 245, 250, 284, 301, 302, 304; *cl.* 16, 309; Amendt. 311; *cl.* 18, 335; *cl.* 19, 343; *cl.* 23, 366, 373, 377, 378, 383; Amendt. 384, 386; *cl.* 26, 505, 507; *cl.* 30, 513; *cl.* 31, 515, 517, 527; Amendt. 530, 531, 550; *cl.* 34, 619; *cl.* 39, Amendt. 644, 647, 649, 652, 653; *cl.* 40, 654; *cl.* 44, 852, 856, 860; *cl.* 47, 881; *cl.* 56, 886; *cl.* 60, 893; *cl.* 61, 967; *add. cl.* 1006, 1133, 1291, 1298, 1305
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 435

[*cont.*

GOSCHEN, Right Hon. G. J., *Ripon*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1940; *cl.* 5, 2020

GOURLEY, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*
Egypt—Cholera, Outbreak of, 180
Suez Canal, 791
Navy—Mediterranean Squadron, 786
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. Amendt. 1611
Scientific Departments, 1591, 1592
Seamen and Marines, 1574, 1576, 1577
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 796, 1088

GRANT, Mr. D., *Marylebone*
British Museum—Evening Admission, 1882
Parks (Metropolis)—The Inclosure in Regent's Park, 1883, 1884

GRANTHAM, Mr. W., *Surrey, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1975
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 82; *cl.* 13, 114, 121; *cl.* 15, 286; *cl.* 24, 485; *cl.* 31, 516, 527, 540; *add. cl.* 1292, 1305, 1313; Schedule 1, 1402, 1449, 1458

GRANVILLE, Earl (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 411
Defence of the Colonies—Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 947
Egypt—Slave Trade in Upper Egypt, 1676
Factories and Workshops Amendment, 2R. 1496; Comm. 1867
Law and Police (Scotland)—Clyde Disaster, 580, 1181
Madagascar—Action of France—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1172
French at Tamatave, 1653
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats), 2R. 1658
Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 595
Parliament—Public Business—Standing Committees, 919, 1660
Pawnbroker's, Report, 922
Public Health—Cholera in Egypt—Sanitary Precautions, 158
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers), Consid. 1176
Spain—Steamship "Leon XIII.," 1662
Suez Canal—Constitution of the Board of Directors, 1664, 1671
Western Islands of the Pacific—The New Hebrides—Occupation by France, 580

GRAY, Mr. E. D., *Carlow Co.*
Supply—Civil Service Estimates — Queen's Colleges, Ireland, 1520

Greenwich Hospital Bill
(*Sir Thomas Brassey, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *July* 2 [Bill 253]
Question, Captain Price; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey *July* 12, 1209
Read 2°, after short debate *July* 19, 2038

GREGORY, Mr. G. B., *Sussex, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1926; *cl.* 4, 1970
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, 124; *cl.* 15, 232, 274; *cl.* 23, 385; *cl.* 26, 496; *cl.* 31, Amendt. 514, 515, 519, 520, 527, 528; *cl.* 37, 633, 638; *cl.* 56, Amendt. 886; *add. cl.* 1170, 1304, 1313; Schedule 1, 1401, 1436

GREY, Mr. A. H. G., *Northumberland, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1763; Amendt. 1784, 1785; *cl.* 2, 1840; *cl.* 4, 1979; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 2005

GROSVENOR, Right Hon. Lord R. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Flintshire*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, 133

HAMILTON, Right Hon. Lord G. F., *Middlesex*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, 121, 126; *cl.* 16, Amendt. 311, 312; *cl.* 19, 344; *cl.* 23, Amendt. 364, 366, 376; *cl.* 24, 388, 390, 391, 392; Schedule 1, 1450; Schedule 5, 1463

HARCOURT, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V. V. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Derby*
Artizans' Dwellings—Overcrowding—A Royal Commission, 53
Petticoat Square Site—Commissioners of Sewers for the City of London, 52
Building Act—Panics in Public Buildings, 46
Burial Acts—Consecration of Cemeteries—Rhos, Denbighshire, 464, 465
Law and Police—Expulsion of Irish Residents at Darwen, Lancashire, 1212, 1504
Licensing—Magistrates at Rotherham, 1504
Local Government Board for Scotland—The Staff, &c., 1505
Magistracy—Guildford Petty Sessions—Assault on the Police by a Hawker, 966
Mines—Use of Dynamite in Mining—Order in Council, 784
Mines (Coal) Regulation Act—Locked Lamps, 38
Naturalization—Fees on Certificates, 1226
Petroleum Acts—Storage of Petroleum, 607, 608
Police, 2R. 831
Poor Relief (Ireland), 3R. 910
Public Health—Horse Flesh, 471
Sunderland Calamity—Home Office Inquiry, 1902

HARDINGE, Viscount
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 740

HARDWICKE, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 410

HARTINGTON, Right Hon. Marquess of (Secretary of State for War), *Lancashire, N.E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 5, 2022
Army—Questions
Auxiliary Forces—Channel Islands Militia, 781; —Training of Militia Recruits, 1891
Courts Martial, 1905
Dover Cliff, 776
Forage Allowance—The 2nd Suffolk Regiment, 60
Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham —Report of the Committee, 1902
Staffordshire Regiment, 801
Contagious Diseases Acts—Statistics, 792, 1210
Detention in Hospitals, 2R. 579
Egypt—Cholera, 1915
Sanitary Condition of Alexandria, 1216, 1217
Island of Cyprus—Cost of Military Occupation, 1886
Supply, Report, 2024

HAY, Admiral Right Hon. Sir J. C. D., *Wigtown, &c.*
Naval Discipline and Enlistment Acts Amendment, 2R. 830
Navy Estimates—Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1588
Dockyards, &c. 1638
Machinery and Ships built by Contract, 1648
Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, &c. 1647
Scientific Departments of the Navy, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1601
Seamen and Marines, 1535, 1554, 1566, 1569, 1570
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1116
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44, Amendt. 866
Post Office—Mails from the Seychelles to the Mauritius, 475
River Steamers (Metropolis)—Pimlico Pier, 956, 1217
Supply, Report, 2026, 2034

HAYTER, Colonel Sir A. D. (Financial Secretary to the War Office), *Bath*
Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1272

HENDERSON, Mr. F., *Dundee*
Passenger Acts—Overcrowding of a River Steamer at Broughty Ferry, River Tay, Scotland, 1512

HENEAGE, Mr. E., *Great Grimsby*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1692, 1733, 1757, 1765, 1819; *cl.* 2, 1842, 1855; *cl.* 3, 1932; *cl.* 4, 1955, 1962, 1975, 1990; *cl.* 5, 2018
Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1058
Chambers of Agriculture and Farmers' Clubs (England and Scotland)—Deputation to the Lord President of the Council, 1911

HENNIKER, Lord
Pawnbroker's, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 169; *cl.* 5, 171; Report, *cl.* 5, Amendt. 923

HENRY, Mr. Mitchell, *Galway Co.*
Parliament—Promulgation of the Statutes, 480
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 821

HERBERT, Hon. S., *Wilton*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, 115

HERSCHELL, Sir F. (*see* SOLICITOR GENERAL, The)

HERTFORD, Marquess of
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 745

HIBBERT, Mr. J. T. (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Oldham*
Mines, Accidents in—Life Brigades in Mining Districts, 1890
Mines Regulation Act, 1872—Examination of Mines, 1886
Promulgation of the Statutes, Res. 1338, 1339, 1340
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1249, 1253, 1254

HICKS, Mr. E., *Cambridgeshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1792; *cl.* 3, 1928
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 67, 74, 86, 87; *cl.* 18, 334, 336; *cl.* 61, 969; Schedule 1, 1404

High Court of Justice (Continuous Sittings) Bill (*Mr. Whitley, Lord Claud Hamilton, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. Slagg, Mr. Lewis Fry*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 5 [Bill 233]
Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, The Attorney General *July* 9, 794

HILL, Mr. A. S., *Staffordshire, W.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1726; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 1924, 1928; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1933, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1989

HOLLAND, Sir H. T., *Midhurst*
Africa (West Coast)—Hostilities at British Sherbro, 29
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1764; *cl.* 4, 1964
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. Schedule 1, Amendt. 1421
Promulgation of the Statutes, Res. 1339
Western Pacific—Office of High Commissioner, 1678

HOLLOND, Mr. J. R., *Brighton*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 103; *cl.* 33, 613; Amendt. 615

HOLMS, Mr. J. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Hackney*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5), 2R. 316

HOPE, Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford, *Cambridge University*
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 695

HOPWOOD, Mr. C. H., *Stockport*
Magistracy — Guildford Petty Sessions — Assault on the Police by a Hawker, 965, 966
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, 878
Poor Law (England and Wales)—Vaccination in Workhouses—St. Pancras Workhouse, 1349, 1350

HOWARD, Mr. E. S., *Cumberland, E.*
Ennerdale Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 596, 599
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44; Amendt. 853, 856

HOWARD, Mr. J., *Bedfordshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1688, 1696, 1699, 1718, 1734, 1738, 1739, 1776, 1806, 1812, 1820; *cl.* 2, 1839; Amendt. 1848, 1851, 1858, 1863; *cl.* 3, 1923, 1929, 1930, 1932; *cl.* 4, 1946, 2002; *cl.* 5, 2017
Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1069

HUBBARD, Right Hon. J. G., *London*
Parliament—Business of the House, 59
Precedence of Government Orders, 190

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction and Dock (Interest) Bill
Moved, "That, in the case of the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Interest) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be taken into consideration To-morrow, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *July* 17, 1677; Motion agreed to

ILLINGWORTH, Mr. A., *Bradford*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1989
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1624, 1638
Scientific Departments, 1599, 1603
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 258; *cl.* 45, 875; *add. cl.* 1323

INCE, Mr. H. B., *Hastings*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. Schedule 1, 1453

Inclosure Provisional Order (Hildersham) Bill (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 2 (No. 115)
Read 3ª* *July* 3
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxiv]

INDERWICK, Mr. F. A., *Rye*
High Court of Justice—Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, 1912, 1913
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 682, 683
Supply—Lunacy Commission (England), 1246

INDIA (*Questions*)
Bengal—Law and Justice—Mr. Banerjee, Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 6, 601

Bombay, Cholera at, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 9, 776

Madras
Criminal Prosecutions—The Salt Revenue, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross; Question, Mr. O'Kelly; [no answer] *July* 5, 473
Rumoured Outbreak of Cholera, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 5, 474
The Ex-Tahsildar of Conjeveram, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 9, 777

Criminal Law — Punishment of Flogging, Question, Observations, Lord Truro; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley *July* 6, 581
Darjeeling Coolies Bill, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 2, 49
East India (Expenditure)—Adjourned Debate, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1528
Executive Government—Sir Auckland Colvin and Major Baring, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 2, 56; *July* 5, 477
Finance, &c.—The Financial Statement, Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 9, 796
Law and Justice—Jurisdiction in Civil Causes, Question, Major Curzon; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 2, 36
Mysore Gold Mining—Return of Lands held by Uncovenanted Servants, &c., Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 5, 475
Palconda — Viziaram Raz, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 2, 49

Railways
Grain Rates, Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley *July* 9, 729
The Nizam's Territories—Hyderabad and Chanda Railway, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 2, 48; *July* 9, 787

Intoxicating Liquors (Off Licences) Bill (*Mr. Lewis Fry, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Staveley Hill, Lord Moreton*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 18 [Bill 25]

IRELAND (*Questions*)
Collection of Taxes and Rates, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 35
County Cess Collection—Captain Alisen, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 9, 776
Irish Butter Trade—Cork Butter Market, Question, Mr. A. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 3, 179
Lunatic Poor, Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 3, 178
Milford (County Cork) Drainage Bill, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 2, 48
Parliamentary Elections — The Monaghan Election—Issue of a Placard, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 12, 1221
Pauper Emigrants to the United States, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 5, 469; Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 12, 1225
State-Aided Emigration to the United States—Irish Emigrants, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Leamy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Ju;y* 6, 604

Board of Public Works
Advances to Irish Tenants under the Land Act, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 6, 608; Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 19, 1889
Commissioners of Public Works—Erection of Barracks for Accommodation of Crown Witnesses, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 42

National Education
Board of Intermediate Education — Results Fees, 1881-2, Question, Mr. O'Shaughnessy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 28
National Schools — Results Examinations, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1678
Board of National Education—Mungret Agricultural School and Model Farm, County Limerick, Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1506
Commissioners of National Education—Schools in Tyrone Co., Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 5, 461
National School Teachers—Salaries—Legislation, Question, Mr. Synan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 13, 1351

Inland Navigation and Drainage
Drainage of Lough Neagh, Questions, Sir Richard Wallace, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 6, 602
Scarriff Drainage Works, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 2, 42
The Lower Bann, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 19, 1893
The Shannon, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 19, 1903

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*cont.*
Fisheries
The Shannon Fisheries, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 12, 1211

Law and Justice
"*Regina v. Madden*," Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *July* 2, 35

The Magistracy
Fishery Trespass Case at Glin, Co. Limerick, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *July* 19, 1895
Roscrea Petty Sessions District, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Callan; [no reply] *July* 12, 1211
The Crown Solicitor for Derry, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 50

Poor Law
Post-Mortem Examinations, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 12, 1212
Workhouse Hospitals, Question, Mr. A. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 3, 179

Post Office
East Bars, County Leitrim, Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 16, 1509
Mails between Limerick and Kilrush, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 12, 1219

Royal Irish Constabulary
Re-organization, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 12, 1222
Sub-Constables O'Neill and M'Kay, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1505
Sub-Inspector Carter, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 41

State of
County Cavan, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1507
Distress in Gweedore, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. O'Brien; [no reply] *July* 9, 778; Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Callan, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1510
Police Protection, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1501

Crime and Outrage—Explosion at Derry, Question, Mr. Leamy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1507

Evictions—Estates of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 19, 1887

Ireland—Education—The English System of State-supported Training Colleges
Moved to resolve, "That it is inexpedient to extend to Ireland on an equally expensive scale the costly English system of State-supported training colleges for the teachers of elementary schools" (*The Earl Fortescue*) *July* 16, 1473; after debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

Ireland—Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into and report as to the position, under the Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, of the grantees and sub-grantees in perpetuity of lands held under grants made in pursuance of the said Act, and as to the position of the occupying tenants of such grantees and sub-grantees; and to inquire and report as to the variations effected in the rents reserved by such grants made subsequently to the date of such grants, and as to the provisions of the said Act regulating such variations; and to inquire and report as to the justice and expediency of further legislation to alter or repeal any of the provisions of the said Act" (*The Lord Zouche of Haryngworth*) *July* 2, 20; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 9, Not-Cont. 29; M. 20; resolved in the negative; Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 27
See titles *Land Law (Ireland) Act,* 1881
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—*Irish Land Commission*
Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881

Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Kelly, Dr. Commins, Mr. T. P. O'Connor*)
c. Committee*; Report *July* 5 [Bill 39]
Order for Committee (*on re-comm.*) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 9, 917; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Colonel King-Harman*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.
Committee* (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 16

Italy—The New Treaty of Commerce
Question, Mr. H. T. Davenport; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 2, 60; Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 775

Jamaica—The Executive Government
Questions, Captain Price; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 12, 1238; *July* 13, 1357; *July* 17, 1683

JAMES, Sir H. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL, The)

JAMES, Mr. C. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1302
Settlement and Removal Law Amendment, 2R. 725

JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1930
[*cont.*

JAMES, Mr. W. H.—*cont.*
Ennerdale Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 599
Law and Police—Calamity at Sunderland, 1220
Metropolitan Improvements — New Streets East of London Bridge, 1502
Parliament—Business of the House, 604
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 71; *cl.* 22, 357

Japan—Importation of Drugs and Chemicals
Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 19, 1886

JENKINS, Sir J. J., *Carmarthen, &c.*
Navy Estimates — Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1589

JENKINS, Mr. D. J., *Penryn*
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1578
Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1590
Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1622
Scientific Departments, 1592
Seamen and Marines, 1551

KENNARD, Mr. C. J., *Salisbury*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Channel Islands Militia, 780
Building Act—Panics in Public Buildings, 46
Ecclesiastical Grants—Church at Hong Kong—Grant in Aid, 1904
Suez Canal Company—Copy of Register of Shareholders, 1681

KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Ennis*
Ireland—Questions
Collection of Taxes and Rates, 35
Inland Navigation and Drainage—Scarriff Drainage Works, 42
Irish Board of Works—Loans, 608
Land Law Act, 1881—Sub-Commissioners—"Listing," 34
Peace Preservation Act, 1881—Police Hut at Kilmoors, Co. Clare, 1893
Parliament—Business of the House, 606
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 16, Amendt. 307, 310
Parliamentary Elections (Monaghan Election), 1221
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. 154
Supply—National Debt Office, 1267

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for India)
India—Criminal Law—Punishment of Flogging, 583
Railways—Grain Rates, 729
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers), Consid. 1177

KING-HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *Dublin County*
Ireland—Lunatic Poor, 178
Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment, Comm. 917, 918
[*cont.*

King-Harman, Colonel E. R.—*cont.*
Lighthouse Illuminants Committee, 1892;—Commissioners of Irish Lights, 45, 46;—Withdrawal of, 966, 967
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 61, 970
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 825

Kingscote, Colonel R. N. F., *Gloucestershire, W.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1741, 1780, 1821; *cl.* 4, 1943, 1961
Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1033
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, 876
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 820

Knight, Mr. F. W., *Worcestershire, W.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1789; *cl.* 4, 1965
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, 877

Knightley, Sir R., *Northamptonshire, S.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 37, 638

Labouchere, Mr. H., *Northampton*
Egypt—Egyptian Exiles in Ceylon—Personal Maintenance, 39
Law and Justice — Trial of Said Bey Khandeel, 47
Navy—"Victoria and Albert" Yacht, 1897
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1620
Scientific Departments, 1603
Parliament—Questions
Business of the House, 1237; Ministerial Statement, 1360, 1362
House of Lords—Usher of the Black Rod, 477
Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 191
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, Amendt. 99; *cl.* 14, Amendt. 127, 129, 144; *cl.* 28, 511; *cl.* 30, 513; *cl.* 35, 623; *cl.* 44, 865; *cl.* 67, 983; *add. cl.* Amendt. 985, 986, 1001, 1155, 1162, 1307, 1310, 1387; Schedule 1, 1402; Amendt. 1405, 1406, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1440
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 805, 1241
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 818
Suez Canal Company—Copy of Register of Shareholders, 1682
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1097, 1513, 1914

Lalor, Mr. R., *Queen's Co.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 31, 547

Lamington, Lord
Defence of the Colonies — Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 936

[*cont.*

Lamington, Lord—*cont.*
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1341
New Guinea, Motion for Papers, 3
Suez Canal—Constitution of the Board of Directors, 1664
Suez (Second) Canal—Euphrates Valley Line, 1172

Land Drainage Provisional Order (No. 2) (Didcot, &c.) Bill
(*The Lord Ramsay*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 2 (No. 116)
Read 3** *July* 3
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxviii]

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881
Advances to Tenants—Duties of Inspectors, Question, The Marquess of Waterford; Answer, Lord Carlingford *July* 17, 1652
Sub-Commissioners — "*Listing,*" Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 34

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—*The Irish Land Commission*
Application for Loan, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 9, 785
The Official Reporter—Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Ryan, Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Viscount Galway; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 5, 465; Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 9, 779; Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 19, 1891

Law and Justice
High Court of Justice—Chancery Division, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 9, 774
Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division, Question, Mr. Inderwick; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 19, 1912
Queen's Bench Division—Lord Chief Justice, &c. (Patronage), Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 9, 775

The Magistracy
Guildford Petty Sessions — Assault on the Police by a Hawker, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 10, 965

Law and Police
Expulsion of Irish Residents at Darwen, Lancashire, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 12, 1212; *July* 16, 1504
The Sunderland Calamity, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 12, 1220;—*The Home Office Inquiry,* Question, Mr. Storey; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 19, 1902

Lawrance, Mr. J. C., *Lincolnshire, S.*
Chili and Peru—Rumoured Treaty of Peace, 36

Lawrence, Sir J. J. T., *Surrey, Mid*
Army (India)—Indian Medical Service—Reorganization, 1507

Lawrence, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
Post Office—Postal Telegrams, 57, 799

Lawson, Sir W., *Carlisle*
Egypt—Law and Justice—Trial of Said Bey Khandeel, 47
Ennerdale Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 599
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 807, 1239, 1241, 1334
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 829

Lea, Mr. T., *Donegal*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 997
Poor Relief (Ireland), 3R. 900

Leake, Mr. R., *Lancashire, S.E.*
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 431

Leamy, Mr. E., *Waterford*
Ireland—Crime and Outrage — Explosion at Derry, 1507
  Pauper Emigrants to the United States, 469, 470, 606, 1225
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 16, 307, 313, 314; *cl.* 31, 538; *cl.* 37, 633, 637, 641; *cl.* 39, 650; *cl.* 66, 973
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 544, 562; Amendt. 567, 569, 572; *cl.* 5, 574, 576, 577; 3R. 901, 911
Sea Fisheries (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 1336

Leatham, Mr. E. A., *Huddersfield*
Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 189
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 677

Lefevre, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Reading*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1695, 1728, 1730, 1749, 1807; *cl.* 2, 1849, 1860, 1863; *cl.* 3, 1922; *cl.* 4, 1948, 1949, 1986; Amendt. 1987, 1999
Palace of Westminster—House of Commons—Post Office in the Lobby, 33
  West Front of Westminster Hall, 1885
Parks (Metropolis)—The Inclosure in Regent's Park, 1883, 1884
River Steamers (Metropolis)—Pimlico Pier, 955, 956
Street Traffic (Metropolis)—Traffic at Hamilton Place, 181
Supply—Works and Public Buildings Office, 1264, 1265

Leighton, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1950, 1964, 1984
Mines—Use of Dynamite in Mining — The Order in Council, 784

Leighton, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1963; Amendt. 1993, 1994, 2000
Burial Acts—Consecration of Cemeteries—Rhos, Denbighshire, 464
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, Amendt. 254, 256, 257, 259, 287; *add. cl.* 1372, 1375
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1251

Lennox, Right Hon. Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*
Navy Estimates — Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1581
  Seamen and Marines, 1560
Supply, Report, 2023

Lewis, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*
Parliament—Business of the House, 1911
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 61, 62, 75, 79, 84, 88; *cl.* 8, 90, 98; *cl.* 10, 105; Amendt. 110; *cl.* 13, 114, 119; *cl.* 14, 135, 138, 139, 142; *cl.* 15, 220, 246, 270, 304, 305; *cl.* 16, Motion for reporting Progress, 306, 307; *cl.* 24, 487; *cl.* 26, 492, 495, 496; Amendt. 500, 501, 502; *cl.* 30, Amendt. 512; *cl.* 31, 527, 530; *cl.* 34, 618; *cl.* 35, 622; *cl.* 36, 625, 626; *cl.* 37, 635; *cl.* 39, 651, 653; *cl.* 41, 833; *cl.* 44, Amendt. 836, 845; *cl.* 45, 869, 878; *cl.* 60, Amendt. 889, 890, 891; *cl.* 67, 977; *add. cl.* 1002, 1007, 1019, 1157, 1170, 1285, 1286, 1288, 1290, 1300, 1303
Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Sixpenny Telegrams, 475

Licensing—Magistrates of Rotherham
Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 16, 1503

Lighthouse Illuminants Committee
Best Form of Light, Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 19, 1892
Commissioners of Irish Lights, Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 2, 44; Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 10, 966

Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock
Observations, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, Lord Sudeley; short debate thereon *July* 19, 1877

Limerick, Earl of
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 755
Lunatic Poor (Ireland), 2R. 166
Pawnbrokers, Comm. *cl.* 6, Amendt. 172; Report, *cl.* 6, Amendt. 926

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Waddy, Mr. James Stewart, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Ernest Noel*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *July* 18 [Bill 129]

Literature, Science, and Art
The Ashburnham MSS., Questions, Mr. Errington, Mr. Raikes; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 9, 784
The British Museum—Evening Admission, Question, Mr. Daniel Grant; Answer, Sir John Lubbock *July* 19, 1882
The Circular Theory of Storms, Question, Mr. Earp; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 12, 1221

Lloyd, Mr. M., *Beaumaris*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 23, 376

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxiii]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Limerick Waterworks) Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Report * *July* 6 [Bill 197]
Read 3º * *July* 9
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) (Bethesda, &c.) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 2 (No. 73)
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxix]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) (Cheltenham, &c.) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 12 (No. 74)
Report * *July* 13
Read 3ª * *July* 16

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) (Ashton-in-Makerfield, &c.) Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 12 (No. 100)
Report * *July* 13
Read 3ª * *July* 16

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) (Barnet Union, &c.) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 6 (No. 122)
Read 3ª * *July* 9
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xc]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) (Bognor, &c. Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 12 (No. 102)
Report * *July* 13
Read 3ª * *July* 16

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) (Kingston-upon-Hull, &c.) Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 6 (No. 123)
Read 3ª * *July* 9
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcix]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 10) (Leeds) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 6 (No. 117)
Read 3ª * *July* 9
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xci]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Highways) (County of Dorset) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Brafield-on-the-Green, &c.) Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. cxxxviii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Black-Torrington &c.) Bill (*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 10 (No. 89)
Report * *July* 12
Read 3ª * *July* 13

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Birmingham and Lambeth) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxi]

Local Government (Gas) Provisional Order (Festiniog) Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * *July* 12 (No. 72)
Report * *July* 13
Read 3ª * *July* 16

Longford, Earl of
Africa (South)—Transvaal—Dr. Jorissen, 1348
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 737
Criminal Law Amendment, 3R. Amendt. 399
Law and Police (Scotland)—Clyde Disaster, 1181
Lunatic Poor (Ireland), 2R. 167
New Guinea, Motion for Papers, 12
Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, Motion for an Address, 25

Lopes, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*
Greenwich Hospital, 2R. 2038
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1637

LOWTHER, Right Hon. J., *Lincolnshire, N.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1809; *cl.* 2, 1861; *cl.* 4, 1976, 1984, 1988, 1991, 2001, 2003, 2005
High Court of Justice (Continuous Sittings), 794
Parliament — Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1100, 1113, 1362
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44, 862, 863; *cl.* 45, 873; *add. cl.* 1163
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 819
Suez (Second) Canal—Provisional Agreement with M. De Lesseps, 1910;—The Australian Colonies, 1888

LUBBOCK, Sir J., *London University*
British Museum—Evening Admission, 1882
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1200

Lunatic Poor (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Read 2^{a}, after debate *July* 3, 160 (No. 85)
Order for Comm. discharged; Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 17, 1653

LYMINGTON, Viscount, *Barnstaple*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1690, 1775; *cl.* 5, 2011

LYONS, Dr. R. D., *Dublin*
Medical Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 314
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 17, 327
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 554, 556, 557; 3R. 912

MCARTHUR, Mr. A., *Leicester*
India—Bengal—Law and Justice—Mr. Banerjee, 601
Madagascar—Hostile Operations of France—Bombardment of Tamatave, 467

MACARTNEY, Mr. J. W. E., *Tyrone*
Ireland—Commissioners of National Education, 461

M'CARTHY, Mr. Justin, *Longford*
Ireland—Distress in Gweedore, 778, 1510
Post Office—Parcel Post, 800

MCCLURE, Sir T., *Londonderry Co.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1369

M'COAN, Mr. J. C., *Wicklow*
Egypt—Massacre at Alexandria—Alleged Complicity of the Khedive, 60
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 37, Amendt. 640, 642
Suez Canal Company—Copy of the Register of Shareholders, 1681, 1682
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1232, 1516

MACFARLANE, Mr. D. H., *Carlow Co.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 18, 332; *cl.* 21, Amendt. 350, 352; *cl.* 23, 381; *cl.* 24, 481; *cl.* 26, Amendt. 492, 494; *cl.* 34, Amendt. 616, 617; *cl.* 37, 638; *cl.* 67, 978; *add. cl.* 1125, 1164, 1301, 1371, 1398, 1399
Post Office—Indian Mails, 1218
Public Health—Horse Flesh, 471
Precautions against Cholera, 964

MCGAREL-HOGG, Sir J. M., *Truro*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1206
Metropolis (North and South)—Communication Across the Thames, 1502
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1191
Metropolitan Board of Works (Money), 2R. 914, 915
Metropolitan Improvements—New Streets East of London Bridge, 1503
Parks (Metropolis)—Finsbury Park, 475
River Thames—Pimlico Pier, 1217

MAC IVER, Mr. D., *Birkenhead*
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 827

MCKENNA, Sir J. N., *Youghal*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1207
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1369, 1371

MCLAGAN, Mr. P., *Linlithgowshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 2, 1859; *cl.* 4, 1945, 1966, 1988; Amendt. 1990, 1992

MACLIVER, Mr. P. S., *Plymouth*
Navy Estimates — Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1588
Seamen and Marines, 1543
Palace of Westminster—House of Commons—Post Office in the Lobby, 33
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 18, 335; *add. cl.* 1368
Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 957
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1355

Madagascar
LORDS
Action of the French at Tamatave — The British Consul, Questions, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answers, Earl Granville *July* 12, 1172; *July* 17, 1653

Madagascar
COMMONS
Hostile Operations by France—Bombardment of Tamatave, Questions, Mr. A. M'Arthur, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 5, 467

[*cont.*

Madagascar—COMMONS—*cont.*
The French at Tamatave — Mr. Pakenham, the British Consul, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir George Campbell, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 11, 1097; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 13, 1357;—*Death of Consul Pakenham*, Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1527;—*H.M.S. "Dryad," &c.*, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 17, 1679
Protection to Lives and Property of British Subjects, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 19, 1898

MAGNIAC, Mr. C., *Bedford*
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1097

MAKINS, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1206
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 269, 273; *add. cl.* 1159

Malta—Constitutional Reforms
Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 19, 1904

MANCHESTER, Duke of
New Guinea, Motion for Papers, 13

Manchester Ship Canal Bill (by Order)
c. Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow, after short debate *July* 11, 1087
Considered *July* 12, 1182
Moved, "That Standing Orders 222 and 243 be suspended, and that the Bill be now read 3° (Queen's Consent, on behalf of the Crown and Duchy of Lancaster, to be signified)" (*Sir Charles Forster*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill read 3° (Queen's Consent signified), and passed

MAPPIN, Mr. F. T., *East Retford*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1734
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 19, 345

MARRIOTT, Mr. W. T., *Brighton*
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1184, 1186, 1188

MASKELYNE, Mr. M. H. N. STORY-, *Cricklade*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1700

MASON, Mr. Hugh, *Ashton-under-Lyne*
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 664, 717

MAXWELL, Sir H. E., *Wigtonshire*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Training of Militia Recruits, 1891
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 36, 626

MAXWELL-HERON, Captain J. M., *Kirkcudbright*
Navy Estimates—Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, 1648
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1147

Medals Bill (*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 3, 251; Debate adjourned [Bill 188]

Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill [H.L.] (*Dr. Lyons*)
c. Read 2° *July* 3, 314 [Bill 205]
Committee*; Report *July* 4
Read 3^{a}* *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. 19]

MELLOR, Mr. J. W., *Grantham*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 31, 530, 537

Mercantile Marine
Irish Lighthouses, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 12, 1215
Passenger Acts
Emigrant and Passenger Ships — Scandinavian Emigrants, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 12, 1213
Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 9, 779
Overcrowding of a River Steamer at Broughty Ferry, River Tay, Scotland, Question, Mr. Henderson; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 16, 1512

Merchandise Marks (Channel Islands and Isle of Man) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Belper*)
l. Presented; read 1^{a}* *July* 12 (No. 143)
Read 2^{a} *July* 19, 1876

Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Presented; read 1^{a}* *July* 12 (No. 144)
Further debate on 2R. adjourned till Tuesday next, after short debate *July* 17, 1655

Mersey River Gunpowder Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 1°* *July* 10 [Bill 262]
Read 2°* *July* 12
Committee*; Report *July* 16
Read 3°* *July* 17

METROPOLIS (*Questions*)
North and South—Communication across the Thames, Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 16, 1501
River Thames—Pimlico Pier, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 10, 955; Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg *July* 12, 1217
Street Traffic — Traffic at Hamilton Place, Question, Mr. Rolls; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 3, 181

The Parks
Finsbury Park, Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 5, 475
The Inclosures in Regent's Park, Questions, Mr. Daniel Grant; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 19, 1883

Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (Saint George-in-the-East) Bill
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee * *July* 2 (No. 118)
Report * *July* 3
Read 3ª * *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xciv]

Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 2) (Limehouse) Bill
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee * *July* 2 (No. 119)
Report * *July* 3
Read 3ª * *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcv]

Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 3) (Lambeth) Bill
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee * *July* 2 (No. 120)
Report * *July* 3
Read 3ª *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcvi]

Metropolis Improvement Provisional Order (No. 4) (Greenwich) Bill
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Committee * *July* 2 (No. 121)
Report * *July* 3
Read 3ª * *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcvii]

Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway) Bill (by Order)
c. Bill, as amended, to be considered To-morrow, after short debate *July* 11, 1088
Moved, "That the Bill, as amended, be now considered" *July* 12, 1184
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Thorold Rogers*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill considered

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill (*Mr. Courtney, Lord Richard Grosvenor*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 4 [Bill 254]
Read 2°, after short debate *July* 9, 913
Committee *; Report *July* 16
Considered * *July* 17
Read 3° * *July* 18
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *July* 19 (No. 149)

Metropolitan Improvements
Hyde Park Corner, Question, Observations, Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, Lord Lamington, Earl Fortescue; Reply, Lord Sudeley *July* 13, 1340
New Streets East of London Bridge, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 16, 1502

MIDLETON, Viscount
Pawnbroker's, Report, *cl.* 5, 925

MILLTOWN, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 5, Amendt. 407; *cl.* 12, 414; *cl.* 13, 418
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1345

Mines
Accidents in Mines—Life Brigades in Mining Districts, Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *July* 19, 1890
Mines (Coal) Regulation Act, 1872 — Compulsory use of Locked Lamps—Casualty at Rose Heyworth Pit, Cwmtillery, Question, Mr. Rolls; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 2, 38;—*Examination of Mines before Commencing Work*, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *July* 19, 1886
Use of Dynamite in Mining—The Order in Council, Question, Sir Baldwyn Leighton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 9, 784

MONK, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
Metropolitan Board of Works (Money), 2R. 915
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 53
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, 95; *cl.* 24, 481; *cl.* 67, 978; *add. cl.* 1288
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1096, 1230, 1232

MOORE, Mr. A. J., *Clonmel*
Emigration and Passenger Ships—Scandinavian Emigrants, 1213
Ireland—Questions
  Irish Butter Trade—Cork Butter Market, 179
  Magistracy—Roscrea Petty Sessions District, 1211
  Poor Law—Workhouse Hospitals, 179
Mercantile Marine — Passenger Acts — Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships, 779
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1117

Morley, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 750, 754, 755

Mount-Edgcumbe, Earl of
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1497

Mount-Temple, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, 402

Mowbray, Right Hon. Sir J. R., *Oxford University*
Ecclesiastical Grants—Church at Hong Kong—Grant in Aid, 1903
Parliament—Selection, 178, 600

Mundella, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*
Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1022, 1053, 1058, 1063, 1065, 1069
Education Department—Schools Compulsorily Closed, 178
Endowed Schools—Middle-Class School at Tunbridge, 768
Endowed Schools Commission—The Ashton Charity, Dunstable, 467
Law and Police—Calamity at Sunderland, 1220

Municipal Corporations (Borough Funds) Bill (*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Edward Clarke, Mr. Jackson, Mr. St. Aubyn*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *July* 13 [Bill 159]

Municipal Offices Disqualification (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Callan, Mr. Gray, Dr. Commins, Mr. Kenny*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 2, 154
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived; 2R. put off [Bill 232]

Naturalization—Fees on Certificates
Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 12, 1226

Naval Discipline and Enlistment Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.]
c. Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn *July* 9, 830

Navy (*Questions*)
Assistant Paymasters, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 2, 38; *July* 5, 476
The Dockyards — Fire-Extinguishing Apparatus, Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 9, 770

[*cont.*

Navy—*cont.*
The Mediterranean Squadron, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 9, 786
The Queen's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions—Warrant Officers, Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, Lord Alcester *July* 10, 932
The Transport Ship "Orontes," Questions, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 9, 769
The "Victoria and Albert" Yacht, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 19, 1897

Navy—H.M.S. "Triumph"—Court Martial on Louis Price
Moved, "That there be laid before this House the finding of the court-martial in the case of Price, seaman of the 'Triumph,' in 1882; and correspondence relating thereto" (*The Lord Stanley of Alderley*) *July* 10, 927; after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

Newdegate, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1776, 1826; *cl.* 2, 1860
Corrupt Practices at Elections, 1891
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1114
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 71; *cl.* 14, 143; *cl.* 36, 628; *cl.* 67, 981; *add. cl.* 1019, 1133, 1141, 1143
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 702
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 807, 808, 1241
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 823

New Forest Highways Bill (*Lord Thurlow*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 2 (No. 101)
Read 3ª* *July* 3
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. lxxxvi]

New Guinea
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers relating to the proposed annexation of New Guinea" (*The Lord Lamington*) *July* 2, 3; after short debate, Motion agreed to
[See title *Western Islands of the Pacific*]

Nicholson, Mr. W. Newzam-, *Newark*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 18, 336

Noel, Mr. E., *Dumfries, &c.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 67, Amendt. 973, 979; Schedule 1, Amendt. 1408, 1411

Nolan, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
Ireland—Inland Navigation and Drainage—
The Shannon, 1903
Tramways, 1903

[*cont.*

NOLAN, Colonel J. P.—*cont.*
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, 101; *cl.* 9, 104; *cl.* 10, 106; Amendt. 107, 108; *cl.* 19, 343; *cl.* 44, 863; *add. cl.* 1305, 1316, 1333, 1370, 1371
  Poor Law (Ireland), 3R. 897, 900, 911
  Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 827
  Sea Fisheries (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1337

NORMANTON, Earl of
  Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 594

NORTH, Colonel J. S., *Oxfordshire*
  Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Kilmainham—Report of the Committee, 1902

NORTHBROOK, Earl of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
  Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 763
  Defence of the Colonies—Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 948
  Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock, 1881
  Navy—H.M.S. "Triumph"—Court Martial on Louis Price, Motion for a Paper, 930

NORTHCOTE, Right Hon. Sir S. H., *Devon, N.*
  Africa (South)—"Republic of Stellaland"—Murder of Mr. J. W. Honey, a British Subject, by Dutch Boers, 604
  Egypt—Cholera, Outbreak of, 57
  Madagascar—Action of the French—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1097
  Parliament—Business of the House—Questions 58, 59
    Ministerial Statement, 1107, 1362
    Precedence of Government Orders, 181
    Suez (Second) Canal, Ministerial Statement, 1524, 1526
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 298; *add. cl.* 1311
  Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 801, 803, 805, 808
  Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 816
  Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1094, 1209, 1232, 1233, 1351, 1352, 1354, 1515, 1518, 1888, 1908, 1910

NORTHCOTE, Mr. H. S., *Exeter*
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 84; *cl.* 15, 207, 239

NORTON, Lord
  Defence of the Colonies — Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 945
  Education Department—Insanity induced by Overwork in Elementary Schools, 1472
  New Guinea, Motion for Papers, 6
  Pawnbroker's, Comm. *add. cl.* 172
  Railway Servants—Hours of Duty, 589

NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
  Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1094

O'BEIRNE, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
  Army—Cavalry Horses, 470
  Ireland—Post Office — East Bars, County Leitrim, 1509

O'BRIEN, Mr. W., *Mallow*
  Civil Service—Orange Lodges, 473
  Ireland—Questions
    Distress in Gweedore, 778, 1511
    Evictions—Estates of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 1887
    Irish Land Commission—Application for Loans, 785
    Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Ryan, 779
    Magistracy — Fishery Trespass Case at Glin, Co. Limerick, 1895
    Pauper Emigrants to the United States, 469, 1226
    Poor Law—Post-Mortem Examinations, 1212
    Poor Relief Bill, 56
    Royal Irish Constabulary—Sub-Inspector Carter, 41
    State-Aided Emigration—Irish Emigrants, 604, 605
  Law and Police—Expulsion of Irish Residents at Darwen, Lancashire, 1212, 1504
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 31, 549, 566, 570, 571; *cl.* 5, 573, 575, 576
  Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. 151, 152; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 551; *cl.* 5, 578; 3R. 895
  Prison Service (Ireland), 2R. 150; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1334, 1335

O'CONNOR, Mr. A., *Queen's Co.*
  Civil Service—Private Secretaries to Ministers, 1521
  Ireland—Commissioners of Public Works—Erection of Barracks, 42
  Navy—Assistant Paymasters, 38, 476, 477
  Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 19, 343
  Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1242, 1253
    Mint, including Coinage, 1257

O'CONNOR, Mr. T. P., *Galway*
  Poor Relief (Ireland), 3R. 904

O'DONNELL, Mr. F. H., *Dungarvan*
  East India—Mysore Gold Mining—Return of Lands held by Uncovenanted Servants, &c. 475
  Egypt—Cholera, 790, 791
    Rinderpest, 965
  India—Questions
    Cholera at Bombay, 776, 777
    Darjeeling Coolies Bill, 49
    Palconda—Viziaram Raz, 49, 50
    Railways—The Nizam's Territories—Hyderabad, 48, 787, 788

[*cont.*

O'Donnell, Mr. F. H.—*cont.*
- India (Madras)—Questions
  - Criminal Prosecutions—The Salt Revenue, 473
  - Ex-Tahsildar of Conjeveram, 777
  - Outbreak of Cholera, 474
- Ireland—Crown Solicitor for Derry, 50
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, 149; *cl.* 31, 542; Motion for reporting Progress, 544, 546, 549
- Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. 150; *cl.* 1, 564; *cl.* 5, 574, 577
- Post Office (Savings Bank Department)—The Controller, 470
- Public Health—Precautions against Cholera, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964

O'Hagan, Lord
- Education (Ireland)—The English System of State-supported Training Colleges, Res. 1486
- Lunatic Poor (Ireland), 2R. 165
- Registry of Deeds (Ireland), 2R. 177

O'Kelly, Mr. J., *Roscommon*
- Army—Staffordshire Regiment, 801
- India (Madras)—Criminal Prosecutions—The Salt Revenue, 474
- Ireland—Distress in Gweedore, 1511
- Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment, Comm. 918
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 19, 343
- Spain—Expulsion of certain Cuban Refugees from Gibraltar—Colonel Maceo, 782

Onslow, Mr. D. R., *Guildford*
- Afghanistan—Subsidy to the Ameer, 1500
- Africa (West Coast)—River Congo—Negotiations between England and Portugal, 791
- East India (Finance, &c.), 1528
- Egypt—The Cholera, 790
- Parliament—Business of the House—Questions
  - Ministerial Statement, 54, 1116
  - Precedence of Government Orders, 190
  - Suez (Second) Canal, Ministerial Statement, 1527
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 68; *cl.* 8, 96; *cl.* 13, 115, 116; *cl.* 15, 214; Amendt. 247, 248, 251, 253, 259, 261, 262, 270, 292, 293, 304; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 325; *cl.* 19, Amendt. 339, 340; *cl.* 22, 356, 357; *cl.* 23, 384; *cl.* 33, 615; *cl.* 34, 619; *cl.* 35, 622; Amendt. 623; *cl.* 40, 657, 663; *cl.* 44, 836, 837, 865; *add. cl.* 1127, 1132, 1163; Schedule 1, 1442
- Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 820

Oranmore and Browne, Lord
- Education (Ireland)—The English System of State-supported Training Colleges, 1491

O'Shaughnessy, Mr. R., *Limerick*
- Ireland—Board of Intermediate Education—Results Fees, 1881-2, 28

O'Shea, Mr. W. H., *Clare*
- Ireland—Questions
  - Fisheries—Shannon Fisheries, 1211
  - Post Office—Mails between Limerick and Kilrush, 1219
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—Re-organization, 1222
- Poor Relief (Ireland), 3R. Motion for Adjournment, 909, 910

O'Sullivan, Mr. W. H., *Limerick Co.*
- Milford (County Cork) Drainage Bill, 48

Otway, Sir A. J. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Rochester*
- Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1698, 1739, 1811; *cl.* 2, 1848; *cl.* 3, 1931; *cl.* 4, 1957, 1958, 1988, 1989, 1994, 1999; *cl.* 5, 2017, 2020
- Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5), 2R. 317
- Manchester Ship Canal, Consid. 1087
- Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1578, 1579
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, 102, 103; *cl.* 10, 105; *cl.* 13, 115, 117, 118; *cl.* 15, 200, 253, 259, 262, 263, 270, 294, 295, 299, 302, 304, 305; *cl.* 16, 308, 313; *cl.* 18, 328; *cl.* 23, 364; *cl.* 24, 484, 485; *cl.* 25, 491; *cl.* 26, 503, 506; *cl.* 31, 544; *cl.* 33, 612, 613; *cl.* 36, 626; *cl.* 38, 644; *cl.* 39, 653; *cl.* 40, 663; *cl.* 44, 863; *cl.* 67, 981; *add. cl.* 1141, 1304, 1305; Schedule 1, 1407, 1415
- Police, 2R. 831
- Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1278

Paget, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
- Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1770; Amendt. 1796, 1797, 1801, 1811; *cl.* 2, 1858; *cl.* 4, 1955, 2000
- Parliament—Palace of Westminster—West Front of Westminster Hall, 1885
- Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Postal Delivery of Telegrams, 1884

Palmer, Mr. C. M., *Durham, N.*
- Navy—Transport Ship "Orontes," 769, 770
- Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 796, 797, 1095
- Trade and Commerce—Brokerage on Shipping (France), 82

Palmer, Mr. J. H., *Lincoln*
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 258; *cl.* 26, 501; *cl.* 67, 977
- Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1271

Parker, Mr. C. S., *Perth*
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44, 863

Parliament

LORDS—
- *Public Business—Standing Committees,* Notice of Question, Observations, The Earl of Redesdale; Reply, Earl Granville; short debate thereon *July* 10, 919

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—*cont.*

Despatch of Public Business—Bills Reported from Standing Committees of the House of Commons, Explanation, The Earl of Redesdale *July* 12, 1173; Question, Observations, The Earl of Redesdale; Reply, Earl Granville *July* 17, 1659

Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod
Moved, "That the Select Committee on the Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod be directed to inquire into the department of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, with the view of ascertaining whether the appointments in that department, or some of them, may not in future be conferred upon persons who have served with distinction in the army or navy or some department of the public service" (*The Earl of Camperdown*) *July* 6, 590; Motion agreed to
[See *Business of the House* (*Commons*)]

COMMONS—
THE STANDING COMMITTEES
Patents for Inventions Bill, Bill reported from the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures *July* 9 [Bill 261]; Minutes of Proceedings to be printed [No. 247]
Committee of Selection—Standing Committee on Trade, Special Reports *July* 3, 177; *July* 6, 599

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE
Precedence of Government Orders
Moved, "That Government Orders have precedence, this Evening, of the Notices of Motions and other Orders of the Day, and that Government Orders have precedence Tomorrow" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) *July* 3, 181; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone *July* 11, 1099
Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, Government Orders having priority; and that Government Orders have priority this day, and on each succeeding Wednesday" (*Mr. Gladstone*); after debate, Question put, and agreed to

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS
Universities (Scotland) Bill, Question, Mr. Craig-Sellar; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 2, 51;—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon, 53;—*Order of Business*, Questions, Colonel Alexander, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. W. Fowler, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 2, 58;—*Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment Bill*, Questions, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Viscount Folkestone, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 5, 480;—*Crown Lands Bill*, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 6, 604;—*The Shannon Trust*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 6, 606;—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone; short

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Business of the House and Public Business*—cont.
debate thereon *July* 9, 808;—*Arrangement of Business*, Questions, Sir John Hay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Courtney *July* 12, 1236;—*Ministerial Statement*, Observations, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Labouchere; Reply, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *July* 13, 1359;—*Contagious Diseases Acts*, Questions, Captain Price, Mr. Puleston; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1521;—*Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill*, Question, Mr. J. N. Richardson; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1523;—*Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps—Ministerial Statement*, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Rathbone, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1524;—*Agricultural Holdings and Local Government Board (Scotland) Bills*, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1527;—*Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill*, Questions, Mr. Lewis, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Attorney General *July* 19, 1911

QUESTIONS
Acts of Parliament—Promulgation of the Statutes, Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 5, 480;—*Printing and Distribution*, Question, Mr. Lewis Fry; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 9, 773
[See title *Statutes, Promulgation, &c.*]
Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 2, 56
Speech of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Acton, Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Brodrick; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 9, 794

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER
House of Lords—The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 5, 477
[See title—*Office of Gentleman Usher, &c.* (*Lords*)]
House of Commons—The Post Office in the Lobby, Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 2, 33
West Front of Westminster Hall, Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 19, 1885

Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women)
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 6, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting" (*Mr. Hugh Mason*) *v.*, 664; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 130, N. 114; M. 16
Div. List, A. and N., 722

Parliamentary Oath (*Mr. Bradlaugh*)
Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 9, 801
Moved, "That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*); after short debate, Question put; A. 232, N. 65; M. 167 (D. L. 183)
Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Speaker *July* 12, 1239; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Speaker, 1334

Privilege—Bradlaugh v. Gosset
Communication to the House *July* 19, 1915
Ordered, That the said Communication be taken into Consideration To-morrow, at Two of the Clock" (*Mr. Attorney General*)

Parliament—House of Lords
Sat First
July 12—The Lord Carew, after the death of his father
July 13—The Lord Sherborne, after the death of his father

Parliament—House of Commons
New Writ Issued
July 9—*For* the Borough of Wexford, *v.* Timothy Michael Healy, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

New Members Sworn
July 2—Henry Bret Ince, esquire, Q.C., *Town and Port of Hastings*
July 16—John Francis Small, esquire, *Borough of Wexford*
July 19—Timothy Michael Healy, esquire, *County of Monaghan*

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill [Bill 7]
(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Committee—R.P. [Twelfth Night] *July* 2, 61
Committee—R.P. [Thirteenth Night] *July* 3, 192
Committee—R.P. [Thirteenth Night] *July* 3, 251
Committee—R.P. [Fourteenth Night] *July* 4, 318
Committee—R.P. [Fifteenth Night] *July* 5, 481
Committee—R.P. [Sixteenth Night] *July* 6, 612
Committee—R.P. [Seventeenth Night] *July* 9, 831
Committee—R.P. [Eighteenth Night] *July* 10, 967
Committee—R.P. [Nineteenth Night] *July* 11, 1120
Committee—R.P. [Twentieth Night] *July* 12, 1279
Committee—R.P. [Twenty-First Night] *July* 13, 1365
Committee; Report [Twenty-First Night] *July* 13, 1408

Parnell, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Parliament—Business of the House, 1238

Partnerships Bill (*Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Barran, Mr. Lewis Fry, Mr. Norwood*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 16 [Bill 40]

Passenger Acts
Emigrant and Passenger Ships—Scandinavian Emigrants, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 12, 1213
Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 9, 779
Overcrowding of a River Steamer at Broughty Ferry, River Tay, Scotland, Question, Mr. Henderson; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 16, 1512

Patents for Inventions Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr John Holms*)
c. Reported from the Standing Committee on Trade, &c. *July* 9 [Bills 3-261]

Patrick, Mr. R. W. Cochran-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1990
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 257

Pawnbroker's Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Committee *July* 3, 169 (No. 79)
Report, after debate *July* 10, 921 (No. 136)
Read 3^{a}* *July* 12 (No. 141)

Peace Preservation (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
Extra Pay to Prison Surgeons, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 9, 774
Police Hut at Kilmoors, Co. Clare, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 19, 1893

Pease, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1785, 1799, 1811; *cl.* 4, 1950, 1960, 1963; Amendt. 1966
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Interest), Res. 1677

Pease, Mr. A., *Whitby*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 19, 339
Sea Fisheries, 2R. 917

Peddie, Mr. J. Dick-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, 869
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 828

PEEL, Mr. A. W., *Warwick Bo.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 23, 379; Amendt. 382; Schedule 1, 1406; Amendt. 1421

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1730, 1767; *cl.* 2, Amendt. 1852, 1855, 1857; *cl.* 4, 1939, 1965
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 392

PEMBERTON, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1929

PEMBROKE, Earl of
Pawnbrokers, Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 170; *cl.* 5, 171

PERCY, Lord A., *Westminster*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1195; Amendt. 1208

Petroleum Acts—Storage of Petroleum
Questions, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Sir William Harcourt; Questions, Mr. Callan; [No reply] *July* 6, 606

Petroleum Bill (*Earl Granville*)
l. Read 1ª * *July* 19 (No. 154)

PHIPPS, Mr. P., *Northamptonshire, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1689, 1735, 1741; *cl.* 4, 1982, 1984

Police Bill (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate*)
c. Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 9, 830 [Bill 106]

Poor, Dwellings of the—Legislation
Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 6, 609
[See title *Artizans' Dwellings*]

Poor Law (England and Wales)
Boarded-out Children, Questions, Viscount Cranbrook; Answers, Lord Carrington *July* 5, 397
Metropolis—Westminster Union Workhouse—Case of Anne Kane, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 2, 33; Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. George Russell *July* 16, 1503; *July* 19, 1894
Vaccination in Workhouses — St. Pancras Workhouse, Questions, Mr. Hopwood; Answers, Mr. George Russell *July* 13, 1319

Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 2, 150; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Biggar*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill—cont.
Debate resumed *July* 5, 551; Question put and agreed to; Committee; Report
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *July* 9, 893
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Captain Aylmer*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, " Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. O'Shea*)
The House proceeded to a Division:—Mr. Speaker stated he thought the Noes had it; and, his decision being challenged, he directed the Ayes to stand up in their places, and Thirteen Members only having stood up, Mr. Speaker declared the Noes had it
Question again proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 79, N. 12; M. 67 (D. L. 188)
Main Question put; A. 80, N. 10; M. 70 (D. L. 189); Bill passed [Bill 154]
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord President*) *July* 10
Read 2ª *July* 19, 1876 (No. 140)

PORTER, Right Hon. A. M. (Attorney General for Ireland), *Londonderry Co.*
Ireland—Law and Justice—"Regina *v.* Madden," 35
Magistracy—Fishery Trespass Case at Glin, Co. Limerick, 1895
Municipal Disqualification (Ireland), 2R. Amendt. 155, 157
Prison Service (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1335

POST OFFICE (*Questions*)
The Cholera in Egypt—Mails from the East, Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *July* 9, 798
The Indian Mails, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 12, 1217
The new Parcels Post, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 9, 800

Contracts
Mails from the Seychelles to the Mauritius, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 5, 475; Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 6, 601
The Irish Mail Service, Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 12, 1222; Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 19, 1906

Savings Bank Department
The Controller, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 5, 470

Telegraph Department
Cheap Postal Telegrams, Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 2, 57
Sixpenny Telegrams, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 5, 475; Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 9, 799
Postal Delivery of Telegrams, Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 19, 1884

cont.

Post Office (Money Orders) Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 10 [Bill 263]

Post Office (Protection) Bill
(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 16 [Bill 266]

Power, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, 125 ; *cl.* 15, 294, 295, 304

Power, Mr. R., *Waterford*
- Post Office (Contracts)—Irish Mail Service, 1906
- Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 824

Powis, Earl of
- Education (Ireland)—The English System of State-supported Training Colleges, Res. 1490

Price, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
- Contagious Diseases Acts—Statistics, 1209
- Greenwich Hospital, 1209 ; 2R. 2038
- Jamaica—The Executive Government, 1238, 1357, 1358, 1683
- Navy Estimates—Civil Pensions and Allowances, 1651
  - Coastguard Service and Royal Naval Reserves, &c. 1580
  - Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1604
  - Medical Establishments, 1646
  - New Works, Buildings, &c. 1649
  - Scientific Departments, 1598
  - Seamen and Marines, 1528, 1567, 1572, 1576, 1577
- Parliament—Business of the House, 1521 ; Ministerial Statement, 1361, 1362
- Supply, Report, 2028, 2033

Prison Service (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 2, 150 [Bill 248]
Committee ; Report *July* 12, 1334
Read 3° * *July* 13
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *July* 16 (No. 145)

Privy Council—Committee of Agriculture —See title *Agriculture*

Public Health
- *Horse Flesh*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 5, 471
- *Outbreak of Cholera in Egypt—Sanitary Precautions*, Question, The Earl of Wemyss ; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 3, 158
- *Precautions against Cholera*, Questions, Viscount Folkestone, Mr. Stewart Macliver, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Macfarlane, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Ecroyd ; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 10, 957
  [See title *Vaccination*]

Public Health Act, 1875 (Support of Sewers) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Brogden, Sir George Elliot, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Salt, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Tomlinson*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 18 [Bill 267]

Public Health Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Dodds, Sir Edward Reed, Mr. Arnold Morley*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 13 [Bill 161]

Public Health (Dairies, &c.) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Committee ; Report *July* 3, 173 (No. 92)
Read 3ª * *July* 5

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Fraserburgh Waterworks) Bill (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Report * *July* 2 (No. 63)
Read 3ª * *July* 3
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xcviii]

Pugh, Mr. L. P., *Cardiganshire*
- Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1710, 1732 ; *cl.* 2, 1829, 1836, 1849, 1862 ; *cl.* 4, 1953, 1963, 1967

Puleston, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
- Chelsea Hospital—Lord Morley's Committee, 465
- Civil Service—The Playfair Scheme, 783
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1635, 1636
  - Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, 1648
  - Seamen and Marines, 1548
- Parliament—Business of the House, 1521

Raikes, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
- Burial Acts—Consecration of Cemeteries—Rhos, Denbighshire, 464
- Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. 456, 457
- Literature, Science, and Art — The Ashburnham MSS., 785
- Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 189
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 10, 110 ; *cl.* 11, 111 ; *cl.* 13, 112, 113, 117 ; *cl.* 15, 290, 297 ; *cl.* 16, 309 ; *cl.* 31, 523 ; *cl.* 34, 619 ; *cl.* 38, 643, 644 ; *cl.* 40, 655 ; *cl.* 48, Amendt. 883, 884 ; *add. cl.* 996, 1001, 1309, 1376 ; Schedule 1, Amendt. 1405, 1412, 1419, 1426, 1427, 1445, 1446
- Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 708, 712
- Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 441
- Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 820

Railway Passenger Duty, &c. Bill
(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Arthur Hayter*)
c. Committee * ; Report *July* 5 [Bills 219-255]

Railways
Railway Servants—Hours of Duty, Question, Observations, Lord Forbes, The Earl of Aberdeen ; Reply, Lord Sudeley ; short debate thereon *July* 6, 585
Engine Drivers—Hours of Duty, Question, Mr. Theodore Fry ; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 9, 770

Railways (Continuous Brakes) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl De La Warr*)
l. Presented ; read 1ª * *July* 3 (No. 135)
Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 13, 1345

RALLI, Mr. P., *Wallingford*
Treaty of Berlin—Article XXIII.—Island of Chios, 1508

RAMSAY, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1927
Settlement and Removal Law Amendment, 2R. 725

RANKIN, Mr. J., *Leominster*
Education Department—Schools Compulsorily Closed, 178
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44, Amendt. 857

RATHBONE, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1714
Parliament—Business of the House — Suez (Second) Canal, Ministerial Statement, 1524

REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Report, 1874
Metropolitan Improvements — Hyde Park Corner, 1345
Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 595
Parliament—Public Business—Standing Committees, 919, 920, 1173, 1659
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers), Consid. 1176

Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers) Bill
l. Amendts. made by Committee considered *July* 12, 1174
New Clause moved (*Viscount Bury*); after short debate, on Question ? resolved in the negative

Registration of Births and Deaths (Great Britain)—Uncertified Deaths
Question, Dr. Cameron ; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 9, 766

Registry of Deeds (Ireland) Bill
(*The Lord O'Hagan*)
l. Read 2ª *July* 3, 77 (No. 97)
Committee * ; Report *July* 5
Read 3ª * *July* 6
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. 20]

Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 9 [Bill 242]

Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure Bill (*The Earl of Galloway*)
l. Bill withdrawn * *July* 13 (No. 6)

REID, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 26, 506 ; *add. cl.* 999, 1150, 1169
Statute of Frauds Amendment, Comm. 1464

Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension Bill (by Order)
c. Lords Amendts. considered, and, after debate, agreed to *July* 5, 421

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Africa (West Coast)—Hostilities at British Sherbro, 29
Intermediate Education (Wales), 59
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 818

RICHARDSON, Mr. J. N., *Armagh Co.*
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1117, 1118
Sunday Closing (Ireland), 1523
Poor Relief (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 1, 570
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 825

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 14, 419
Parliament—Public Business—Standing Committees, 920
Pawnbroker's, Comm. *cl.* 4, 170
Public Health (Dairies, &c.), Comm. *cl.* 13, 176
Railways (Continuous Brakes), 2R. 1348
Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3), Comm. 921

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Metropolis (North and South)—Communication across the Thames, 1501, 1502
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 201, 208, 219, 230, 231, 288, 295 ; *cl.* 44, 865 ; *add. cl.* 1016, 1124 ; Amendt. 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1378
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1906, 1907, 1908

River Thames—Pimlico Pier
Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Callan ; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 10, 955 ; Question, Sir John Hay ; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 12, 1217

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn, after debate *July* 9, 808 [Bill 113]

Rogers, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1695
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1189; Amendt. 1190, 1193

Rolls, Mr. J. A., *Monmouthshire*
Mines (Coal) Regulation Act—Locked Lamps, 38
Street Traffic (Metropolis)—Traffic at Hamilton Place, 181

Rosse, Earl of
Lunatic Poor (Ireland), 2R. 167

Russell, Mr. G. W. E. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Aylesbury*
Mercantile Marine—Passenger Acts—Infectious Diseases in Emigrant Ships, 779
Poor Law (England and Wales)—Vaccination in Workhouses—St. Pancras Workhouse, 1350, 1351
Westminster Workhouse Inquiry, 1894
Poor Law (Metropolis)—Case of Anne Kane, 1503
Vaccination Acts—Brighton Board of Guardians, 1883
Vaccination Laws (Germany), 601

Russia and Persia
Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 771

Rylands, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1623, 1628, 1646
Seamen and Marines, 1543, 1563
Parliament — Promulgation of the Statutes, 480
Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 182
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 64; *cl.* 15, 202, 239; *cl.* 17, 331; *cl.* 19, 341; *cl.* 23, 373, 380; *cl.* 34, 618; *cl.* 36, 629; *cl.* 45, 877; *add. cl.* 1380; Schedule 1, 1401
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 820
Supply—Stationery and Printing, 1276, 1278

Sale of Intoxciating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill
(*Mr. Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Acland*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 60]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 10 (No. 142)
Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 16, 1497
Committee; Report, after short debate *July* 19 1875

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Richardson, Mr. Corry, Mr. Blake, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Redmond*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 17 [Bill 69]

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on 2R. [11th June] read; Moved, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Monday 23rd July" (*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) *July* 9, 916; after short debate, Motion agreed to [Bill 130]

Salisbury, Marquess of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 5, 408; *cl.* 9, 411
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Report, 1874
Lunatic Poor (Ireland), 2R. 168
Madagascar—Action of the French—Expulsion of the British Consul, 1172
French at Tamatave, 1653
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats), 2R. 1658
Pawnbrokers, Comm, *cl.* 5, 171; Report, 921, 922
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway (Various Powers), Consid. 1178
Spain—Steamship "Leon XIII.," 1660
Suez Canal—Constitution of the Board of Directors, 1670, 1671

Salt, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Afghanistan—Subsidy to the Ameer, 1211
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 24, Amendt. 483, 484, 485; *cl.* 26, 487; Amendt. 501; *cl.* 31, 531; *cl.* 37, Amendt. 629; *cl.* 45, 877; Schedule 1, 1403; Amendt. 1422, 1423, 1425
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1248, 1252
National Debt Office, 1267
Stationery and Printing, 1272
Works and Public Buildings Office, 1261, 1266

Samuelson, Mr. B., *Banbury*
Western Islands of the Pacific—Annexation of New Guinea—Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, 1359

Samuelson, Mr. H. B., *Frome*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 36, Amendt. 625, 626, 627; *add. cl.* 1144, 1151, 1156, 1160

Sandwich, Earl of
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 743

Sclater-Booth, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1255

Scotland (*Questions*)
Fishery Board—The Report, Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 5, 463
Harbours of Refuge—Harbour on the North-East Coast, Questions, Mr. Baxter; Answers, The Lord Advocate *July* 9, 767; *July* 12, 1219

Law and Police
The Disaster on the Clyde, Question, Observations, Viscount Sidmouth; Reply, Earl Granville *July* 6, 579; Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 9, 800; Question, The Earl of Longford; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 12, 1181
Suspected Cases of Infanticide in Sutherlandshire, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 9, 767

Local Government Board for Scotland—The Staff, &c., Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 16, 1505
Public Business—The Home Department—Official Papers, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 5, 472

Scott, Mr. M. D., *Sussex, E.*
Army Medical Service (India) — Lieutenant Clarence Noble, 954
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1371

Sea Fisheries Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 2 (No. 127)
c. Read 1º * (*Mr. John Holms*) *July* 5 [Bill 257]
Read 2º *July* 9, 916
Committee *; Report *July* 16
Considered * *July* 17
Read 3ª * *July* 18

Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. O'Donnell*)
c. Committee; Report *July* 12, 1336 [Bill 31]
Considered *; read 3º *July* 16
l. Read 1ª * (*Marquess of Waterford*) *July* 17 (No. 146)

Selborne, Earl of (*see* Chancellor, The Lord)

Sellar, Mr. A. Craig-, *Haddington, &c.*
Parliament—Business of the House—Universities (Scotland), 51
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 45, Amendt. 866, 877

Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1932; *cl.* 4, 1937, 1942
Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1076
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1154
Police, 2R. 831

Settlement and Removal Law Amendment Bill (*Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Pell, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lewis, Mr. O'Sullivan*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2º" *July* 6, 724; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Tomlinson*); after short debate, Question put; A. 54, N. 20; M. 34 (D. L. 182); 2R. deferred [Bill 152]

Shaftesbury, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 12, Amendt. 416
Education Department—Insanity induced by Overwork in Elementary Schools, 1471
Factories and Workshops Amendment, Comm. 1871

Sheil, Mr. E., *Meath Co.*
Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment, Comm. 917
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 13, 118; *cl.* 14, 146, 149; *cl.* 60, Motion for reporting Progress, 891

Sidmouth, Viscount
Defence of the Colonies—Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 932, 937, 950
Law and Police (Scotland)—The Clyde Disaster, 579, 580
Navy—Regulations—Warrant Officers, 932
Navy—H.M.S. "Triumph"—Court Martial on Louis Price, Motion for a Paper, 931
Western Islands of the Pacific—New Hebrides—Occupation by France, 580

Slagg, Mr. J., *Manchester*
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 436

Smith, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1202
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. 460
High Court of Justice—Chancery Division, 774
Ireland—Board of Public Works—Advances to Irish Tenants, 1889
Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1088
Navy Estimates—Admiralty Office, 1580
  Dockyards and Naval Yards, &c. 1619, 1630, 1640, 1644
  Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, 1648
  Naval Stores for Building and Repairing the Fleet, 1646, 1647
  New Works, Buildings, &c. 1649
  Scientific Departments, 1603
  Seamen and Marines, 1553
Parliament—Public Business—Precedence of Government Orders, 188
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 65, 77; *cl.* 8, 90; *cl.* 13, 122; *cl.* 15, 235; *cl.* 22, 353; *cl.* 24, 488; *cl.* 33, 612; Schedule 1, 1401

[*cont.*

SMITH, Right Hon. W. H.—*cont.*
- Post Office—Cholera in Egypt—Mails from the East, 798
- Supply—Mint, including Coinage, 1255
  - Report, 2024, 2030, 2035, 2036

SMITH, Mr. S., *Liverpool*
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1329

SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL), *Durham*
- Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1721, 1754, 1758, 1814 ; *cl.* 2, 1850 ; *cl.* 3, 1928, 1929, 1930 ; *cl.* 4, 2004 ; *cl.* 5, 2014, 2015
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, Amendt. 87 ; *cl.* 13, 116, 117 ; *cl.* 21, 348, 349; *cl.* 22, 357, 358 ; *cl.* 23, 387; *cl.* 27, 510 ; *cl.* 31, 523, 534, 536 ; *cl.* 36, 628 ; *cl.* 40, Motion for reporting Progress, 663, 664 ; *cl.* 47, 881 ; *add. cl.* 1132, 1162, 1286, 1287, 1390, 1391 ; Schedule 1, Amendt. 1425, 1426, 1427, 1451

SOMERSET, Duke of
- Defence of the Colonies—Colonial Naval Forces, Motion for an Address, 944

Spain
- *Expulsion of certain Cuban Refugees from Gibraltar — Colonel Maceo*, Question, Mr. O'Kelly ; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 782
- *Quarantine on English Shipping*, Question, Mr. Preston Bruce ; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 16, 1523
- *The Steamship "Leon XIII.,"* Question, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury ; Reply, Earl Granville *July* 17, 1660

SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. Sir H. B. W. BRAND), *Cambridgeshire*
- Cattle Diseases Acts—Importation of Foreign Animals, Res. 1083
- Egypt—Law and Justice—Trials of Suleiman Sami and Said Bey Khandeel, 469
- Ennerdale Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 597
- India—Madras—Cholera, 474
- Ireland—Distress in Gweedore, 1511
  - Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Ryan, 780
- Metropolitan Board of Works (District Railway), Consid. 1188
- Municipal Disqualification (Ireland), 2R. 157
- Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1119, 1362
  - Privilege—"Bradlaugh *v.* Gosset"—Communication to the House, 1915
- Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 805, 807, 808, 1239, 1241, 1242, 1334
- Poor Relief (Ireland), 3R. 910, 911
- Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 443
- Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 829
- Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1092

STANHOPE, Earl
- Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 9, 410

STANHOPE, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
- Afghanistan—Subsidy to the Ameer, 1211
- Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5), 2R. 316
- Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1204
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 8, 101, 102, 103; *cl.* 10, Amendt. 105 ; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 113, 114, 116, 119; *cl.* 15, 211 ; Amendt. 234, 246, 259, 260, 261, 263, 267, 269 ; *cl.* 24, 482 ; *cl.* 28, 511 ; *cl.* 31, 521 ; Amendt. 529, 530 ; *cl.* 44, 861 ; *add. cl.* 998, 1001, 1164, 1281, 1284 ; Schedule 1, 1407, 1410, 1411, 1414, 1415, 1444, 1449
- Russia and Persia, 771, 772

STANLEY, Right Hon. Colonel F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
- Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 437

STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, Lord
- Church of England (Colonies)—Public Worship at Hong Kong, 725
- Education Department—Insanity induced by Overwork in Elementary Schools, 1465
- Navy—H.M.S. "Triumph"—Court Martial on Louis Price, Motion for a Paper, 927
- New Guinea, Motion for Papers, 13
- Railways (India)—Grain Rates, 729
- Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, Motion for an Address, 27

STANTON, Mr. W. J., *Stroud*
- Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 37, 636 ; *cl.* 44, 844 ; *add. cl.* 1297, 1298, 1319

Statute of Frauds Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Reid, Mr. Whitley, Mr. Arthur Elliot*)
- c. Committee ; Report *July* 13, 1463 [Bill 204]

Statutes, Promulgation of the
- Moved, "That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider and revise the List of 1801 for the Promulgation of the Statutes, and the Revised List contained in the said Report, should be adopted ; and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorized and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public Local and Personal Acts, according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List ; and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution authorized by the said Revised List from time to time" (*Mr. Hibbert*) *July* 12, 1338 ; after short debate, Resolution agreed to

[*cont.*

Statutes, Promulgation of the—cont.
Resolved, "That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to consider and revise the List of 1801 for the Promulgation of the Statutes, and the Revised List contained in the said Report, should be adopted; and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorized and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public Local and Personal Acts, according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List; and the Secretary of State, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution authorized by the said Revised List from time to time" (*The Lord Sudeley*) *July* 19 [See title *Commons* (*Questions*)

STEVENSON, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5), 2R. 317
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1194
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1115
Precedence of Government Orders, 189
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1393
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 827
Sea Fisheries (Ireland), Comm. *add. cl.* 1338

STEWART, Mr. J., *Greenock*
Navy Estimates—Scientific Departments, 1592

Stolen Goods Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 2 (No. 105)
c. Read 1º * *July* 5 [Bill 258]

STORER, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1688, 1691, 1726; Amendt. 1740, 1741; *cl.* 4, 1860

STOREY, Mr. S., *Sunderland*
Sunderland Calamity—Home Office Inquiry, 1902

STUART, Mr. H. VILLIERS-, *Waterford Co.*
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1117
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1906, 1914

SUDELEY, Lord
Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock, 1880
Merchandise Marks (Channel Islands and Isle of Man), 2R. 1877
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats), 2R. 1655, 1659
Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner, 1342, 1345

SUDELEY, Lord—*cont.*
Railway Servants—Hours of Duty, 587
Railways (Continuous Brakes), 2R. 1347, 1348
Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3), Comm. Amendt. 2, 3, 920

Suez Canal, The
The Concession to M. de Lesseps—Counsel's Opinion, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 791
The Suez Canal Company—Constitution of the Board of Directors, Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Earl Granville; short debate thereon *July* 17, 1664;—*Copy of the Register of Shareholders*, Questions, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Labouchere, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 17, 1681

Suez (Second) Canal
The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 6, 609; Questions, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 9, 796; Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 10, 1020; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Gladstone; Statement, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon *July* 11, 1088; Notice of Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 12, 1209; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Monk, Mr. M'Coan, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone, 1230; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Bourke, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Stewart Macliver, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 13, 1351; Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bourke, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gibson, Mr. A. Elliot, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Attorney General, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1513;—*Ministerial Statement*, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Rathbone, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 16, 1524;—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Gibson; Answers, The Attorney General, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 19, 1899; Questions, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Mr. Ritchie, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Bourke, Sir Stafford Northcote, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1906; Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, 1913
Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies, Questions, Mr. Bourke, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 19, 1888
Communications from Foreign Powers, Questions, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 19, 1896

Sues (*Second*) *Canal*—cont.
The Euphrates Valley Line, Notice of Question, Lord Lamington *July* 12, 1172

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill (*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Chancellor*) *July* 19 (No. 153)

SUPPLY
Army Estimates—Warlike Stores, Question, Mr. Earp; Answer, Mr. Brand *July* 19, 1902
Civil Service Estimates—The Queen's Colleges (*Ireland*), Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 16, 1520

SUPPLY
Considered in Committee *July* 12, 1242—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 17 to 24 and 27
Resolutions reported *July* 13
Considered in Committee *July* 16, 1528—NAVY ESTIMATES, Votes 1, 3 to 10, Sec. II., 11, 14, 16
Resolutions reported *July* 17
First Four Resolutions agreed to
Fifth Resolution postponed
Subsequent Resolutions agreed to
Postponed Resolution further considered *July* 19, 2023
(5.) £1,556,400, Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad; after debate, Resolution agreed to

Supreme Court of Judicature (Funds, &c.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Committee * *July* 2 (No. 130)
Report * *July* 3
Read 3ª * *July* 5

SYNAN, Mr. E. J., *Limerick Co.*
Ireland—National Education—School House at Mungret, County Limerick, 1506
National School Teachers—Salaries, 1351

TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
Endowed Schools—Middle Class School at Tunbridge, 768
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1392

TAYLOR, Mr. P. A., *Leicester*
Vaccination Acts—Brighton Board of Guardians, 1882

THOMPSON, Mr. T. C., *Durham*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 23, 363; *cl.* 31, 534; *add. cl.* 1122, 1326

TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations), 3R. 2041
Navy Estimates—New Works, Buildings, &c., Motion for reporting Progress, 1650, 1651
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 233, 238, 252, 261; Amendt. 262, 263, 269; *cl.* 17, 322; *cl.* 18, 335; *cl.* 23, 373; *cl.* 31, 518; *cl.* 33, 616; *cl.* 35, 625; *cl.* 41, 833; *cl.* 44, 843; *add. cl.* 1282, 1285, 1332; Schedule 1, 1416, 1419, 1450
Ribble Navigation, Preston Dock and Borough Extension, Lords Amendts. Consid. 433, 443
Settlement and Removal Law Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 724
Statute of Frauds Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1464

TORRENS, Mr. W. T. M'C., *Finsbury*
Parks (Metropolis)—Finsbury Park, 475
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 44, 847

TOTTENHAM, Mr. A. L., *Leitrim*
Ireland—Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Ryan, 465, 779, 780, 1891
Post Office (Contracts)—Irish Mail Service, 1222

Trade and Commerce—Brokerage on Shipping (*France*)
Question, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 2, 32
[See title *Italy—The New Treaty of Commerce*]

Tramways and Public Companies (*Ireland*) *Bill*
Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 19, 1903

Tramways Provisional Orders (Aldershot and Farnborough, &c.) Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee * *July* 6 (No. 110)
Report * *July* 9
Read 3ª * *July* 10

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) (Colchester, &c.) Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee *July* 2, 2 (No. 111)
Committee *July* 10, 920
Report * *July* 12
Read 3ª * *July* 13

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) (South Shields, &c.) Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee * *July* 2 (No. 104)
Report * *July* 3
Read 3ª * *July* 5
Royal Assent *July* 16 [46 & 47 *Vict.* c. xciii]

Treasury Solicitor Act, 1876—*The Goods of Felons*
Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 9, 792

[cont.

Treaty of Berlin—Article XXIII.—The Island of Chios
Question, Mr. Ralli; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 16, 1508

Trees Planting (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Corry, Viscount Crichton, Sir Hervey Bruce, Captain Aylmer*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 2 [Bill 59]

Trevelyan, Rt. Hon. G. O. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Hawick, &c.*
Ireland—Questions
  Board of Intermediate Education—Results Fees, 1881-2, 29
  Board of National Education — School House at Mungret, Co. Limerick, 1506
  Collection of Taxes and Rates, 35
  Commissioners of National Education, 462
  Commissioners of Public Works—Erection of Barracks, 42
  County Cess Collection—Captain Alisen, 776
  Crime and Outrage—Explosion at Derry, 1507
  Evictions—Estates of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 1887
  Irish Butter Trade—Cork Butter Market, 179
  Irish Land Commission—Application for Loan, 785
  Irish Land Commission Court—Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Ryan, 465, 466, 779, 780, 1891
  Land Law Act, 1881—Sub-Commissioners —" Listing," 34
  Lunatic Poor, 178
  Magistracy—Crown Solicitor for Derry, 51
  National School Teachers—Salaries, 1351
  National Schools—Results Examinations, 1679
  Pauper Emigrants to the United States, 469, 470, 1225, 1226
  Peace Preservation Acts—Extra Pay to Prison Surgeons, 774, 775;—Police Hut at Kilmoors, Co. Clare, 1893
  Poor Law—Post-Mortem Examinations, 1213;—Workhouse Hospitals, 180
  State-Aided Emigration to the United States—Irish Emigrants, 605, 606
  Supply—Queen's Colleges, 1520
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Questions
  Re-organization, 1222
  Sub-Constables O'Neill and M'Kay, 1505
  Sub-Inspector Carter, 41, 42
Ireland, State of—Questions
  Co. Cavan, 1507
  Distress in Gweedore, 778, 1510, 1511, 1512
  Police Protection, 1501
Parliamentary Elections — The Monaghan Election, 1221
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 31, 548, 549
Poor Relief (Ireland), 56; Comm. 152, 153; *cl.* 1, 559, 560, 568, 571; *cl.* 5, 573, 575, 576; 3R. 897, 900, 911
Prison Service (Ireland), 2R. 150
Sea Fisheries (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1337

Truro, Lord
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 739
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, 404
India—Criminal Law Amendment—Punishment of Flogging, 581, 585

Tunis—Arrest of a British Subject
Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 12, 1238

Turkey
Greek Subjects of the Porte, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 9, 793
The Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company—Navigation of the Tigris, Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 10, 956; *July* 12, 1218; Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 19, 1889

Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill
(*Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2^{a} * *July* 16 (No. 132)
Committee *; Report *July* 17
Read 3^{a} * *July* 19

Universities (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
. Bill withdrawn * *July* 9 [Bill 131]

Vaccination Acts—The Brighton Board of Guardians
Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 19, 1882

Vaccination Laws (Germany)
Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 6, 601

Verney, Sir H., *Buckingham*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1938

Vivian, Sir H. Hussey, *Glamorganshire*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 5), 2R. 315
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders Bills, Res. Amendt. 447
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 818

Wallace, Sir R., *Lisburn*
Ireland—Drainage and Inland Navigation—Drainage of Lough Neagh, 602

Walter, Mr. J., *Berkshire*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1159

Warton, Mr. C. N., *Bridport*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 3, 1921; *cl.* 4, 1936
Court of Criminal Appeal Bill—Mr. Justice Hawkins, 1896, 1897
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. Amendt. 1193
Navy Estimates—Machinery and Ships Built by Contract, Motion for reporting Progress, 1648
Parliament — Public Business, Ministerial Statement, 1120, 1363
Precedence of Government Orders, 191
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 7, 82; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 119; *cl.* 15, 216, 266, 281; *cl.* 16, 308, 309, 312; *cl.* 17, Amendt. 319, 322, 323, 324; *cl.* 18, 325, 331; *cl.* 22, 358; *cl.* 23, 376, 385, 387; *cl.* 24, 392, 394, 482, 488, 490; *cl.* 25, 491; *cl.* 26, Amendt. 496, 497, 498; *cl.* 31, 540, 549; Amendt. 550; *cl.* 33, 616; *cl.* 34, 617; *cl.* 44, 851; Amendt. 856; *cl.* 45, 877; *cl.* 60, Amendt. 888, 889, 890, 892; *cl.* 61, Amendt. 967, 968; *cl.* 66, 971, 972; *add. cl.* 1001, 1017, 1125; Amendt. 1129, 1281, 1287, 1292, 1300, 1377, 1396; Schedule 1, 1414, 1417, 1443, 1456; Amendt. 1458
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), Res. 666
Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention, Bill withdrawn, 827
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1247
Mint, including Coinage, 1257, 1259

Waterford, Marquess of
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Advances to Tenants—Duties of Inspectors, 1652
Lunatic Poor (Ireland), 2R. 163, 164; Comm. 1654

Watkin, Sir E. W., *Hythe*
Channel Tunnel Railway, 2R. 1677
Ennerdale Railway—Instruction to the Committee, 598
Petroleum Acts—Storage of Petroleum, 606

Waveney, Lord
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 742
Lighthouses, &c.—Commissioners of Northern Lights—The "Hen and Chickens" Rock, 1881
Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats), 2R. 1659

WAYS AND MEANS
The Financial Statement—The Railway Passenger Duty, Question, Mr. Francis Buxton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 9, 801
Tramway Loans, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 19, 1893

WAYS AND MEANS
Considered in Committee *July* 18
Resolved, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884, the sum of £15,182,707 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom
Resolution reported *July* 19

Wemyss, Earl of
Army Organization—Militia and Militia Reserve, Res. 730, 754, 764
Factories and Workshops Amendment, 2R. 1496; Comm. 1865; *cl.* 7, 1874
Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Res. 594
Pawnbroker's, Comm. *cl.* 5, 171
Public Health—Outbreak of Cholera in Egypt—Sanitary Precautions, 158
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall), 2R. 1499; Comm. 1875

Western Islands of the Pacific
Annexation of New Guinea by Queensland
Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 2, 55; Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 5, 478
The Australian Colonies, Notices, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Callan *July* 6, 611;—*Public Opinion in the Australian Colonies*, Questions, Mr. B. Samuelson, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 13, 1359
The New Hebrides—Occupation by France, Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 6, 580; Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, 610; *July* 9, 792

Western Islands of the Pacific — New Guinea
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers relating to the proposed annexation of New Guinea" (*The Lord Lamington*) *July* 2, 3; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Western Pacific, The — Office of High Commissioner
Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 17, 1678

West Indies—The Windward Islands—Stipendiary Magistrates
Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *July* 2, 43

Whitbread, Mr. S., *Bedford*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 237, 249

Whitley, Mr. E., *Liverpool*
Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations), Consid. *cl.* 9, Amendt. 1335, 1336
Manchester Ship Canal, Consid. 1087, 1088, 1183, 1184
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 280; *cl.* 24, 394, 490; *cl.* 31, 522; *cl.* 44, 837; Amendt. 839, 848; *add. cl.* 1005, 1126; Amendt. 1128, 1129, 1304; Schedule 1, 1439

Wiggin, Mr. H., *Staffordshire, E.*
Agricultural Holdings (England), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1704
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 267

WILLIAMS, Mr. S. C. Evans, *New Radnor*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 999

WILLIAMSON, Mr. S., *St. Andrews, &c.*
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 14, Amendt. 127; *add. cl.* 1006

WILMOT, Sir J. E., *Warwickshire, S.*
Mines, Accidents in—Life Brigades in Mining Districts, 1890

WILSON, Mr. C. H., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
Parliament—Business of the House, Ministerial Statement, 1120

WOLFF, Sir H. D., *Portsmouth*
Contagious Diseases Acts—Statistics, 792
Egypt—Cholera, 611, 788, 789
Egypt—Law and Justice—Trial of Said Bey Khandeel, 48
  Trial of Suleiman Sami, 471
India (Government)—Sir Auckland Colvin and Major Baring, 56, 477
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1625
  Scientific Departments, 1599
  Seamen and Marines, 1541
Parliament—Business of the House, 480
  Ministerial Statement, 1117
  Suez (Second) Canal, Ministerial Statement, 1526, 1527
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *cl.* 15, 198, 219, 233, 235, 291, 295; Motion for reporting Progress, [*cont.*

WOLFF, Sir H. D.—*cont.*
297, 303; *cl.* 24, 394; *cl.* 31, 533; *cl.* 35, Amendt. 624; *cl.* 37, 634
Suez Canal Company—Copy of the Register of Shareholders, 1682
Suez (Second) Canal—The Provisional Agreement with M. de Lesseps, 1094, 1096, 1355 1514, 1907, 1908
Western Islands of the Pacific—New Hebrides—Occupation by France, 610, 792

WORTLEY, Mr. C. B. STUART-, *Sheffield*
Friendly, &c. Societies (Nominations), 3R. 2040, 2042
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal, Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1387
Promulgation of the Statutes, Res. 1339

YORKE, Mr. J. R., *Gloucestershire, E.*
Electric Lighting Provisional Orders (No. 8), 2R. 1199
Licensing—Magistrates of Rotherham, 1503
Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices), Comm. *add. cl.* 1002, 1390

Yorkshire Register Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Pease, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Barran*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 9 [Bill 221]

ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment, Motion that the Bill do pass, *cl.* 2, 404
Trinity College, Dublin, Leasing and Perpetuity Act, 1851, Motion for an Address, 20, 27

ERRATA.

Page 1064, lines 25 and 26 from top, for "10 per cent, so that about £9,000,000," *read* "70 per cent, so that about £90,000,000."
Page 1066, line 9 from top, for "Mr. James Howard," *read* "Colonel Kingscote."

END OF VOLUME CCLXXXI., AND SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1883.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV

UL 12 JUL 1990